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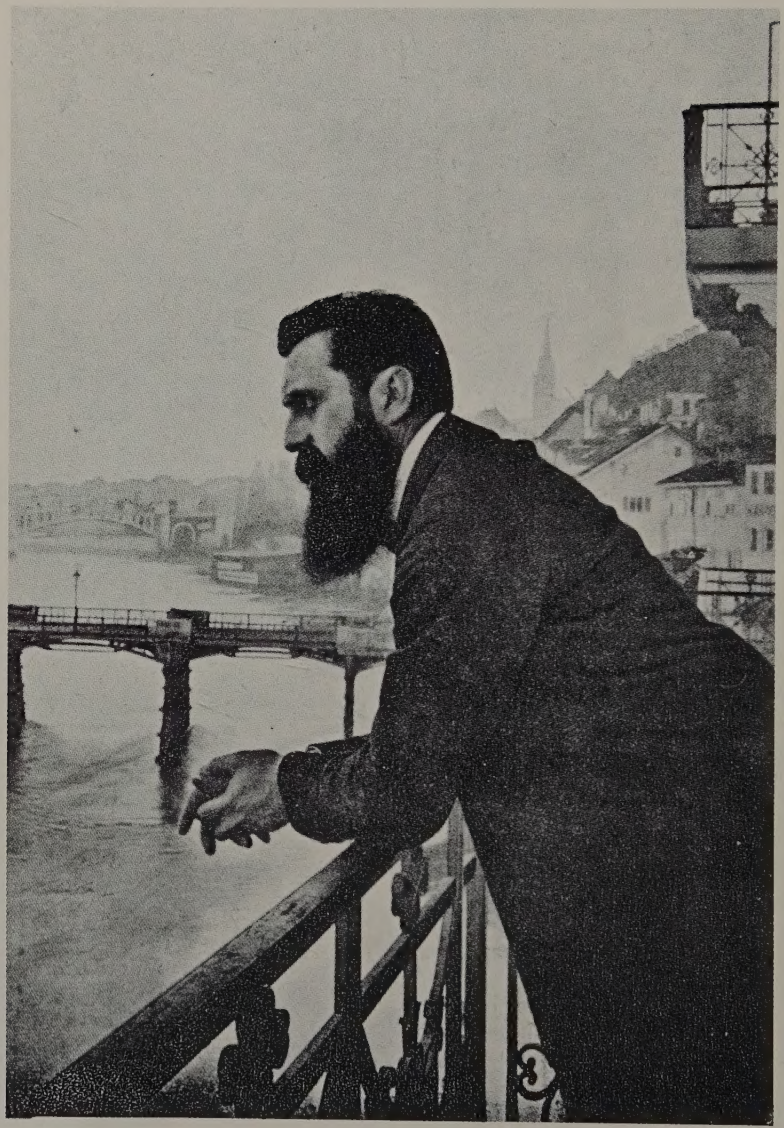

Dr Theodor Herzl

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE

History of Zionism

1600–1918

BY

NAHUM SOKOLOW

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE RT HON. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P.

WITH EIGHTY-NINE PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Selected and Arranged

BY ISRAEL SOLOMONS

NEW INTRODUCTION BY

ARTHUR HERTZBERG

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL I.

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INTRODUCTION

Nahum Sokolow was born in Wishograd, Poland, in 1859, but the family soon moved to the larger town of Plotsk, which was the home of his grandfather, a man of distinguished rabbinic learning who was his most important early teacher. In terms of his immediate environment Sokolow was, by birth, an aristocrat. He was lineally descended from some of the most famous rabbinic scholars of Eastern Europe in recent centuries. An uncle was a son-in-law of the *Rebbe* of Lubavitch who lived at the court of his father-in-law. Sokolow's own immediate branch of the family had rejected the mysticism and emotionalism of Hasidisim and had remained attached to the older traditions of rationalistic talmudic scholarship. Nonetheless, the young Sokolow received part of his education at Lubavitch, living at the house of his uncle, and he thus became acquainted at first hand with the world of Hasidism. On his mother's side, Sokolow was descended from a very wealthy family in Plotsk, which was involved in leasing estates of the nobility. He was, therefore, born to high position in the hierarchies both of learning and of wealth, with an early link to the soil which paralleled that of some of the young Polish gentile nobility. His continued sense, throughout his life, that he was somebody, that his personal importance was beyond doubt, was something that he proved every day with his enormous talent; but essentially he was born with it. The East

European rabbi was to become a Western diplomat rather easily because he was always, and in several dimensions, an aristocrat.

At the age of fifteen, in Plotsk, he began a weekly journal which he wrote by hand in Hebrew, the content of which derived from works of history and literature in German. Later that year he was producing another journal which was more polemical in its defense of "enlightenment." This adolescent was already arguing that the need for contemporary knowledge of Western languages did not differ from the knowledge of Arabic by Maimonides, and that study of science, mathematics, and geography descended in direct line from the great medieval masters' interest in all the sciences. Sokolow's image of himself at the outset of his career was not of one who was breaking with his immediate past but rather of a man staying rooted within it and adding to it resonances from elsewhere which were necessary to any man who wanted to be both a Jew and a man of contemporary culture. Three years later, when a marriage was arranged for him at the "proper age" of eighteen, he accepted the tradition and even followed the custom of being supported for a number of years by his father-in-law. But Sokolow did not devote the bulk of his time, in the usual manner, to rabbinic studies. He spent the several years in the town of Macow broadening his secular learning by enormous reading and by beginning to write seriously in both modern Hebrew and several other languages. In addition to articles for various newspapers and journals he also wrote his first book, *Mezukei Arez* (1878). This work was a popular geography and it was widely read.

Sokolow moved to Warsaw in 1879 to strike out on his own. At that moment this city was the intellectual capital of Russian-Polish Jewry. Within a year of his arrival Sokolow had arrived at the very center of its life, although there were a few false starts. He first attempted to become the owner and editor of a Hebrew monthly, to make a weekly out of it, but this plan failed. He was then briefly in the business world, as a traveling salesman throughout Russia for a cotton goods firm; but this occupation did not suit him. After that the Spanish Consul in Warsaw, with whom Sokolow had become friendly, employed him as one of the secretaries in the Consulate, but that, too, did not last

long. He was then asked to become the official rabbi and preacher of the Warsaw Jewish community (under contemporary Russian government regulations, such an official post had to be held by someone with Western education), but he refused. He knew that his future lay in journalism and he waited until he was invited to become assistant to the editor of *Hazefirah,* the Hebrew weekly that was then appearing in Warsaw. This journal was then less important than its competitor, *Hameliz,* but the new post launched Sokolow before an audience of his peers; it was an audience that he would soon very greatly increase.

The editor who added the young Sokolow to his staff was H. Z. Slonimsky, under whom the paper had been primarily devoted to articles on popular science. It appealed to a very limited circle of readers, both because of its subject matter and because of its rather heavy style. All of this soon changed under the impact of Sokolow's wide interests, enormous energy and flowing, often humorous, manner of writing. He was an avid reader of the leading newspapers of the time in the major Western languages, and he made it his business to use them as his sources for ongoing political analyses. These were very valuable to a readership which otherwise had no access to current thinking on world affairs. An inveterate traveler and lecturer, and always very accessible to people, he was constantly describing for the readers of *Hazefirah* places as diverse as the Jewish communities of North Africa and the museums of Rome and Dresden. Most important, unlike Slonimsky, Sokolow was himself a literary man in closest personal contact with the younger Hebrew writers. He, himself, once said that "modern Hebrew literature was founded in the years 1880-85." This was an inexact statement, for modern secular literature in Hebrew was by then a century old, but there was, nonetheless, considerable truth in his assertion. Those were the five years in which he increasingly took over the central role in *Hazefirah,* until he became a partner in the enterprise in 1885 and soon afterwards the owner and editor of the paper. In 1886, with the help of Konstantin Shapiro, Sokolow and Slonimsky turned it into a daily. In these years of his journalistic ascent Sokolow published much of the new Hebrew writing in his paper.

A lesser man would have staggered under the load of editing

Hazefirah and of being his own principal writer but Sokolow still had energy to spare. For that matter, someone less protean would have found it difficult to write, at one and the same time, in Hebrew for an audience deeply committed to Jewish life, and in Polish for the very people with whom these Hebrew readers were in battle, the assimilationist upper crust of Warsaw Jewry. Sokolow managed even this, for he edited the Polish-language weekly *Israelita,* which appealed to this element, for a number of years. Despite his active editorship of two papers, he continued his personal literary endeavors, writing short stories and even an historical novel (it appeared in installments in *Hazefirah*) on the era of the Bar Kochba revolt. Most characteristic of his literary endeavors was the familiar essay, the feuilleton, which was then very prominent in Western journalism and which he naturalized into Hebrew. Sokolow was, and remains to this day, the preeminent practitioner of this form. Having been interested in Jewish history from his very earliest youth, Sokolow even translated into Hebrew the first volume of Graetz's *History of the Jews,* but he abandoned that project and never published his work because someone else was doing a translation, and he complained bitterly to Sokolow that such competition would be disastrous to him.

Perhaps his most important "extra-curricular" activity was in the publishing and editing of a literary annual, the very first in modern Hebrew letters since the days of Mendelssohn and his circle a century before. Sokolow's *Heasif* (5 vols., 1885–89; Vol. VI, 1894) published the best talents of the day, especially in the field of Jewish learning; the first volume sold no less than 10,000 copies. After *Heasif* ceased publication, Sokolow tried again with the more modest *Sefer Hashanah,* four volumes of which appeared after 1900.

In the midst of all this Sokolow had to do battle every day with the Russian censors whose rules changed without warning and on the basis of momentary caprice. He was seeing swarms of people in his office and often stopping an interview for a few moments to write something for the paper, with the press waiting, in order to fill an empty space. At least one of his scholarly visitors, Dr. Joseph Klausner, found it difficult, after seeing such a performance, ever to take Sokolow quite seriously again, des-

pite the evidence on the printed page of his vast learning. Both in person and as a writer he wore his knowledge very lightly.

Sokolow had arrived on the public scene on the very eve of the tragic events, the pogroms in 1881-2, which were the hinge on which the history of the Jews in Russia turned into its last, declining phase. Two of the immediate results of these events were a wave of mass emigration, mostly to the United States, and the appearance of a modern Zionist analysis of the Jewish scene, Leon Pinsker's *Autoemancipation*. The Jewish press, including Sokolow's own journal, was full of the debate between the partisans of emigration to the United States and the more doctrinaire group which wanted to direct the tens of thousands of homeless Jews, who were then wandering around the borders of Russia, to the building of a new Jewish life in Palestine. In this discussion Sokolow appeared as a skeptic. He debated sharply with Pinsker, for Sokolow then believed that the vision of national independence in Palestine was a pipe dream. Nonetheless, Sokolow was not anti-Zionist. On the contrary, he was enough of a partisan of the value of practical work and realistic colonization in Palestine to take the trouble to write a short book in explanation of his positive relationship to the "love of Zion" and to the Holy Land and to state his support for the work of the handful of Jewish colonists in Palestine (*Erez Hemdah,* 1885). What he opposed, characteristically, was exaggeration, lack of realism, and the substitution of doctrinaire ideological phrases for realistic action.

When Herzl first appeared on the scene, Sokolow responded negatively. He was, of course, among the first readers in 1896 of Herzl's *The Jewish State,* and he reacted in *Hazefirah* by finding that Herzl was even more impractical than the earlier "Lovers of Zion" in Russia, of whom Sokolow had also been critical. There was, indeed, an element of theatricality in Herzl's vision which put off the cool rationalist, the man of reason and good sense that Sokolow always was. It must be added that the First Zionist Congress which Herzl convoked in 1897 was staged by him very consciously as good theatre. The anti-Semites were using the word "Jew" as an epithet, so Herzl spoke boldly of a "Jew State" (*Judenstaat*). The enemies of the Jews had been spreading dire

tales of elders of Zion who met in secret to plot against the world, so Herzl called the delegates of the Congress together as publicly as possible before the eyes of the world. This oppressed and denigrated people had often been accused, and had even accused itself, of not being able to run its affairs in proper, dignified form; so Herzl insisted that the men who appeared at the opening session of the First Zionist Congress should wear formal clothes. The press arrangements were those which usually attended a solemn occasion, the parliament of a government, and all of this was staged to celebrate an effort which proposed creating a state in a land from which Jews had been absent, except in handfuls, for many centuries, and which belonged to Turkey, which even in its decline was not offering the country to anyone. But Herzl, the man, was soon to conquer Sokolow.

On the surface of his own consciousness Sokolow was interested in covering the First Zionist Congress as a journalist and not as a believer. It was in those terms that, after correspondence, he was invited to the meeting. He returned to Warsaw as a passionate admirer of Herzl with the feeling that his own basic Zionism, rooted as it was in classic religious sources, had been deeply stirred by this meteoric figure from the European world. Sokolow, the practical man, had become a visionary, and the rationalist had become a believer and an adherent to the person of a messianic figure.

Sokolow immediately offered his personal services to Herzl offering to be, in effect, his major literary representative in the Hebrew-reading world. Sokolow served also as journalistic interpreter, especially in a series of essays which he addressed to those Orthodox Jews who regarded modern Zionism as an affront to religion, to the injunction to wait for the Messiah. In these essays, *Lemaranan Verabanan* (1901), he was again arguing, as he had as a youth, that true enlightenment and true religion, even of the most classic kind, were not in conflict with each other; in a sense, he was again producing himself as the proof of the truth of this assertion. Sokolow also served Herzl as the translator into Hebrew of Herzl's utopian novel *Altneuland,* the theme of which was an imaginative picture of what the new Jewish Commonwealth would be. Sokolow chose *Tel Aviv*

as the Hebrew title for the novel, and this name was, of course, shortly given to the newly begun Jewish city in Palestine which was the incarnation of many of these utopian hopes.

It must be added in all truth that the relationship between Herzl and Sokolow was something of a one-way street. Sokolow admired his leader extravagantly, but Herzl seems to have ordered him around as an obedient servant rather than as a respected co-worker. Herzl did, indeed, write a warm and very respectful evaluation of Sokolow's qualities in the jubilee volume that appeared in Sokolow's honor in 1902, but Sokolow's name does not occur even once in Herzl's diary, and the letters that passed between them leave the impression of a prince dealing with a devoted retainer. Sokolow was, no doubt, aware of all this. It was not his nature to take personal offense but, more important, he regarded Herzl as "not just some personality but as the incarnation of the greatness of an impersonal cause, as a powerful instrument which had struck at us and overwhelmed us with its charm."

Until 1906 Sokolow remained at his primary job as editor of *Hazefirah,* but in that year the situation of the paper worsened, both because of the ongoing mass immigration, mostly to the United States thus lessening the circle of Hebrew readers, and because of the turmoil of events after the Russian Revolution of 1905. The paper had to close down (it was revived later), and for a number of months Sokolow's personal situation was very bad; but there soon appeared an offer from Herzl's successor in office, David Wolffsohn. Sokolow was invited to Cologne to become the General-Secretary of the World Zionist Organization. This job included the editorship of the official weekly of the movement, the German language *Die Welt.* Sokolow added a condition to the terms of his employment, that the movement should also publish a weekly in Hebrew which he would edit; and by 1907 the first issue of that periodical, *Haolam,* appeared. This paper began well, for the outstanding names in modern Hebrew letters wrote for it, but their fees were high and Sokolow's bosses soon tired of the expense of literary creations in a journal which was to them, situated as they were in Western Europe where there were few readers for a journal in modern Hebrew, an un-

necessary decoration. Sokolow's burdens thus increased, for he soon had to write much of the weekly himself and he finally gave up the task entirely, turning over *Haolam* to other hands.

This semi-debacle was but one element in a situation which was becoming increasingly sour from Sokolow's point of view. Before he agreed to leave Warsaw for Cologne Sokolow had been warned by many of his friends that the circle around Wolffsohn was not an environment which he would find acceptable. Herzl had been a man of considerable literary talent and broad culture; Wolffsohn was a timber merchant, whom Sokolow and the other intellectuals in the World Zionist Organization offices in Cologne increasingly held in contempt. Even their political relations were not easy, though they did work together best in this area. Sokolow was particularly active in responding to the new opportunity that seemed to be offered by the Young Turk revolution in 1908; in June of the next year he was with Wolffsohn in Constantinople to initiate renewed Zionist contacts and endeavors there. The most significant immediate result was the founding of a number of publications in Constantinople which were quietly subventioned by the Zionists. It was Sokolow who appointed the then very young Vladimir Jabotinsky to head the entire enterprise. At the very root of the growing estrangement between Wolffsohn and his top professional aide was an issue that had cropped up during Herzl's own lifetime. Young Russian Jews, among them Chaim Weizmann with whom Martin Buber had been associated, had opposed Herzl on the grounds that Zionism should not put all its emphasis on diplomatic endeavors; they argued that the movement had to concern itself with immediate practical efforts towards colonization in Palestine and, especially, with aiding the revival of Jewish culture, with particular concern for its contemporary Hebraic forms. Wolffsohn followed in Herzl's footsteps. Even though he respected the scholar and Hebraist in Sokolow, Wolffsohn's concerns were primarily diplomatic. The opposition to Herzlian diplomatic interests, which the dead leader's greatness had been able to contain, became more outspoken year by year as it confronted Wolffsohn, and Sokolow's heart was increasingly with the opposition.

Towards the end of 1909, two years before Wolffsohn left

office as President of the World Zionist Organization, Sokolow resigned his job as Secretary. He moved to Berlin and spent the next years or so traveling and lecturing, without a stable job. By 1911, when Wolffsohn was overthrown, the last and most decisive phase of Sokolow's life began. He was elected a member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and it was in that role that he was to perform his most decisive tasks during the years of the First World War. He was a principal architect of the Balfour Declaration and, certainly, the leading persuader of Western opinion to accept this act and the Zionist vision which had produced it. Not the least of his activities then, at the zenith of his career, was the writing of this *History of Zionism.*

The outbreak of the First World War brought a critical turning point both in the affairs of the World Zionist Organization and in Sokolow's personal history. In August, 1914, the Inner Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization met in Berlin to deal with the situation created by the War. The movement declared its neutrality and various of the members of its executive body were detailed to several of the capitols of the warring powers and of such neutrals, in 1914, as Turkey and the United States. Sokolow was sent to London and he was to spend all of the war years basing his activities in that capitol. Chaim Weizman had already then been resident in England for a decade, serving on the chemistry faculty of the University of Manchester, and by degrees he was becoming the acknowledged leader of the English Zionists. Weizmann had initiated the political connection which eventually bore fruit in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, and he carried on much of the direct negotiating. Nonetheless, the role of Sokolow during these critical years has generally been underestimated, not least by Weizmann himself in his account of this period in his own autobiography, *Trial and Error.* Sokolow was the possessor of legitimate ultimate authority, as the member of the Zionist Executive resident in London. He was directly involved in most of the negotiations and especially in the formulation of the Zionist position at various crucial turnings during these years of negotiation with the British government. The draft statement of October 1916, defining the Zionist aims in Palestine which later became the basis for the

British mandate, was written by Sokolow. In the critical year 1917 Weizmann and Sokolow, without ever spelling it out, made a rough division of responsibility. The persuasion of the English was in the main the task of Weizmann; the rest of Zionist diplomacy, and especially in France, was assigned to Sokolow. This assignment of jobs was clearest in the aftermath of an important meeting which took place on February 7, 1917 in the home of Sir Mark Sykes. At the time Sykes was serving as Secretary to the British War Cabinet and his importance in the negotiations which led to the Balfour Declaration was all the greater because he had been the British official who had, in 1915, negotiated an understanding with Georges Picot of the French Foreign Ministry. The understanding arrived at between the two governments concerned future zones of influence in the Near East. The Zionist effort in London was a new element in the situation. At the meeting in Sykes' home in 1917, at which Picot was present, the assent of the French to changes in the 1915 secret arrangements was the primary issue. Sykes himself had become a Zionist protagonist; he was sufficiently close to Sokolow personally so that after Sykes' untimely death in 1918 Sokolow dedicated the two volumes here reprinted to the memory of his friend. Nonetheless, at the crucial meeting in his own home, Sykes felt he could do no more than make the contact between the Zionist leaders and the French government, and that it was not possible for him to urge a British protectorate over the future Jewish Palestine. The task of persuasion was left to the Zionist. It was clearly a delicate problem, for Picot, as was to be expected, suggested France rather than England. The Zionist leaders, and Sokolow in particular, were thus confronted with the task of persuading the French to agree to Zionist aspirations in Palestine and to make way for the British.

After further conversation with the French mission in London, Sokolow went to Paris during the next month. Upon arriving, Sokolow was confronted with two problems. One was the anti-Zionism of the official leadership of French Jewry, for these men felt that emphasis on the national character of the Jewish people was calling into question their own status, which they defined to be that of Frenchmen of the Jewish religious persuasion. So-

kolow succeeded in tempering, and even largely silencing, this opposition through his close connection with Baron Edmond de Rothschild. This was the towering and preeminent figure among French Jews; he had been a "lover of Zion," even though never a political Zionist, long before Herzl had appeared on the scene, and even before Sokolow's conversion to active Zionist work. Throughout his lifetime Edmond de Rothschild had been and was to continue to be until his death in 1938, the single largest supporter of Jewish settlement in Palestine. At this turning the head of the French Rothschilds would brook no assimilationist opposition. He convoked a private meeting of the leading French Jews and essentially bullied them into silence while Sokolow was working with the French Government on behalf of Zionism.

An equally severe problem was the question that had already confronted him in London, the matter of the direct French interest in Palestine. In order to convince the French that Zionism was a good thing Sokolow had to give up trying to convince them in Paris that the British ought to rule in postwar Palestine. Sokolow chose to concentrate on the first aim and to agree in Paris that the question of which was to have the mandate for Palestine should be left for a later decision, after the war. Weizmann, who was then in his most pro-British mood, was angered by this softness on the part of Sokolow, but it is hard to see how else Sokolow could have behaved. A French veto of the Balfour Declaration would undoubtedly have killed it effectively during the spring and summer of 1917, and the way to avoid such a veto was to postpone the wrangling over which was to be the future protecting power until after the public recognition of Zionism had become an established fact.

From Paris Sokolow went to Rome, where his tasks were, if anything, even more difficult, for he had to convince both the Italian Government and the Vatican. Some fifteen years before Herzl had been received by Pius X, and the atmosphere had been decidedly chilly and negative. Sokolow had a much better time with Benedict XV, in part because of his own charm and great diplomatic skill. He reassured the Vatican that the Christian Holy Places, which were of primary concern to the Catholic Church, would be at least as well safeguarded by Protestant Britain as

they had been by Muslim Turkey. His own urbane, but clearly religious person, acted as an assurance to the Pope and his entourage that the Zionists who proposed to come to Palestine were not a group of radicals who could not be trusted to be neighbors of the holiest shrines of Christendom. The Pope did not declare himself to be a Zionist but the Vatican remained benevolently neutral during those critical months. Sokolow was equally successful in his approach to the Italian government; but his most important achievement on this crucial swing through Allied capitals was his being given, on his way back through Paris, a formal declaration of French support for Zionist aspirations. This document, dated June 4, 1917, was an important last stage on the road to the Balfour Declaration.

That summer there were further difficulties with the British Government. These were created, in large part, because the only Jew in the Lloyd George Cabinet, Edwin Montagu, was bitterly opposed to Zionism; he feared that his own British citizenship would be called into question by the recognition of the Jews as a nation. These concluding battles were bitter and tense; the enemies of Zionism forced several redraftings of the language of the Balfour Declaration. When that document finally appeared on November 2, 1917, it did not represent a complete victory for the Zionists. Palestine was not being designated as the territory to be set aside for the creation of a Jewish majority leading to statehood; the final language was that a Jewish national home would be created in Palestine, and the very imprecision of this formula was to help lead to all the troubles of the next three decades. Sokolow knew, as well as such critics as Max Nordau who was vociferous in public, and Ahad Ha-Am who complained in private, that the Balfour Declaration was both an historic achievement and a great disappointment, but he knew better than the critics that more could not have been attained at the moment. Quite apart from the realism of his temperament, Sokolow then had little time to argue about the events of only the most immediate past, for he had to return to both Paris and Rome to get agreement from these governments to the Balfour Declaration once it had been issued. He succeeded, despite growing political difficulties among the Allies and rising Arab criticism of the act

as a whole. The War soon ended and Sokolow was inevitably involved in preparing for the peace conference.

In the midst of all these hectic events, Sokolow was living alone in a hotel in London, not very well off financially, separated from his family which was in Berlin in enemy territory, and harried and overburdened by his complex political responsibilities. Nonetheless, the journalist and man of letters, the scholar and propagandist within him, continued to carry on an important subterranean life. Sokolow was busy, in stolen hours, writing his two volumes on the history of Zionism. As a scholarly exercise it was, as we shall soon see, a pioneer work, but his motivations for undertaking the task were immediate and political. Sokolow had early accepted an orientation on the Western Allies, believing both that they would win the War and that the future hopes of Zionism rested on persuading Britain, and to a lesser degree, France, to include recognition of the Jewish claim on Palestine among their war aims. For this purpose Sokolow set out to prove that there had been a long and previously little known tradition of British and, to some degree, of French interest in the restoration of a Jewish state in Palestine. He thus presented the Zionist demands from the Jewish side as no new idea but, rather, as a response to earlier religious and political thinking by Christians. The book itself appeared in 1919. It was of considerable importance in helping to create the atmosphere within which Sokolow and Weizmann negotiated for Zionism before the Peace Conference in 1919, and later in various other international forums. The writing of this book at that time was consonant with Sokolow's deeply held conviction that diplomatic endeavor, to be effective, meant something more than an occasional brief interview with some world leader; it required long and deep intellectual and personal relationships between men and peoples. He was a master of this kind of diplomacy, both as a writer and in personal contact.

Immediately after the War the statesmen of the victorious powers gathered in Paris to fashion the Peace Treaty that was signed in Versailles in 1919. Various Jewish bodies sent representatives to Paris to lobby for the inclusion of arrangements in the Peace Treaty which they hoped would safeguard the rights of Jews. The

Zionists were, of course, concerned about Palestine; some of the leaders from Eastern Europe laid the accent on achieving national minority rights for Jews in their region; a number of men from Western Europe and the United States were persuaded that only the rights of individuals should be spoken for and nothing else. In the complicated arguments among these various factions Sokolow was a characteristically moderating force. When the combined delegation of Jewish representatives appeared on February 27, 1919, before the Council of Ten, Sokolow delivered the opening remarks, arguing the historic claim of the Jewish people on Palestine, and he made an enormously favorable impression. He continued to take a principal role in the negotiations both in Paris, in 1919, and later at San Remo, which led to the British Mandate for Palestine with the Balfour Declaration as one of its terms.

In the years between 1919 and 1921 the World Zionist movement had to be reconstituted. The first meeting took place in London in February 1919, and there was again a larger conference in July 1920. At both these meetings Sokolow and Weizmann were jointly entrusted with the interim responsibility for the conduct of Zionist affairs, with particular reference to the political scene. At the second meeting the decision was taken to create the Keren Hayesod, a fund-raising effort and instrumentality to take over all responsibility for practical work in the building of the Jewish community in Palestine. This agency had been conceived by Weizmann and its creation led to a bitter battle with Justice Louis Brandeis, the leader of the American Zionists. He objected to a body which would raise money to be used at the discretion of the Zionist authorities. To Brandeis Zionism now had only an economic task before it, and the instrumentalities of building in Palestine had to be efficient tools, totally divorced from the Zionist movement as a political and cultural body. Sokolow sided with Weizmann in the initial debates in London in 1920 and in the difficulties that were soon to follow in the United States, where the battle between Weizmann and Brandeis led to a split in the American Zionist movement and the withdrawal of Brandeis and his followers from active participation. At the first Zionist Congress to be held after the War, in Prague in 1921, Weizmann

was elected president of the organization, and Sokolow accepted the subordinate role of Chairman of the Executive, even though some of his followers felt that he was then entitled, both by seniority and service to the movement, to become the President. Sokolow refused to make a fight of it and he was to spend the next decade very largely as a world traveler in the service of the Keren Hayesod.

In the 1920's Weizmann worked hard to enlist the support of non-Zionist leadership in the Jewish world in order to organize the Jewish Agency for Palestine. This was to be created as a joint endeavor of both the Zionists and those who were at least willing to work with them on a nonpolitical, philanthropic basis to further Jewish settlement in Palestine. Within the Zionist community there was much opposition to this plan and Sokolow himself was among those who dragged their feet. Nonetheless, in the end he supported Weizmann and defended the creation of the Jewish Agency.

The relationship between Weizmann and Sokolow had always had its moments of tension, but the blow-up came in the last years of Sokolow's life. It was created by historic events rather than by temperamental differences. There had always been opposition to Weizmann which had, on occasion, attempted to rally around Sokolow, who had always discouraged the idea. The formal creation of the Jewish Agency in 1929 was, in immediate terms, a failure. A world-wide economic depression had begun in the fall of that year and great new support was, therefore, not forthcoming from the circles of the non-Zionists. More important, there had been Arab riots of the most serious kind in 1929 and the British Government was taking a new look at the situation in Palestine. The ultimate result was a White Paper issued in 1930 by the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield; this decree was severely restrictive of Jewish immigration into Palestine and, had it prevailed, it would have ended the possibility of anything more than minority status for Jews in an overwhelmingly Arab, and very hostile, Palestine. Weizmann was identified with the orientation of trust in Great Britain and this political disaster, despite some tempering of the White Paper policy by the British Government, was charged by the Zionist Movement to Weizmann's

account. At the Congress of 1931 Weizmann was voted out of office and Sokolow was elected President of the movement; he was re-elected in 1933.

Sokolow's accession to the presidency brought no radical changes in politics. He, too, had been almost as pro-British as Weizmann and there was, in truth, very little that the Zionists could then do, in conventional ways, except protest. To be sure, the very militant followers of Jabotinsky were talking of direct action or of change in the mandatory power, but to Sokolow these were empty phrases devoid of serious political content. With his lifelong connection with the Jews of Poland and his frequent visits to that country, he knew perhaps better than anyone how difficult the situation there was becoming. Hitler's rise to power in 1933 made it all the clearer that mass emigration from Europe was an immediate necessity for its Jews—and yet within that situation Sokolow could devise no new, revolutionary approaches. He continued to believe in the ultimate good will of the British, who would yet be persuaded to do the right and open the door of Palestine, and he continued to labor in the by now traditional paths of Zionist propaganda, cultural work, colonization and fund-raising. No one could then imagine how disastrous the growing storm was to be, but Sokolow was no doubt too old for the task with which he was faced. He was a man of an earlier time, who continued to believe in reason and patience when these virtues no longer applied to a demonic decade. There was truth in the charge of some of his critics that he was too calm. Perhaps shouting would have impressed no one during those years when the world watched murder increase and cared very little, but the Zionist community was looking to its president to speak for it with prophetic rage rather than in the accents of temperate diplomacy.

The very last year of Sokolow's life was also the saddest. At the Nineteenth Zionist Congress, which took place in Switzerland in the summer of 1935, Weizmann took charge again and Sokolow was elected honorary president, being given the specific responsibility to head a newly formed Cultural Commission. The trouble with this appointment, to which Sokolow would gladly have turned his last energies, was that the body was given no

funds with which to work. The new administration of the Zionist Organization, without even asking him, moved the editorial office of its Hebrew weekly, *Haolam,* which Sokolow had himself founded in 1907, from Europe to Jerusalem. For the first time in his life Sokolow became visibly and openly angry at being shunted aside without respect. The old man returned to his earliest career, to journalism, and in his last months he wrote regularly for a Yiddish daily in Warsaw, *Heint,* and for *Haarez* in Tel Aviv. He agreed to go touring again for the Keren Hayesod. As he was preparing for this trip he suffered a heart attack and died in London on May 17, 1936. His funeral was an important event and twenty years later, in 1956, his body and that of his wife were reinterred in Jerusalem, on Mount Herzl, where lie many of the great figures of Zionist history.

As has been said above, no matter what else Sokolow was doing throughout his life, he always kept writing. During the years between the end of the First World War and his death his mind was turning away from more ephemeral journalistic writing to larger statements of his outlook on Jewish history and the meaning of Jewish identity. For him the whole of Jewish experience, including the creativity of Jews who had been regarded as marginal or even heretical, was both reflective of the Jewish sources from which they drew and a contribution to the collective consciousness of contemporary Jews. He consciously set out to "reclaim" Spinoza for Jewry in a volume of biography and analysis (*Baruch Spinoza Uzmano*) which he published in 1929. Sokolow contributed very little that was new to the philosophical understanding of Spinoza's work, but he was more sensitive than any writer before him to the influence on Spinoza of the Jewish community from which he arose and to the medieval philosophical sources from which he drew.

In the next year Sokolow published the text of a series of lectures that he had given in Hebrew in New York in 1929. The subject was ideological, for he wanted to write down his sense of Zionism as the contemporary attempt to safeguard and refresh the collective identity of Jews. Sokolow was particularly sensitive to the contribution of great individuals in forming the continuing consciousness of the group. He believed that under the

conditions of Diaspora living Jewish group consciousness was in danger, not only through erosion but even by the arising of great individual figures whose heroic strength threatened rather than strengthened a disintegrating collective. The ultimate point of this volume (*Haani Hakibbuzi*) was the notion that creative heroes could make positive contribution to the group only if there were a strong Jewish collective as a living reality in Palestine. Perhaps the most important of his works of the last period of his life were the three volumes entitled *Ishim,* a collection of sketches of various personalities, which he had written through the years. Many of them were about people whom he had known, and these essays, in particular, were almost without exception of the greatest brilliance. Here the master of many styles was in his element, for he suited his language to the subject in hand, growing lyrical when he wrote of the poet Bialik and coolly analytic when he wrote about such a master of rationalist prose as Ahad Haam.

Even at the very end of his days, Sokolow continued to be concerned about the writing down of the history of the Zionist movement. He had known very early that he was living through and acting in a great era of Jewish history. The year before he died he expanded on the few brief pages that he had devoted to the "Lovers of Zion" of the 1880's and 1890's in the *History of Zionism* by publishing an account of this period, in English, under the title *Hibbath Zion.* That age was already then the subject of work by professional historians as, indeed, was the whole of the field which he had covered in his pioneer work that is here reprinted. Nonetheless, his volume in 1935 had the great merit, which it shared with this earlier work in English, of being written by a man of profound historical sense who had himself lived through the events. Together these three volumes represent a pioneering attempt at a history of Zionism from the perspectives both of general history (the main emphasis of the two volumes here) and Jewish experience (the central concern of his *Hibboth Zion*).

Indeed, perhaps the most important element for the historian in his *History of Zionism* is the account, in the second volume, of "Zionism During the War." This is both a discreet and a modest

essay, for he neither told that which could not then be told nor did he inflate his role at the expense of others. Nonetheless, Sokolow's pages represent one of the most important contemporary accounts of this hectic and fateful period of modern Jewish history.

The volumes before us are discursive, for Sokolow does stray from his theme to include chapters on such matters as the restoration of the Jews in England under Cromwell and on the Sanhedrin which was convoked by Napoleon. Nonetheless, as sheer research, the importance of his contribution to his major theme, the long interest through a number of centuries of Christians in England and to some degree in France in projects for recreating the Jewish State in Palestine, cannot be overestimated. It was Sokolow and no one else who put together stray pamphlets and memoranda to sketch out the history of a tradition. What Sokolow has written here has been refined and qualified and added to, in detail, by later historians, but his is, to this day, the basic history in the field.

It was often said of Sokolow that he was, himself, a living encyclopaedia. I am particularly conscious of how true this is in relation to Zionist history, for the updating of these two volumes before us requires that I suggest more than one or two later works of large proportions. On the contrary, even the briefest of bibliographical suggestions requires the mention of a number of works in a variety of fields and in several languages—but I have no doubt that this would not have surprised Sokolow; it probably would have pleased him.

Zionist literature is, of course, a vast field and, nonetheless, there are still startling gaps. There is only one not very adequate biography of Sokolow, Simcha Kling's *Nachum Sokolow, Servant of his People* (New York, 1960). Despite a growing number of monographs on the Zionist movement in various countries, the only synthetic work on a scale as large as the two volumes here reprinted remains Adolf Böhm, *Die zionistische Bewegung* (2 vols., Berlin, 1935, 1937). The most useful shorter work in English is Israel Cohen, *The Zionist Movement* (New York, 1946, with supplementary material by Bernard G. Richards). Other works of large scope that might usefully be consulted are: on

the early period from 1700 to the 1880's, B.A. Dinaburg (Dinur), ed. *Sefer ha-Zionut* (3 vols., Tel Aviv, 1939, 1942, 1949); N.M. Gelber, *Zur vorgeschichte des Zionismus, Judenstaatsprojekte in den Jahren 1695-1845* (Vienna, 1927); Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State* (Cambridge, 1961); and Chaim Weizmann's autobiography, *Trial and Error* (New York, 1949). For the intellectual history of Zionism, see Martin Buber, *Israel and Palestine, the History of an Idea* (New York, 1952), and the anthology, *The Zionist Idea,* edited with an introduction by Arthur Hertzberg. The events leading to the Balfour Declaration continue to be a prime subject of scholarly study and debate. The major book-length treatments are: N.M. Gelber, *Hazharat Balfour ve-Toldoteha* (Jerusalem, 1939) and Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* (London and New York, 1961). A synthetic history of the Zionist movement remains, more than half a century after Sokolow completed his work, a great unfulfilled need.

Arthur Hertzberg

PREFACE

In this work an attempt is made to deal with a considerable portion of the history of Zionism that has hitherto been very imperfectly explored, namely, the origin and development of the Zionist idea principally in England, and partly in France, during the last centuries, among Gentiles and Jews.

In reviewing the gradual evolution of the Zionist idea over such a wide field, I could not restrict the meaning of the term " Zionism " to the Zionist Movement and Organization of the present day. I had to go back to the beginning of this idea, and to extend the meaning of " Zionism " to all aspirations and efforts tending in the same direction. There was in these aspirations, undoubtedly, a diversity of reasons and methods which continues to this day. It is the object of the present work to trace these various currents of the idea so that the reader, passing from period to period, and from section to section, may become acquainted with their relative value and their influence upon one another.

In this book I have striven more especially to consider the attitude of the English people towards Zionism, as revealed in the political history and in the literature of England. The Christian religious idea of the Restoration of *Israel* having been a subject of pre-eminent interest and importance and an influential factor in shaping public opinion in this country for many generations, the greatest care has been bestowed upon the investigation of this aspect, no less than on that relating to the support and encouragement which Zionism has received in England and in France merely on humanitarian or political grounds, apart from religious aspirations.

While tracing in detail the growth of these sympathies, I have endeavoured to throw some light on the motives and sentiments appertaining to the most significant instances on record. I had, therefore, to deal with a great variety of subjects which, at first sight, may seem somewhat remote

from the main object of this book, but are after all closely connected with it, as for instance :—

The Biblical character of the English People ;
The Bible in English Literature ;
The Love for Palestine in England, and
English Politics in the Near East.

Concerning the last-mentioned subject, it is perhaps necessary to explain why I was compelled to deal at such length with the Wars and Treaties of 1839–40, of 1853–54, and *The Lebanon* events of 1860, *etc.* It can hardly be too often repeated that Zionism has to consider political conditions, and that its realization depends much on the general political situation. It is for this reason that it is necessary to devote much attention to all the events which have more or less determined English policy, and have influenced—in a favourable or unfavourable manner—the evolution of the Zionist idea. The events of 1839–40, for instance, were responsible for the extension of English protection to Palestinian Jews ; those of 1853–54 caused a revival of Zionist schemes : *The Lebanon* developments of 1860–61 created a precedent in Syria for the Charter which modern Zionism included in its programme ; while England's engagements in the Near East in 1878 and 1882 on the one hand, and the Turkish Revolution of 1908 on the other hand, both of which, in different ways, led to the idea of a rejuvenation of the East, indicate the possible course of future events.

Taking the same view with regard to Zionism among the Jews themselves, I had to deal with the expression of different aspirations of that character in their successive and gradual evolution, no matter how they were named. From what is stated in the following pages, it is obvious that Messianic traditions and hopes led to the efforts put forth for the colonization of Palestine ; but it is also evident that colonization requires political guarantees. Modern Zionism cannot be fully understood without the movement of the *Chovevé Zion*=Lovers of *Zion*, neither can it be properly appreciated without a knowledge of the influence of *Hebrew* literature, national propaganda, the movement at the Universities, and other preparatory agencies of great importance. Some readers will be more or less familiar with the most important events in connection with the Zionist Organization, but so far as I have been able to discover there are very few Zionists who have ever endeavoured to trace the history

of the Idea. Hence, while the Zionist Organization and its institutions have, naturally, received special attention, an exhaustive examination of the history of the Zionist Idea has been no less necessary. The fact should not be overlooked that Zionism has its external and its internal aspects, its material realities as well as its spiritual character; and that the outward form of Zionism is the consequence and not the cause of the inner spirit. A real knowledge of Zionism presupposes an acquaintance with its intellectual sources. I felt, consequently, that a history of Zionism on broad lines must include a survey of the creative forces underlying the Zionist Idea.

In writing the history of Zionism as evolved principally in England and France, I do not intend to imply that the history of Zionism in any other country is unworthy of study. A history of Zionism in other countries would, no doubt, prove of the greatest interest. But it will be apparent that in England the Zionist idea has the oldest records, while as far as practical help for colonization is concerned, France is the great centre. In view, however, of the world-wide character of the Zionist Movement, I could not confine myself exclusively to these two countries, and had to deal briefly with such subjects as Zionist literature, colonization work, Zionism at the Universities, and the Zionist Organization in Palestine, Russia, and other countries.

In a single book, which deals with a vast mass of facts and with records extending over a period of nearly three centuries, it is impossible to do more than indicate in very general terms the nature of the different currents and variations of the fundamental Zionist idea. It would be a tedious, and indeed an impossible task, to attempt a full examination of the mass of material accessible in the form of literature and personal reminiscences. It would require several volumes. While, then, the magnitude of the subject prevents me from attempting to present my case with absolute completeness within the limits of this work, nevertheless it is sufficiently important to justify the endeavour to summarize its most prominent features. I shall indeed be thankful if my work succeeds in disposing of the most important points I touch upon. This book has not been written with a view to Zionist propaganda among the masses. But the propagandist may be able to make use of some of the material and reproduce it in popular articles and pamphlets. The book may also prove of interest to those who have the will and the patience

to study the problem of Zionism more deeply. Students with the inclination to examine more closely into the subject will find the necessary indications in the text, as well as in the Appendices and the Indexes.

I have spared no pains in my endeavour to obtain the best sources of information and to secure accuracy, and have also made every effort to consult all the literature bearing upon the subject, making liberal use of all material accessible to me. I have given the authorities for my statements wherever possible, so that those who may be desirous of investigating the subject more fully may have an opportunity of judging for themselves as to the credibility of the evidence upon which my conclusions are based. It is almost certain, however, that small mistakes have crept in occasionally, and I shall be grateful for any corrections which may at any time be indicated to me by readers. This will be particularly the case with regard to the records dealing with the workers in the various countries, the movement at the Universities, and so forth. It was in some instances difficult to select names, and I have been under the necessity of omitting some just as important as those which I have recorded. And in connection with this part of my work I had very little literature, and it is quite possible that my memory has failed me in respect of the order and details of certain facts and events. But I hope that such errors can be easily corrected.

As regards general treatment, the subject presented the usual difficulty in the choice of a chronological or analytical method. In a strict chronological arrangement things of a similar character would often be widely separated, and the chain recording a certain development would be broken. In the other arrangement the points appertaining to the influence of a particular period would be obscured, and the survey rendered difficult. I have therefore combined as far as possible the advantages of both methods, and have endeavoured to avoid their drawbacks. I have arranged the material chronologically for every subject, but in order to explain activities connected with one another, I have often had to take a retrospective glance at an episode or a personality.

The elucidation of Zionist aims, with special reference to the present situation, is, apart from several allusions to it in the text of the present volume, mainly dealt with in the Introduction. The whole history, and particularly the

Introduction, is, as I am perfectly aware, written from the Zionist standpoint. A historian should, it is true, put aside party interest. But nobody not himself a Zionist could penetrate into the kernel of Zionism, because one cannot fully comprehend any spiritual phenomenon without feeling it within himself. Those who have no experience in Zionism may have their opinions, but they are invariably found to be ignorant of the more minute features and finer points which are essential to a faithful portrayal of Zionism. Zionists, on the other hand, may be partial, but they are certainly better informed. Anyhow, I have endeavoured to be just to the best of my ability.

To Zionists themselves this history needs no recommendation. The records of an ideal of thousands of years for which the best of our nation have laboured, struggled, suffered and died cannot fail to interest most profoundly those who have inherited their principles and continue their work, thoroughly convinced that it is in harmony with humanity and justice, as well as with Jewish tradition.

Having said so much, I need only add one word of explanation concerning the term " Jewish Nationalism," which is frequently used in this book. " Nationalism," generally speaking, is a modern description of certain political parties and schools, which stand for an exaggerated racial self-consciousness. It is difficult to define this word without importing into our thought the idea of the contrast between broad-minded humanity and tribal or national exclusiveness and hostility towards other nations. This, however, would be an extremely unfair rendering of what we call " Nationalism " in relation to the Jews. In the present book, as indeed in the whole of Zionist literature, the word is used without any reference to narrow-minded exclusiveness, and it stands only for the recognition of the national character of the Jews in so far as they are an ethnic, historic, and cultural unit in the Diaspora, and in so far as they aim at a revival of their full national life in the land of their fathers. Obviously, this idea has nothing in common with what is usually called " Nationalism." This distinction must always be borne in mind.

It is now my pleasant duty to express my grateful acknowledgments to colleagues and friends who have so generously and zealously assisted me in the preparation of this work.

Mr. Elkan N. Adler has kindly allowed me to take extracts from the correspondence that passed between his father,

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N. S.

N.B.—All Biblical references have been taken from תורה נביאים וכתובים The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic text. A new translation with the aid of previous versions and with constant consultation with Jewish Authorities.

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THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE Zionist idea has two distinctive features. On the one hand there is nothing in Zionism which is not more or less found elsewhere. The Promised Land, Jewish national distinctiveness, the future of the Jewish people—these ideas exist in Judaism and in Christianity. They go back to the remotest past ; they take, during many generations, a thousand forms—sentimental, practical, sublime, even mystical. In Modern Zionism we find them all. On the other hand, while the elements of the older Zionism seem familiar, the total effect of Modern Zionism is that of something new and strange. The reason is that there is something in Modern Zionism which stamps it as unique, and raises it far above all older ideas and aspirations. Some of the old ideas of the Middle Ages about the restoration of Israel would nowadays be hardly acceptable. But the same ideas, when we see great masses of Jews inspired by them and aiming at their realization, become attractive. The same holds good as regards details.

In the Zionist programme every point of the old Zionist idea is preserved, but everything is modernized. Modern Zionism is the logical consequence of Jewish History. It does not appeal merely to old memories, which, however noble and moving, cannot be permanently sustained ; it works by simple, intelligible means, by means of a Renascence. This Renascence kindles enthusiasm, renews courage, awakens in the heart fresh fervour and stimulus to action.

Zionism has tradition to support it ; but if it were simply a thing of antiquity, it would perish ; if it were simply a matter of history and not of living experience, it would be relegated to the sphere of archæology. Zionism, although old, like the Jewish people, thinks freshly and independently on Jewish subjects. The roots of Zionism are in the past, but its blossom is in the present and its fruit in the future. The reason is simply that everything really Jewish must be bound up with history. Zionism is, first of all, undoubtedly

a great historical idea. It is a simple matter of fact that Israel's history begins with Zionism. Israel's history in ancient times shows the path to the realization of Zionism. The exodus from Egypt was an example of combined emigration and colonization. The Jewish people entered Canaan, occupied lands, and in a few generations became a glorious nation. The return from Babylon was a great Zionist event, without any supernatural miracle, dependent only on the grace of God and the approval of Cyrus the Great. The Jews who returned from Babylon were only an insignificant minority in numbers, but they were inspired, and therefore they succeeded in founding a centre, and that centre, Palestine, became a new light for Jews and Gentiles. In fact, the favourite idea of Modern Zionism, the idea of a spiritual centre in Zion for the whole Diaspora, the focussing of a pure Jewish life in Palestine, the creation of an intellectual and moral reservoir, from which a stream of influence should flow all over the scattered nation, and waves of Jewish inspiration and knowledge should spread in all directions, making the little land a metropolis of Judaism in religion and life—was not this Zionist programme laid down and carried out in the intentions and achievements of *Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah?*

In after years Jews went forth as emigrants to all parts of the world. They submitted to the laws of the various countries, and were capable of adapting themselves to surrounding circumstances. Wherever they went they carried with them their God and their traditions, their literature and their customs, nor did they ever forget the old, holy home which they had left.

This faithfulness is one of the most stirring and pathetic facts in the history of the world ; it is the most sublime fact in the history of the Jews. The Jews never forgot *Jerusalem*, its ruined walls, its shattered palaces, its former grandeur, its old associations ; they never forgot the old land and its desolate fields. This feeling never depended on individual Jews, it depended on the whole Jewish nation.

The Jews never forgot their old nationality. They never forgot that they were a nation apart, distinct in morality, in learning, in literature, in social arrangements and in agriculture : a civilized nation at a time when Western civilization was still unknown. For two thousand years after the loss of political independence, they believed with passionate intensity in their future as a nation in Palestine.

While they were mingling with the world around them, no temptation, whether the hope of material success or the still more irresistible force of emulation, could withdraw them from their allegiance to the future. No inducement, however powerful, no suffering, no martyrdom, no agony could make them forget the sacred debt they owed to God, to their ancestors and to themselves. They always considered it their duty to be members of one great family, bound together not alone by a common past, but by a community of undying ideas, aspirations, and hopes for a national future. They remained unmistakably true to their duty. This strong conviction is deeply rooted in the hearts of millions of Jews. It is an unbroken chain stretching from the dawn of Jewish history through all generations from *Abraham* to our own times. This unshaken belief, which kept and still keeps together the Jews all over the world, is the quintessence of all Jewish prophecies, from *Moses* to *Malachi*, of all Jewish teaching, from the men of the *Great Synod* to *Maimonides* and to the present day.[1]

This idea of a national future for *Israel* is the essence of all Jewish prayers, from the time when the " Eighteen Benedictions " were composed to the last of the *Paitanim*. It is the keynote of all *Hebrew* poetry, old and new, from the holy Psalms to the inspired poems of Jehudah Ha'levi, and from Jehudah Ha'levi to the living *Hebrew* poets of our own day. This everlasting, all-absorbing and unconquerable idea of a national future is absolutely Jewish. It has accompanied the Jews from the cradle to the grave. It is the secret of their long existence, which has no parallel in history. It has nothing to do with nationalistic tendencies and currents among the Gentiles in modern times. It existed as well in times of distress and misfortune as in times of prosperity. It was never the invention of individuals ; on the contrary, there can be found occasionally the expression of individual views, in passages of little importance, which reveal a somewhat different standpoint. But the Jewish people as a whole, including even the most extreme sects, such as the Karaites and the Samaritans, remained faithful to this idea.

From an historical point of view, to speak of " Germans, Hungarians or Turks of the Jewish faith " in order to describe the Jews simply as persons of a certain religious faith similar to Protestants, Catholics or others, is nothing

[1] See Appendix i: *The Hebrew Prophets and the Idea of National Restoration.*

short of defying authentic history and hard facts. The Jews do not form a State within a State, as some anti-Semites maintain ; but they are undoubtedly an old historic nation within other nations, an old nation which has outlived Egyptian Pharaohs, Assyrian Kings and Arabian Khalifs. That they at present do not live in their own land, but are scattered everywhere, that they have become acclimatized in different countries, and not only conform to their laws but belong to their most loyal citizens, that fact does not in the least alter the truth of our assertion. With a few unimportant exceptions Jews marry among themselves, and as far as the majority is concerned maintain their racial and historic peculiarities. Moreover, their entire religion abounds in historical ideas and national reminiscences. They can by no means be compared with Catholics or Protestants : there are French Catholics and German Catholics, English Protestants and German Protestants, but the Jewish religion has been a religion of the Jewish nation alone for thousands of years.

It is only in quite modern times that a kind of opposition to this idea has begun to find expression in some Jewish quarters, influenced by the general tendencies of the end of the eighteenth century, and chiefly represented by the so-called Mendelssohnian school. This opposition has been intensified to a certain extent, since Modern Zionism came into being with its clear programme and its up-to-date character.

The principal points of this opposition to the Zionist cause are the following :—

1. The Spiritual Character of Judaism.
2. The so-called Mission of the Jews.
3. The Progress of Modern Civilization.
4. The Duty of Patriotism, and
5. The Problem of Equality of Rights for the Jews.

The slightest examination of these objections shows that they are partly based on misunderstanding, and partly mere verbal criticism, which in no way affects the essence of Zionism.

1. It would be absurd to suppose that Zionism denies the spiritual or universal character of Judaism. Zionism does not worship " tribalism." Far from it. Jewish religious doctrines are of value to the whole world, and their ethics undoubtedly tend to unite humanity. This is a truth so

evident as to need no confirmation. But Jews are not ghosts ; they are human beings, and they have to look upon Judaism in a human sense. And the human sense is that Jews, notwithstanding the spiritual character of their teachings, are, like any other ethnic group, a species of the *genus homo*, a distinct people united by their origin and by their common history. "God," said Mazzini, "has written one line of His thought upon each people, and consequently each is to bring its gifts into the market-place of the world's good." In this sense Zionists are Nationalists : they look forward to the gradual and ultimate triumph of all national types, including their own. There is no reason for humanity to deny this natural right to the oldest nation of the world, and no justification for the Jews themselves to commit a sort of national hari-kari because of the spirituality of Judaism.

2. The Zionist conception of a living nationality, with all universal qualities, yet living and distinctive, holds good also for the idea of the Mission of Judaism. Frankly, Zionists do not like this idea as a justification of the Jew's "right to exist." But what exactly is the meaning of a mission of a people ? This uncertain phrase of a mission of a people, the mystic form in which the knowledge won by a retrospective observation of history is expressed, the idea that a given people in a given way has influenced the development of the human moral system. In fact, this mode of expression confuses cause and effect. It presupposes that definite tasks are assigned to a nation beforehand and that it exists and acts with regard to the solution of these problems. The truth is, however, that every nation creates definite phenomena in the history of civilization, whilst it lives and acts as it can and must owing to its natural conditions and the influence of its surroundings. A nation has no other mission but to live and to develop fully all its latent capacities. Without intention and consciousness it then fulfils quite alone a rôle in human history. An oppressed, persecuted and despised Jewish people is worthless to humanity ; a free, strong, happy Jewish people becomes a useful partner in the task of the progress of the whole human race. The co-operation in this task may be called a mission. In any case, this mission will certainly not be fulfilled by a Jewish people harassed by persecution or absorbed by assimilation ; but, on the other hand, it may be fulfilled by a national self-centred Jewish people. Let us

suppose that there are prospects of a " Jewish Mission " to spread far and wide the moralities that were revealed to the Jewish nation at the foot of Mount *Sinai*, to influence humanity by teachings given them and by examples which they are called on to offer. Surely, though such a mission may perhaps be carried out to a certain extent in the Diaspora, if circumstances are favourable and if the Jews themselves do not amalgamate and are not absorbed by others, it can be carried out best and most completely from a Jewish centre, from a Jewish Commonwealth living in that land from which the spirit of Judaism first passed into morality, into human society and institutions. There this mission will be on firm ground. Thence came the Divine literature, which has affected all subsequent literature, all hearts, all minds, and all studies. From Palestine the light of the Jewish genius will shine forth again with the light of a modern civilization according to the ideas and teachings of the Prophets. This will be the most efficient instrument of propaganda, because it will be the clearest manifestation of the real Jewish spirit and activity.

3. The progress of modern civilization has come to be regarded as a sort of modern *Messiah* for the final solution of the Jewish problem. Zionism considers this conception superficial and misleading. " Modern Civilization " is one of those vague, indefinite expressions which convey to the mind ideas large enough, no doubt, but still very nebulous, very indistinct. But our age is a mystery-dispelling age. Somehow during the last generations mysteries have become fewer and fewer; the light of truth has become more penetrating. Men begin to know what " modern civilization " is in its separate and distinctive aspects. " Modern civilization " connotes advanced thought, domestic comfort, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, airships, and many other things of the kind. It connotes the development of those rich physical resources by which man is surrounded; it connotes also guns and super-dreadnoughts and submarines, diplomacy and power. Zionists do not see how this " civilization " will become a *Messiah* for the Jews; they do not see how this " civilization " will solve any human or national problem. They see that in spite of all the admirable achievements of modern civilization something is wrong. Indeed, except for technical improvements everything is still lacking. One must go back and seek again the proper fountain-head of that real civilization, of that culture of the

heart, whose triumph will be the " new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." If any one idea running through all the teachings of the Jewish prophets, and embodied likewise in the teachings of Christianity, is needed nowadays, it is the doctrine of Love and Justice and Truth.

Where are these ideals ? We have seen all the Demons of Earth, all the Powers of Darkness let loose. The signs on Belshazzar's wall appear again on the wall of modern civilization : *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.* Never at any time has a crisis more momentous impended over humanity. Never at any time has a gloom more heavy darkened the world. Never did humanity long more than nowadays for Truth, Justice and Liberty, for the salvation of small, disinherited and oppressed nations. We all hope that good will come out of evil. But this good will not come automatically out of " Modern Civilization." It will come from that Universal and National Justice to which Zionism appeals.

4. Of greater apparent importance is the question of Patriotism. But in reality, so far as Zionism is concerned, this is no question at all. It was an offensive and insulting question asked by anti-Semites : " Can a Jew be a patriot ? " It is equally insulting to ask : " Can a Zionist be a patriot ? " As a matter of fact there are no conflicting sentiments to be reconciled ; there is only one sentiment : loyalty. A selfish materialist will never be attached to the old home of his fathers, nor to his present country. His maxim will be : *Ubi bene, ibi patria.* On the other hand, a man of character will as easily combine two objects of loyalty as he easily and naturally combines the love of his country and of his family.

The heart of the Jew beats warmly for the country in which he lives, the land in which is the home of his childhood, the school of his boyhood, the household of his mature life : the land in which he labours in his busy years, and in which he expects to rest when his struggles are over. No Englishman can love England better or labour for it more zealously than does the English Jew. The child will never forget the fostering warmth of the breast on which it has rested in happier days. This is natural. And Zionism has never interfered with this feeling. Zionists are as faithful patriots as non-Zionists : they work for their native lands, they sacrifice their fortunes and their lives. Even in countries where Jews have been deprived of the rights of citizenship they have been active as citizens, not only in

war-time, but also in peace-time. There is no body of individuals more loyal, more charitable, more anxious at all times to do what they can for the country and to promote to their utmost its industry, arts and sciences. There is not the slightest difference in this respect between Zionists and non-Zionists. Zionists do not know or care whether it will please anti-Semites to recognize Zionist patriotism or not. It is equally impossible to know whether anti-Semites will recognize the patriotism of Jews who are not Zionists. Against sheer prejudice nothing can be done. But among Jews themselves and broad-minded Gentiles this question of the incompatibility of Zionism and patriotism should be eliminated at once on account of its manifest absurdity.

5. The question of equality of rights is another problem out of which anti-Zionists have endeavoured to make controversial capital. The Russian Revolution, with its recognition not only of individual but also of national equality of rights in the country where of all others this problem was most acute for the Jews, has taken the ground from under their feet ; and we are no longer called on to treat seriously the contention that there is any sort of incompatibility between the Zionist claim for recognition of Jewish nationality and the claim of the individual Jew, wherever he may be, to be allowed the privileges, as he is ready to fulfil the duties, of citizenship. There is, in fact, unconscious humour in the attempt to reduce the problem to a sort of alternative formula : " Either rights or Palestine," and therefore choose for yourself ! " *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!* " This is surely the very height of *naivete.* Such a dilemma is a senseless invention. Every student of Jewish history knows that if there has been and if there is persecution of the Jews or any limitation of their rights, this has not been, and is not because the Jews were or are Zionists or non-Zionists, Orthodox or Reformers, and so on. One might more easily find some connection between anti-Semitism and the assimilation of those Jews who endeavoured to amalgamate too quickly. But even this point is irrelevant. The Jews must not ignore themselves, and ignoring themselves would not help them to get rights. The more they respect themselves the more they will be respected. And what is the self-respect of an ancient nation ? Self-respect is faithfulness to one's own history and traditions. There is no duality and no alternative. There is only one Jewish problem that requires solution. There is only one Justice—to man and to nations.

Justice will consider Jewish needs ; injustice will be deaf to any demand. Weak-minded and nervous people feared that Zionism which recognizes the Jews as a nationality will allow the anti-Semites to reproach us triumphantly as having no native land. Weakness of mind and nervousness are bad counsellors. The anti-Semites did not wait for Zionism in order to brand us as having no fatherland. The Christian peoples, however, amongst whom we may presuppose a sense of justice to exist, will believe us when we speak thus to them : " We Jews are true citizens of the States to which we belong. All interests of the country are also ours. We have no single interest which is opposed to any interest whatsoever of our country. We are strong and of deep feeling, and are attached therefore with more than ordinary love to that spot where our cradle stood and where the remains of our ancestors are buried."

This self-reliance is of the essence of Zionism. Zionism is a Jewish programme. It is a Jewish programme because it requires of Jews courage, initiative, resourcefulness, tenacity, will-power and sacrifice. For Jewish emancipation the most important condition is that others should be humane. For Zionism the most important condition is that Jews should be Jews, adhering with tenacious consistency to this truly national idea of their own. In the first case the real work has to be done by others ; Jews can do very little, their rôle being chiefly passive. They may be persecuted or not ; they may get rights or not. Essentially it depends on many factors outside their influence and their control. But Zionism is essentially an active Jewish programme. Zionism is real Jewish self-help. Zionism tends to make the Jews creators, not creatures of conditions and situations.

Zionists, like all Jews, are fundamentally optimists ; but theirs is no mere " wait and see " optimism. Confidence in the Future has been the curse of the Jew. Confidence in " Progress " as an idol has been blindness. Away with idols ! Jews have to take their cause into their own hands, for God helps those who help themselves. First of all, they have to look on the general situation of the world and on that of their own people as it is. They have also to read the signs of the time. Time does not stand still. We are no longer at the end of the eighteenth century. The fundamental character of the present age is clear. This is a Nationalist age.

Zionism looks at the 2000 years of the Jewish tragedy in

the perspective of national justice. The Jewish problem is essentially (and independently of the necessity of human rights for the Jews everywhere) a question of national homelessness.

The world has been passing through a period which sometimes seems like a nightmare of blood and ruin, and sometimes like one of the greatest eras in which man can be called upon to live. All over Europe, almost all over the world, the storm of the greatest and most terrible war in history has burst with the fury of a thousand volcanic eruptions and a thousand hells. Flourishing countries have been reduced to heaps of smoking ruins. Vast fields have been saturated with the blood of millions of men. Large masses of population, almost whole peoples, have been ruined or driven out of their countries.

But, after all, peace will return to the troubled world, that peace which will be peace indeed—the peace of security, of justice for great and small nations everywhere. The present *Armageddon* is succeeded by new problems and their solutions. We are facing political, economic, and, above all, national problems. It is plain common sense, and needs no argument, that all present developments tend inevitably to accentuate afresh and emphatically historic traditions, claims and distinctions. There will be difficulties in settling all these questions, but all such difficulties will be overcome by determination and necessity. Plenty of work will have to be done, for it may be long before the set-back which the war has given to the progress of the world is made good and the effects of this cruel destruction are obliterated. But this work will be achieved sooner or later. The whole energy of Governments and nations will have to be devoted to reconstruction. At last the ploughman will return from the battlefield to the cornfield, the tradesman from the camp to the market, and everybody to his old home and business. Every nation which possesses a country of its own will be restored. They will make a slow or rapid recovery from the ills and losses of the war. Finally, the shattered agricultural, domestic, industrial and spiritual lives of the people will be re-established.

Now, among all the battlefields and graveyards of the war, there is not one to be compared with the battlefield of the Jewish *Ghetto* in Eastern Europe. Millions of Jews have waded through seas of blood and tears. Towns and

villages have been dyed with their blood. The Jews have sacrificed their trade, their fortunes and themselves. The flower of their manhood has been lost or mutilated. The sources of life have been cut off, every link of the chain of existence has been broken. Their schools and spiritual centres are no more. The sword of Damocles is suspended over the heads of the survivors. Starving and ruined communities are trembling on the edge of the precipice.

And what has the future in store for these millions? What will be the outcome of this terrible crisis for the disinherited and homeless masses? Where are the fields to be cultivated by them again? Where will they be able to convert spears into pruning-hooks? They are in the air. Have all their sufferings been for naught? Will the Jewish masses have to migrate again to England and to America and elsewhere, to face the world again as mendicants and "undesirable aliens"? Much Jewish benevolence is uselessly diffused, losing itself in the sands of vain or ill-directed effort, and most runs to absolute waste. With all these diverse floods of unutilized kindness and brotherly love that yearns to help but lacks the means and knows not how to put an end to the suffering, the situation remains unchanged.

There is a solution for this problem. This solution is Zionism. Give to the Jews a footing on their own soil, house and home of their own! Palestine (and gradually the thinly populated neighbouring districts) can become a great outlet for Jewish population: Palestine can again be made to "blossom like a rose," and be capable of supporting a great population as in the glorious days of *David* and *Solomon*. Vast tracts of the so-called Syrian Desert are only regions deforested, and wherever the hum of men comes peacefully, the arid soil bursts into life The plains of the *Hauran*, the villages of the *Jordan*, and the land of *Gilead* would form one of the richest and largest food-producing areas in the world.

Palestine can again become a centre. Napoleon I. and Alexander the Great, in their days, recognized this country as the key to the gate between West and East. The latter won it and penetrated to the Punjab; the former failed and had to go home again. But whatever value Palestine possessed in those days is immensely enhanced now by the vast extension of European civilization and industry over Africa, Australia, India and all the East, and by steam power, railways, the telegraph and the Suez Canal, which

have shortened distances, and made the world so very small in comparison with what it was before ; so that Palestine is now ten times more valuable and is suited by her position to become a blessed and happy country.

Now the present situation is full of possibilities and significance. Great developments have taken place in connection with the old home of the Jewish nation. This is the hour of the Zionist. The time has come to act. History will condemn the Zionists if they do not use their present opportunity. But what can their activity be ? The reply has been given by the Programme of Zionism, the Basle Programme, adopted at the First Congress, in 1897 :—

" The object of Zionism is to establish for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.

" The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end :—

" 1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.

" 2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.

" 3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.

" 4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism."

In constituting the organization for the purpose of carrying out this work Zionists are animated by one desire, namely, to establish a centre in the home of their fathers, where Jews shall earn their bread, and where the soul of the nation can be active in its own way. They wish to combine a judicious use of Jewish energies with the forces of Jewish capital and Jewish emigration. By means of these efforts they will lift some of the masses out of the Jewish homelessness of the Diaspora to a new level of material contentment and moral dignity in Palestine.

Zionists have started this work, and it has proved to be good work. The *Chovevé Zion* and Zionists have created the new colonization of Palestine. They are engaged in selecting suitable elements, in conveying them, in helping them to establish themselves, in supplying them with all kinds of information and encouragement. It has been said, and is still being obstinately repeated by anti-Zionists again

and again, that Zionism aims at the creation of an independent "Jewish State." But this is wholly fallacious. The "Jewish State" was never a part of the Zionist programme. The "Jewish State" was the title of Herzl's first pamphlet, which had the supreme merit of forcing people to think. This pamphlet was followed by the first Zionist Congress, which accepted the Basle Programme—the only programme in existence.

The opposition, driven from one point of vantage to another, has made a certain confusion of ideas, arising from the term "political Zionism," a pretext for decrying Zionism as a "political" movement. Zionism, it is true, is a political as well as a practical and a cultural movement. But wherein lies the political character of the movement? The term "political" covers two different conceptions. One is connected with the idea of adventure, intrigue, rivalry, antagonism or revolt; the other is that of a system which takes into account political conditions. A political movement in the first sense aims at carrying out its undertaking on the lines of political speculation; but a political movement in the second sense, like Zionism, aims at carrying on its work under all circumstances, and at the same time at convincing those in power of the utility of the work, in order to get the best possible conditions. The Basle Programme and the whole of Zionist activity bear witness to the fact that Zionism has nothing in common with political adventure. Zionists have never been influenced by any political aggressive spirit, nor have they in any way proposed to place themselves in antagonism to any Government or any other nation. Zionists have always desired to be supported (§ 4 of the Basle Programme) by all Governments on the merits of their object, and by all nations who know that Zionist work can only advance the interests of Justice and Freedom.

Zionism has the following objects in view:—

A home for Jews who are materially or morally suffering.
A home for Jewish education, learning and literature.
A source of idealism for Jews all over the world.
A place in which Jews can live a healthy Jewish life.
A revival of the language of the Bible.
The resurrection by civilization and industry of the old home of our fathers, long neglected and ruined.
The creation of a sound, strong Jewish agricultural class.

In this way Zionism will establish a Jewish society, bound

together by similarity of feeling and unity of common ideas, working out its destiny in its own way. Zionists want a commonwealth of Jewish colonization and labour, a settlement of Jewish pioneers and workers who will be able to create and to develop a civilization of their own, undisturbed by any restrictions. This is possible only in Palestine, and is the paramount necessity of the whole Jewish people all over the world.

The creation of a settlement of this kind will help the Jews economically, but how much and how quickly it will help depends on the intensity of the work. It may be slow work, but it will be fundamental work. It is the foundation-stone for a great structure. Palestine may even become the home of considerable masses of Jews. But in any case the creation of a national home for the Jews will raise their prestige among the nations. It will never be an obstacle in the way of rights ; on the contrary, it will help in this direction also.

On the spiritual and intellectual side this work will undoubtedly bring about a great revival of Judaism. Judaism will be no mere abstraction, but something real and living. " Jewish science " or *Hebrew* studies will not be merely a careful *post-mortem* analysis, to be undertaken exclusively by scholars and specialists. These studies will appear as the unbroken chain of the common cultural heritage of a living nation.

Zionists are under no misapprehension as to the gravity of the difficulties which may confront them. But they will meet these difficulties as serious men inspired by a great ideal and with a just cause. With a clear and distinct purpose in view, Zionists desire to work in full harmony with all the friends of Justice and Liberty and Truth, and while striving for the rescue of their own people they would not only not interfere with any just principle or cause injury to any patriotic aspiration of any other nation ; they would accommodate and co-ordinate their cause with others. It is in this sense that we speak of " political Zionism."

History shows that the Zionist idea and the continual renewal of efforts in this direction have been a tradition with the English people for centuries. English Christians taught the undying principles of Jewish nationality. Zionism was thus permanently connected with England. The Jewish national idea has always particularly appealed to English feeling, has touched the heart of the English nation. The facts and records disprove the absurd yet deeply rooted

idea that Zionism is only a vision of sectarians or a hallucination of dreamers. The documents cited in this volume give ample and convincing proof of the high moral dignity and political value of the Zionist cause as championed by prominent English thinkers, men of letters and poets throughout many generations. For nearly three centuries Zionism was a religious as well as a political idea which great Christians and Jews, chiefly in England but to some extent also in France, handed down to posterity. And moreover, all the available evidence points to the fact that whenever the attention of the world has been invited to the question of Palestine and to measures for improving the development of the Near East, English opinion has given the most careful and sympathetic consideration to the Zionist idea. Thus the present Zionist movement is essentially a logical conclusion of all the premises which have been accepted from different points of view, not only by a considerable number of Jewish authorities, but also by public opinion in great civilized countries of Western Europe. Zionists, therefore, hope that English Christians will be worthy heirs and successors to the Earl of Shaftesbury, George Eliot, and many others; English Jews to Sir Moses Montefiore, French Christians to Henri Dunant, and French Jews to Joseph Salvador, Bernard Lazare, and others. One may also hope that as Zionism is not a source of conflicting element but a source of peace and unity, all the nations of the world will be open to conviction and will give strong support to its aims.

Zionism has started its work in Palestine, and will pursue it. Recognising the aspirations of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine and their historic rights, the British Government on November 2nd, 1917, made the well-known Declaration. This Declaration had been anticipated by the letter from the French Government of 4th June, 1917, and was fully endorsed in the letter from *M.* Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to myself, dated 14th February, 1918, and the letter to me communicating the concurrence of the Italian Government with these declarations, dated 9th May, 1918. (See the chapter on "Zionism and the War.") It will be the task of Zionism to accumulate by every effort the resources, material and moral, required for this purpose. Those Jews who are not yet in the movement will be brought into it by time and experience, because there is indeed no argument against this

peaceful idea of national justice, except pure and unscrupulous prejudice, which must disappear. But Zionism is anxious to have also the moral support of the nations, and particularly in this country it is impossible for any Jew with a historic consciousness to forget the noble Zionist tradition of England during many centuries. Some of the most glorious pages in British history have been those in which she took a part, and an honourable and leading part, in the revival of ancient nations. The friends of Greece, of Italy, cannot forget this record.

Zionists can define only what they need. They need not only to continue their work, but to develop it on the largest possible scale. They want to do the peaceful work of agriculturists, craftsmen and intellectuals. They are ready to invest capital, energy and intelligence in order to establish a home for the Jews. Palestine is to be re-made. To this end national autonomy safeguarding the welfare of a Jewish Palestine is needed.

Let humanity do for Palestine only a small part of what has been done so liberally for the most exotic colony—nay, less than that, because Zionists ask for no material support, and for no embarrassing responsibility. They ask only for sympathetic consideration and help, for recognition and protection. And let humanity be sure of the loyalty of a people which, although sorely tried, has never grown cold in its affections, a people which by its resurrection will become again what it was in very ancient times, not a military power but a spiritual and peaceful power. Then the time will come when this people's gratitude will recognize its indebtedness to the world for the co-operation which will assist its great and just cause.

INTRODUCTION

By the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P.

Whether it be helpful for one who is not a Jew, either by race or religion, to say even the briefest word by way of introduction to a book on Zionism is, in my own opinion, doubtful. But my friend, M. Nahum Sokolow, tells me that I long ago gave him reason to expect that, when the time came, I would render him this small measure of assistance; and if he attaches value to it, I cannot allow my personal doubts as to its value to stand in his way.

The only qualification I possess is that I have always been greatly interested in the Jewish question, and that in the early years of this century, when anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe was in an acute stage, I did my best to support a scheme devised by Mr. Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, for creating a Jewish settlement in East Africa, under the British flag. There it was hoped that Jews flying from persecution might found a community where, in harmony with their own religion, development on traditional lines might (we thought) peacefully proceed without external interruption, and free from any fears of violence.

The scheme was certainly well-intentioned, and had, I think, many merits. But it had one serious defect. It was not Zionism. It attempted to find a home for men of Jewish religion and Jewish race in a region far removed from the country where that race was nurtured and that religion came into being. Conversations I held with Dr. Weizmann in January, 1906, convinced me that history could not thus be ignored, and that if a home was to be found for the

Jewish people, homeless now for nearly nineteen hundred years, it was vain to seek it anywhere but in Palestine.

But why, it may be asked, is local sentiment to be more considered in the case of the Jew than (say) in that of the Christian or the Buddhist ? All historic religions rouse feelings which cluster round the places made memorable by the words and deeds, the lives and deaths, of those who brought them into being.

Doubtless these feelings should always be treated with respect ; but no one suggests that the regions where these venerable sites are to be found should, of set purpose and with much anxious contrivance, be colonized by the spiritual descendants of those who originally made them famous. If the centuries have brought no change of ownership or occupancy we are well content. But if it be otherwise, we make no effort to reverse the course of history. None suggest that we should plant Buddhist colonies in India, the ancient home of Buddhism, or renew in favour of Christendom the crusading adventures of our mediæval ancestors. Yet, if this be wisdom when we are dealing with Buddhism and Christianity, why, it may be asked, is it not also wisdom when we are dealing with Judaism and the Jews ?

The answer is, that the cases are not parallel. The position of the Jews is unique. For them race, religion and country are inter-related, as they are inter-related in the case of no other race, no other religion, and no other country on earth. In no other case are the believers in one of the greatest religions of the world to be found (speaking broadly) only among the members of a single small people ; in the case of no other religion is its past development so intimately bound up with the long political history of a petty territory wedged in between States more powerful far than it could ever be ; in the case of no other religion are its aspirations and hopes expressed

in language and imagery so utterly dependent for their meaning on the conviction that only from this one land, only through this one history, only by this one people, is full religious knowledge to spread through all the world. By a strange and most unhappy fate it is this people of all others which, retaining to the full its racial self-consciousness, has been severed from its home, has wandered into all lands, and has nowhere been able to create for itself an organized social commonwealth. Only Zionism—so at least Zionists believe—can provide some mitigation of this great tragedy.

Doubtless there are difficulties, doubtless there are objections—great difficulties, very real objections. And it is, I suspect, among the Jews themselves that these are most acutely felt. Yet no one can reasonably doubt that if, as I believe, Zionism can be developed into a working scheme, the benefit it would bring to the Jewish people, especially perhaps to that section of it which most deserves our pity, would be great and lasting. It is not merely that large numbers of them would thus find a refuge from religious and social persecution; but that they would bear corporate responsibilities and enjoy corporate opportunities of a kind which, from the nature of the case, they can never possess as citizens of any non-Jewish State. It is charged against them by their critics that they now employ their great gifts to exploit for personal ends a civilization which they have not created, in communities they do little to maintain. The accusation thus formulated is manifestly false. But it is no doubt true that in large parts of Europe their loyalty to the State in which they dwell is (to put it mildly) feeble compared with their loyalty to their religion and their race. How indeed could it be otherwise? In none of the regions of which I speak have they been given the advantage of equal citizenship, in some they have been given no right of citizenship at all. Great suffering is the inevitable result; but not suffering

alone. Other evils follow which aggravate the original mischief. Constant oppression, with occasional outbursts of violent persecution, are apt either to crush their victims, or to develop in them self-protecting qualities which do not always assume an attractive shape. The Jews have never been crushed. Neither cruelty nor contempt, neither unequal laws nor illegal oppression, have ever broken their spirit, or shattered their unconquerable hopes. But it may well be true that, where they have been compelled to live among their neighbours as if these were their enemies, they have often obtained, and sometimes deserved, the reputation of being undesirable citizens. Nor is this surprising. If you oblige many men to be money-lenders, some will assuredly be usurers. If you treat an important section of the community as outcasts, they will hardly shine as patriots. Thus does intolerance blindly labour to create the justification for its own excesses.

It seems evident that, for these and other reasons, Zionism will mitigate the lot and elevate the status of no negligible fraction of the Jewish race. Those who go to Palestine will not be like those who now migrate to London or New York. They will not be animated merely by the desire to lead in happier surroundings the kind of life they formerly led in Eastern Europe. They will go in order to join a civil community which completely harmonizes with their historical and religious sentiments: a community bound to the land it inhabits by something deeper even than custom: a community whose members will suffer from no divided loyalty, nor any temptation to hate the laws under which they are forced to live. To them the material gain should be great; but surely the spiritual gain will be greater still.

But these, it will be said, are not the only Jews whose welfare we have to consider. Granting, if only for argument's sake, that Zionism will on them

confer a benefit, will it not inflict an injury upon others who, though Jews by descent, and often by religion, desire wholly to identify themselves with the life of the country wherein they have made their home. Among these are to be found some of the most gifted members of a gifted race. Their ranks contain (at least, so I think) more than their proportionate share of the world's supply of men distinguished in science and philosophy, literature and art, medicine, politics and law. (Of finance and business I need say nothing.)

Now there is no doubt that many of this class look with a certain measure of suspicion and even dislike upon the Zionist movement. They fear that it will adversely affect their position in the country of their adoption. The great majority of them have no desire to settle in Palestine. Even supposing a Zionist community were established, they would not join it. But they seem to think (if I understand them rightly) that so soon as such a community came into being men of Jewish blood, still more men of Jewish religion, would be regarded by unkindly critics as out of place elsewhere. Their ancient home having been restored to them, they would be expected to reside there.

I cannot share these fears. I do not deny that, in some countries where legal equality is firmly established, Jews may still be regarded with a certain measure of prejudice. But this prejudice, where it exists, is not due to Zionism, nor will Zionism embitter it. The tendency should surely be the other way. Everything which assimilates the national and international status of the Jews to that of other races ought to mitigate what remains of ancient antipathies: and evidently this assimilation would be promoted by giving them that which all other nations possess: a local habitation and a national home.

On this aspect of the subject I need perhaps say no more. The future of Zionism depends on deeper

causes than these. That it will settle the " Jewish question " I dare not hope. But that it will tend to promote that mutual sympathy and comprehension which is the only sure basis of toleration I firmly believe. Few, I think, of M. Sokolow's readers, be they Jew or be they Christian, will rise from the perusal of the impressive story which he has told so fully and so well, without feeling that Zionism differs in kind from ordinary philanthropic efforts and that it appeals to different motives. If it succeeds, it will do a great spiritual and material work for the Jews, but not for them alone. For as I read its meaning it is, among other things, a serious endeavour to mitigate the age-long miseries created for Western civilization by the presence in its midst of a Body which it too long regarded as alien and even hostile, but which it was equally unable to expel or to absorb. Surely, for this if for no other reason, it should receive our support.

A. J. B.

Friday, 20 September, 1918

LETTERS TO THE AUTHOR

From the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce.

3, Buckingham Gate,
S.W. 1,
January 30th, 1918.

Dear Sir,

In response to your request for some observations by me on the value which your treatise may have for students of history, I send you these few lines. The pressure of heavy and urgent work forbids me to deal in any but the briefest way with the subject of your book, great as its interest is.

The history of Israel presents some of the most striking phenomena in world history. No other nation (with the exception of the two very ancient nations of the Far East) has annals so long as are those of the descendants of Abraham. Those annals go back, dim as are their earlier outlines, to a time long anterior to the earliest records of the Hellenic and Italic peoples. The records of the old civilization of Assyria and Egypt are, no doubt, even more remote in time, but the nations that created those civilizations have been so changed by conquest and the admixture of new elements that we can no longer recognise them as the same. But Israel has preserved its identity through all vicissitudes. It was carried into captivity in a far land, and returned thence after seventy years. It was, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Emperor Hadrian, scattered over the face of the earth, and now counts its children everywhere, from Singapore to San Francisco. Its numbers have grown to be fifteen or twenty times greater than they were before the Great Dispersion. It has been kept in existence as a nation through many centuries of oppression and suffering by its Faith and its Literature, a faith embodied in a law which included both a moral and a ceremonial code, a Literature small in bulk but splendid in content, which has formed the

mind of the people, sharpening their intelligence and intensifying their national self-consciousness. It is one of those three great literatures of the ancient world which still rule the thought and still help to form the character of mankind. This is a unique phenomenon, and perhaps the most striking testimony that history can show to the vivifying power of ideas.

This consciousness of an enduring national life has been constantly associated in the thoughts of Israel with the ancient home in Palestine, a little country, no bigger than Wales in Britain or Connecticut in North America. To its rocky hills and green valleys, its cities and its battlefields, its heroes and its prophets, the hearts of the people have turned in days of sorrow. The memories of these things have maintained the sense of national life. The flame has often burnt low, but it has never been extinguished. Quite recently it has leapt up with a brilliant glow. The idea that a part of the dispersed people should be gathered from the regions where their lot was worst and be re-settled in their ancient home, long desolated by the tyranny of the cruel and rapacious Turk, has gained strength, and the capture of Jerusalem by the British arms has now made it seem attainable. The sympathy of many thoughtful and sympathetic Christians has been gained, and the British Government has given clear expression to that sympathy. It is to the history of this idea of re-settlement, to which the name of Zionism is now given, that your book is devoted. There are, I am aware, some differences of opinion among Jews themselves as to the form in which this idea might be practically realized, and as to the way in which that form might affect the position of Jews in the countries where they now dwell and of which they wish to remain citizens, though I gather that these differences do not touch the question of the desirability of a large Jewish immigration into Palestine. Upon these differences of opinion I must not pronounce any judgment, though personally inclined to believe that the existence of a national home at the eastern end of the Mediterranean will not affect the loyalty to the other countries where they dwell of the Jews settled in those countries, nor expose them to any suspicion of disloyalty. It is as a student of history, and in that capacity only, that on this particular occasion I desire to speak, expressing my sense of the high interest of the subject of your book, and feeling that the rapid growth of the Zionist movement,

the forces that have produced it, and the enthusiasm it has excited, well deserve to be fully, accurately, and impartially described.

I am,

Faithfully yours,

BRYCE.

MR. N. SOKOLOW.

From Colonel Sir Mark Sykes, M.P

9, BUCKINGHAM GATE,
S.W. 1,
May 27th, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SOKOLOW,

After many days' delay, I write to you my message of goodwill and good hope for the success of this your great work on the cause which you have at heart and for which you have laboured so long.

It is an odd thought which crosses my mind at this moment—if it be egotistical I cannot help it—nevertheless I will set it down. I foresee myself handed down to posterity as one of those enduring obscurities, who did nothing in any way remarkable, yet whose names last for all time, because they scratched their fleeting impressions on the Memnon at Luxor.

In languages yet unknown, and in States unborn, this your work will be read by people who will know perhaps as little of the details of life in these days as we do of those of the times of the first dispersion of the Jews.

Your cause has about it an enduring quality which mocks at time ; if a generation is but a breath in the life of a nation, an epoch is but the space 'twixt a dawn and a sunrise in the history of Zionism.

When all the temporal things this world now holds are as dead and forgotten as the curled and scented Kings of Babylon who dragged your forefathers into captivity, there will still be Jews, and so long as there are Jews there must be Zionism.

We live in an age when mankind is reaping the whirlwind of its wickedness and folly. Wherein the past men have sown those dragons' teeth of intolerance, tyranny, injustice, and race hatred, legions of armed men now spring up to destroy and shatter the husbanded resources of progress.

The War of to-day is the logical result of the " peace " of yesterday. The grand problem which we have to consider is whether or no the peace of to-morrow is to be the precursor of a future war which will overwhelm civilization for ever. Unless forces different to those which have counted in the direction of the affairs of men hitherto are in the ascendant, I feel no doubt that what is called Civilization is predestined to suicide, and that in the real meaning of the words "*felo de se.*" The blind genius which people call " science " wrests mechanical discoveries and chemical formulæ from the accumulated experience of the past and gives men hygiene, transit, and commerce with one hand, and explosives and military organization with the other. You, my dear Mr. Sokolow, represent a people who have watched this process of constructive destruction in the course of evolution, and have seen the higher men climb in pride and vanity the more deplorable is their fall.

If the peace which is to follow the War is to be a real peace, and not a pause in war, then you and your people must be watchers no longer. In Zionism lies your people's opportunity. In alliance with those other forces of regeneration and illumination which are centred on Jerusalem and which radiate through the world, it may be that you and your successors will play a part in establishing a moral order which will enable mankind to combine universal material progress with mutual subjection and charity.

Yours very sincerely,

MARK SYKES.

THE ILLUSTRATOR TO THE READER

THE privilege afforded me by my friend the Author of participating in the production of a work on so epoch-making a question as Zionism, has more than compensated me for any time and trouble I have expended on the particular section allotted to me. There are eighty-nine illustrations in the book, to which I have fortunately been able to contribute thirty, dealing mainly with the earlier period. For the portraits, *etc.*, of many of our contemporaries, I must accord my sincere thanks to those whose courtesy and kindness have enabled me to carry out my purpose.

I am indebted for the lithograph of Elim H. *d'*Avigdor[1] to his recently deceased widow. Mr. Semi Tolkowsky obtained for me an unpublished photograph of Colonel C. R. Conder from his daughter, Mrs. Julian G. Lousada. That venerable lady, Mrs. Finn, lent me a photograph of her late husband, "The British Consul of Jerusalem and Palestine." Mr. Joseph Cohen Lask granted me the loan of the Hebrew periodical, *Keneseth Israel*, containing a woodcut of David Gordon, the editor. The celebrated artist, Leopold Pilichowski, entrusted me with the negative of his famous painting of Theodor Herzl, known as the "Congress" portrait. It was done from sketches taken from life during the Uganda Congress, and finished in 1906 to the order of the late President, David Wolffsohn, for the Actions Committee, to be exhibited at Zionist congresses. The illustration of *Grand Rabbin* Zadok Kahn is taken from a pastel by the Jewish artist, J. F. Aktuaryus, in the collection of Mr. Elkan N. Adler. Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld lent me a lithograph of his father-in-law, Dr. Louis Loewe; and Professor Dr. Arnold Netter sent from Paris a lithograph of his uncle, Charles Netter. The portrait of Laurence Oliphant was reproduced from an unpublished photograph in the possession of his relative, Mr. Lancelot Oliphant. To procure a

[1] From a pencil drawing by his second daughter, Estelle, Mrs. George E. Nathan.

likeness of Dr. M. J. Raphall I had some difficulty. The Birmingham congregation to whom he ministered from 1841–1849 knew nothing of any portrait. From an advertisement in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 July, 1849, it appears that the learned *Rabbi* possessed a painting done of him by W. H. Vernon, from which Mosely Levi of Birmingham produced a lithograph, but I failed to discover the whereabouts of either. Knowing that on leaving this country he settled in the United States, I communicated with Mr. Arthur M. Friedenberg, the corresponding secretary of the American Jewish Historical Society, to whom my particular acknowledgments are due for discovering a small oil painting of the Doctor, copied from a photograph taken in his later years, in the possession of the *B'nai Jeshurun* congregation of New York, whose *Rabbi* he was from his arrival in America until 1866, two years before his demise. With the consent of the Trustees, and by the courtesy of Mr. Herman Levy, the President, an excellent reproduction was placed at my disposal.

The frontispiece to the second volume, "Edmond *de* Rothschild," is a facsimile of a photograph[1] from the painting by *M.* Aimé Moro. From *M.* A. Salvador, Mdme. L. J. Raynall and *M.* Andre Spire of Paris were instrumental in procuring a photograph of his uncle *M.* Joseph Salvador, whose portrait has hitherto never been published.

Miss Marian O. Wilson came to my assistance in permitting me to take a copy of a photograph of her father, Sir Charles W. Wilson, and Mr. Joseph Cowen lent J. H. Kann's *Erez Israel*, containing a likeness of President David Wolffsohn. The illustration, "Members of the *Maccabean* Pilgrimage," I have been enabled to reproduce, thanks to the kindness of Mr. Herbert Bentwich, its organizer, who also furnished me with the names of the pilgrims. The President and Council of the Jews' College were pleased to grant me the privilege of having a photograph taken of the historical painting, "The Conference between Menasseh Ben-Israel and Oliver Cromwell," by Solomon Alexander Hart, R.A., formerly in the collection of Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., and subsequently presented to the College by Frederick David Mocatta in 1896.

My thanks must also be accorded to the proprietors of the *Century* for the use of the portrait of Emma Lazarus; to the *Graphic* for the sketch from life of Bernard Lazare taken

[1] Autograph presentation copy from the Baron to the Author.

by Paul Renouard during the Dreyfus trial; to the *Illustrated London News* for the likeness of Baron Hirsch; to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* for the portraits of Samuel Joseph Fuenn, *R.* Zebi Hirsch Kalischer, Samuel David Luzzatto, and Mordecai Manuel Noah; and to the *Jewish World* for that of Dr. Israel Hildesheimer.

There are many eminent Zionists whose lineaments I should like to have seen in this work, but owing to present conditions the portraits were not procurable.

The following portraits and illustrations may not be reproduced without authority:—Col. C. R. Conder, James Finn, Theodor Herzl by Pilichowski, *R.* Zadok Kahn, Laurence Oliphant, Dr. M. J. Raphall, Edmond *de* Rothschild, Joseph Salvador, Sir Charles W. Wilson, "The Conference between Manasseh Ben-Israel and Oliver Cromwell," and the "Members of the *Maccabean* Pilgrimage."

ISRAEL SOLOMONS.

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THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND AND THE BIBLE

Hellas, Rome and *Israel*—The Englishman's Bible—Its influence upon English Literature—Rev. Paul Knell, Matthew Arnold, Sir H. Havelock, Gordon, Livingstone, Ruskin, Carlyle, Taine, Sir L. T. Dibdin, Huxley, and J. R. Green—The Puritans—The Pilgrim Fathers—James I—Cromwell.

No great idea, once proclaimed, has ever yet perished from the earth. An idea may assume new forms, may change its mere outward semblance—for all great ideas are plastic in their attributes and immutable in their essentials—but, once it has been enunciated, human life absorbs it within itself for ever.

The Greek spirit of freedom, and the order, discipline and law of Rome survive in Anglo-Saxon institutions, not by mere enforcement of victorious arms, but because men have recognized them as the happiest approximation to the independence of each and the subordination of all that has ever yet been conceived.

To Greece was entrusted the cultivation of reason and taste. Her gift to mankind has been science and art. To the Greeks we owe the science of logic, which has dominated the minds of all modern thinkers. Much of the spirit of modern politics, too, comes from Greece. On the other hand, the sentiments and the organizing force behind all States and Governments, which are absolutely indispensable to their vigour, are to a great extent Roman. Justinian's[1] laws have penetrated into all modern legislation. Thus Greece may be said to have disciplined human reason and taste, and Rome human organization and power.

But England has been influenced by *Israel* even more

[1] Flavius Anicius Julianus Justinian I [The Great] (483–565).

than by Hellas and Latium ; by the power and the light of the *Hebrew* genius—by the Bible.

The mission of the *Hebrew* race was to lay the foundation of morality and religion on earth. Their works and their Book are great facts in the history of man ; the influence of their mind upon the rest of mankind has been immense and peculiar. The *Hebrews* may be said to have disciplined the human conscience ; and to the pages of their sacred books humanity has turned again and again for new inspiration.

No people has been so devotedly attached to the Bible as the English, and the effect may be traced in all the great movements of English history. The Bible has dominated the whole domestic and political life of the English people for some centuries, and has provided the basis of the English conception of personal and political liberty.

The education of a large number of Englishmen has consisted mainly in the reading of the Scriptures. There is indeed no book, or collection of books, so rich in teaching or capable of appealing so forcibly to the unlearned and the learned alike. That the growth and gradual diffusion of religious and moral thinking is due to the supreme influence of the Bible is a fact which can be recognized throughout the whole of English history. As a single instance, we may take two writers who lived at different periods, and dealt with this subject from dissimilar points of view—the Rev. Paul Knell (1615–1664) and Matthew Arnold (1822–1888). Knell compared England with *Israel.* The name "*Israel*" was used by writers of his age with so much laxity, that it is impossible to define the sense which it was generally intended to convey. It often meant the Religion of *Israel ;* at other times it was used as if it was a synonym of the word "Church." But Knell used the word in its plain meaning : for him "*Israel*" meant simply the People of *Israel* in the Land of *Israel* (Appendix ii). If we compare the general tone and attitude of Christian preachers in those times in other countries with the attitude taken up by the English clergy, we must acknowledge that the latter have a much greater appreciation of the value and dignity of the Jewish people and of its great influence on the character of the English nation.

In spite of all modern developments, and notwithstanding the fact that modern science has undermined some of the old beliefs, the fundamental attitude of Englishmen to the

Bible remains unchanged. There is no need to quote many writers; it is sufficient to refer to Matthew Arnold, who insists that Righteousness is the burden of Old Testament teaching, and that this idea has greatly influenced the formation of the English character (Appendix iii).

The indebtedness of English literature to the Bible is immeasurable. The Bible has inspired the highest and most ennobling books in the English language. No other book has been so universally read or so carefully studied. The Bible has been an active force in English literature for over twelve hundred years, and during that whole period it has been moulding the diction of representative English thinkers and literary men. The Bible is "the book upon which they have been brought up," says Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). Nor has its influence on men of action been less marked. Englishmen picture Sir Henry Havelock (1795–1857) sustaining himself upon the promises of the Bible through the darkest hours of the Mutiny; Charles George (Chinese) Gordon (1833–1885) writing with his Bible in front of him at Khartoum; and David Livingstone (1813–1873) in the loneliness of Central Africa reading it four times through from beginning to end, drawing from it patience, fortitude and perseverance. One of the mightiest moral forces of the last century in England, John Ruskin (1819–1900), acknowledges his great indebtedness to the Bible. "In religion," he says, "which with me pervaded all the hours of life, I had been moved by the Jewish ideal, and as the perfect colour and sound gradually asserted their power on me they seemed finally to agree in the old article of Jewish faith that things done delightfully and rightfully were always done by the help and spirit of God."

"I have before me one of those great old folios in black letter in which the pages, worn by horny fingers, have been patched together," writes Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (1828–1893), in his *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* (Paris, 1863–4).[1] . . . "Hence have sprung much of the English language and half of the English manners. To this day the country is Biblical; it was these big books which had transformed Shakespeare's England. To understand this great change, try to picture these yeomen, these shopkeepers, who in the evening placed this Bible on their table and bareheaded, with veneration, heard or read one of its

[1] *History of English Literature*, by H. A. Taine. Translated by H. Van Laun, . . . Edinburgh: . . . 1871 . . . (2 vols.).

chapters. Think that they had no other books, that theirs was a virgin mind, that every impression would make a furrow, that they opened this book not for amusement but to discover in it their doom of life and death."

"The Bible stands for so much in England: it is the foundation of our laws," said Sir Lewis Tonna Dibdin, "for when you get back behind judicial decisions and Acts of Parliament you come at the bottom to the moral laws, of which the Ten Commandments were the first written summary."

"The Bible," says Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895), in his *Essays on Controverted Questions*, "has been the 'Magna Charta' of the poor and the oppressed."

There is no Christian people even among the Protestant nations which could be compared with the English in knowledge of the Old Testament and in devotion to its teachings. This was the avowed object and the undeniable result of the English Reformation.

"Elizabeth (1533–1603) might silence or tune the pulpits," says John Richard Green (1837–1883), "but it was impossible for her to silence or tune the great preachers of justice and mercy and truth who spoke from the Book. . . . The whole temper of the nation was changed. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old. A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class."

This Biblical influence was felt long before the translation of the Bible into English. When King James I. (1566–1625) in 1604 sanctioned a new translation of the Bible, he let loose moral and spiritual forces which transformed English life and thought. But before this the Renaissance, or revival of learning, had led to the study of the Scriptures and so had helped to make men Puritans.

The Pilgrim Fathers crossed the ocean with little more than this sacred volume in their hands and its spirit in their hearts. The men who founded new Commonwealths built up their constitutions upon the teachings of the Bible; and tradition has long asserted that every soldier in Cromwell's army was provided with a pocket edition, which consisted of appropriate quotations from the Scriptures, mostly from the Bible of the Jews.[1]

A close parallel can be drawn between the Puritans, of whom Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) was the principal type, and the enthusiasts who shared with *Judas Maccabæus*

[1] Cromwell's Soldiers' Bible, London, 1895.

(*ob.* 3628 *a.m.*) the dangers and glories of his illustrious career. Both were stern warriors forced into battle by the stress of great principles, and by the strongest sense of obligation to a sacred cause. Both fought for liberty against tyranny, against religious persecution and unrighteousness. The spirit which inspired them all was the secret of the world's greatest achievements. The parallel can be traced even further. Cromwell's life was shaped by the influence of the Bible. For a figure to compare with Cromwell we must turn neither to ancient history nor to early English history, but to the pages of Jewish national history in the Bible. Cromwell's examples were *Joshua* (2406–2516 *a.m.*), *Gideon* (*fl.* 2676 *a.m.*) and *Samuel* (*ob.* 2882 *a.m.*). *Hebrew* warriors and prophets were his ideals. And that is not to be wondered at, for Cromwell studied the Bible every day with attention and reverence and with a desire to be guided by it. He was an intellectual and spiritual child of the Old Testament, and he "imagined himself to be a second *Phineas*, raised up by Providence to be the scourge of idolatry and superstition." [1]

[1] Daniel Neal (1678–1743): *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. (1738), p. 187.

CHAPTER II

THE *HEBREW* LANGUAGE

Its survival and revival—Its influence upon the English mind—De Quincey —Bacon — Shakespeare — Milton — Cowley — Taylor — Tillotson — Barrow — Dryden — Parnell — Pope — Addison — Young — Akenside — Gray — Warton — Cowper — Byron — Shelley — Southey — Moore — Sir Thomas Brown[e]—Earl of Clarendon—John Pym—Viscount Falkland—Sir Henry Vane—Earl of Chatham—Browning—Tennyson—John Bright.

THE *Hebrew* language, mysteriously preserved like *Israel*, the people after whom it is called, through the tempests of many centuries, politically annihilated, but spiritually full of vigour, has never ceased to be a vehicle for the expression of sublime thoughts and sentiments. Not only in the brilliant epoch of *Hebrew* literature in Spain, from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, but since then, *Hebrew* has been written in prose and in poetry with power and effect unattainable in any of the languages that have ceased to live. It is entirely wrong to consider *Hebrew* a dead language. *Hebrew* has never been dead. At no time in its long history has it ceased to be employed by the Jewish people, as a medium for the expression, whether in speech or in writing, of the living thoughts and the living feelings of the Jew. Its use as a national medium of every-day speech came, indeed, to an end with the destruction of the political organization of the Jewish people. But that catastrophe did not destroy the life of the language any more than it destroyed the life of the nation. The marvellous revival of the *Hebrew* language in our times in Palestine, which is one of the greatest achievements of the Zionist movement, shows that the language was only neglected, and that it was essentially a living language.

The *Hebrew* language, with its naturalness and noble simplicity, has exerted an influence not less powerful than that of Biblical ideas on the English mind. Knowing little of artificial forms, it has a natural sublimity of its own, and a great logical clearness in discriminating between nice shades of meaning. It appeals strongly to the English mind, because it is the holy language, bringing

the Divine Word and coming from the sanctuary of that ancient covenant, whose faithful guardians are the people of *Israel*. The Semitic word has within historic times exercised on the civilisation of the whole human race an influence to which no parallel can be found, and which, if the future may be measured by the past, is destined triumphantly to extend, for the incalculable benefit of mankind, to the uttermost bounds of the earth. The poetry of the Bible has no rival.

"The *Hebrew* language," says Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859), "by introducing himself to the secret places of the human heart, and sitting there as incubator over the awful germs of the spiritualities that connect man with unseen worlds, has perpetuated himself as a power in the human system: *he* is co-enduring with man's race, and careless of all revolutions in literature or in the composition of society. . . ."[1]

The *Hebrew* language deals best with concrete things, and is essentially personal. In poetry it is best adapted to re-echo the poet's own thoughts, and to set forth the various phases of his intimate experience.

"Now, this poetry derives its excellence from its great outward simplicity: it acknowledges no rule of metrical art. Its poesy is esoteric, not exoteric. The outward characteristic of *Hebrew* poetic style is its *parallelism*, or the logical *symmetry* between two distichs of the same verse. The graceful execution of this difficult problem—unity of design under a diversity of forms—constitutes the incomparable charm of *Hebrew* poetic diction. Parallelism is the law of perfection. Thought and speech, body and spirit, here and hereafter, are divinely conceived parallelisms."[2]

The *Hebrew* language is pre-eminently intuitive, and adapted for teaching morality and expressing with authority religious and ethical truths in brief, pregnant utterances.

The best of English literature has been inspired by the *Hebrew* language of the Bible. Throughout the entire works of Francis Bacon (1561–1626)[3] Scriptural influence is sufficiently apparent: but in his Essays—his favourite work—which he so carefully revised and re-wrote in the ripeness of his age and experience, and which, therefore, may be

[1] De Quincey's *Works*, vol. ix. *Leaders in Literature*. . . . By Thomas De Quincey. . . . London: . . . MDCCCLVIII. *Language*, *p.* 81.

[2] *Study of Arabic and Hebrew*, by Tobias Theodores (1808–1886), London, 1860, *p.* 23.

[3] 1st Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans.

considered the very cream and essence of his genius, this characteristic element obtains a prominence that cannot fail to strike every reader. So natural was it—to borrow a figure of speech from Bacon himself—for his great mind "to turn upon the poles of truth," and to revert to its great fountain-head, in support and confirmation of his own profound conclusions.

But by far the most prominent example of the deference and homage paid to the Bible will be found in the works of William Shakespeare (1564–1616). As he excels in nearly all other points, so also is he greatest in this respect. His works are so perfectly impregnated with the Bible that we can scarcely open them without encountering one or other of the Bible's great truths, assimilated by Shakespeare and reproduced in words that renew the Bible's authority and strengthen its claim upon men's attention. The influence of the Bible is apparent not only in the tone of Shakespeare's poetry but also in the shape and character of it.[1] Both the spirit and the letter bear witness to this fact. The Bible has left its impression not only on Shakespeare's mind but on his idiom, on the exquisite simplicity of his diction, while his innumerable allusions, direct and indirect, to Scripture history, persons, places, events, doctrines,

[1] It is interesting to note that some of Shakespeare's plays have been rendered in *Hebrew* :—

Othello, The Moor of Venice אִיתִּיאֵל הַכּוּשִׁי מִוִינֶעצִיָא Translated into *Hebrew* by J. E. S. . . . Edited by P. Smolensky . . . Vienna. . . . 1874. (8°. xxv.+298 *pp.*+1 *l.*)

The editor remarks in the preface: "The English people took our *Hebrew* Bible and translated it into all the languages of the world; we in revenge have taken their Shakespeare and translated it into our *Hebrew* language."

J. E. S., *i.e.* Isaac Eliezer (*ob.* 1883) [ben ? Solomon (*ob.* 1868) Salkind] Salkinson, also translated Romeo and Juliet רם ויעל . . . Wien, 1878. (8°. xii.+167 *pp.*)

Hamlet has also been done into *Hebrew* by Chaim Jechiel Bornstein [born at Koznitz, Poland, in 1845].

Macbeth מקבט חזות קשה has been rendered into *Hebrew* by Isaac Barb from the German version of J. C. F. *von* Schiller (1759–1805). Drohobyez, 1883. (8°. 123 *pp.*+2 *ll.*)

King Lear המלך ליר חזון־תונה has been translated by Samuel Löb Gordon. Warsaw, 5659. (8°. 176 *pp.*)

Incidentally may be noted that :—

Julius Cæsar יוליום צעזאר איינע איסטארישע דראמא has been translated into *Yiddish* by Bezalel Vishnepolski. Warsaw, 5646. (8°. 148 *pp.*)

The Merchant of Venice שאילאק אדער דער קויפמאן פון ווענעריג באווישאווער. by Basil Dahl. New York, 1899. (8°. Portrait of W. S. +116 *pp.*)

parables, precepts, and even phrases show a great familiarity with the Bible.[1] The Reformation introduced the same spirit into all the English literature of the Elizabethan era. It was the distinguishing feature of the period, and naturally enough culminated in the greatest genius of the time.

The influence of this *Hebrew* spirit is clearly visible in John Milton's (1608–1674) poetry. "Paradise Lost,"[2] the most glorious cosmological epic of the world's literature, could have been written only by a man who knew the Bible by heart, and whose verse, when he so chose, could consist simply and solely of combinations of texts from the Bible or images influenced by Biblical ideas. The way in which he tells his stories, the elevation of his style, the music of his verse, changing from the roar of the hurricane and the tramp of bannered hosts to the hum of bees and the song of birds, the numerous gem-like phrases and passages which are sure to be quoted for all time—all these wonderful qualities are Biblical. Milton knew *Hebrew*, and his verse is throughout inspired by the genius of that language. And the spirit which found voice in Milton caused England to take the lead in bringing about religious liberty. This recognition of righteousness and fair play among the nations of the world benefited not only the Jewish nation: some months before Manasseh Ben Israel visited England, the Commonwealth had made a most vigorous protest against the outrage on humanity perpetrated by the persecutors of Protestants in Piedmont.

"We shall conclude our account of this period by . . .

[1] *Bible Truths with Shakespearean Parallels.* [James Brown.] London, 1862. Preface, *pp.* xv.–xvii.

[2] Paradise Lost. | A | Poem | Written in | Ten Books | By John Milton |Licensed and Entered according|to Order.
London|Printed, and are to be sold by *Peter Parker*|under *Creed* Church neer *Aldgate*; And by|*Robert Boulter* at the *Turks Head* in *Bishopsgate-street*; | And *Matthias Walker*, under St. *Dunstons* Church | in Fleet-street, 1667.
(4*to*. Title page+A—Z+Aa—V in 4 *s*.)
In 1871 a version in the Holy Language was issued :—
Milton's Paradise Lost In *Hebrew* Blank Verse. Translator J. E. S. . . .
שיר יסודתו בכתוב ויגרש את האדם נחלק לשנים עשר ספרים . . .
ומתורגם יהודית בשפה ברורה ובחרט כתבי הקדש י,ע,ס . . .
(8°. 4 *ll.*+351 *pp.*). "The second English edition, 1674, was divided in *twelve* books."
Twenty-one years later a free *Hebrew* rendering was published, under the following title :—
תולדת אדם וחוה . . . נעתק חפשי לשפת עבר . . . ע"י שמואל בן משה ראפאלאוויץ נדפס פעה"ק ירושלם תובב"א בשנת תרנ"ב לפ"ק
Milton's Paradise Lost. Translated in *Hebrew* by Samuel Raffalovich. *Jerusalem*, 1892. (8°. 63 *pp.*)

[referring to] the 'Davidies[1] of the melancholy [Abraham] Cowley (1618–1667) in which he seems to have borne in mind the language of the Bible. . . .' 'It will be in the recollection of every person, that there flourished in the latter half of the seventeenth century three churchmen, whose works are still regarded as models of style and mines of learning and thought—[Bishop Jeremy] Taylor (1613–1667), [Archbishop John] Tillotson (1630–1694) and [Dr. Isaac] Barrow (1630–1677); whose writings, if they have ever been equalled, have certainly never been surpassed. The familiarity with the pages of Holy Writ which these illustrious men must infallibly have acquired during the course of that severe education which made them what they were, could not but have exercised a very great influence upon their works. . . .'"

"There are many allusions to Sacred Writ in the works of [John] Dryden (1631–1700), particularly in his polemical works, . . . In the *Hind and Panther*. . . .[2]

"In [Thomas] Parnell's (1679–1718) beautiful poem of the 'Hermit,'[3] there are several traces of Biblical influence: . . .

"A perusal of [Alexander] Pope's (1688–1744) Messiah,[4] in which many of the expressions are taken, word for word, from the book of Holy Writ, will convince any reader of the

[1] Poems: . . . IV. Davideis, Or, A Sacred Poem Of The Troubles Of David. Written by A. Cowley. . . . London, Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, at the Prince's Arms in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, M.DC.LVI.

[2] The|Hind|And The|Panther.|A|Poem,|In Three Parts.| . . . London,| Printed for *Jacob Tonson*, at the *Judges Head* in|*Chancery* Lane near *Fleet-street*, 1687. (4*to*. 4 *ll.*+145 *pp.* [B. M.])
Licensed April the 11th, 1687.

[3] Poems On Several Occasions. Written by Dr. Thomas Parnell, Late Arch-Deacon of *Clogher*: And *Published* by Mr. Pope. . . . London: Printed for B. Lintot, at the *Cross-Keys*, between the *Temple Gates* in *Fleet-street*, 1722. (8°. 4 *ll.*+221 *pp.*+1 *l.*)
"The Hermit," *pp.* 164–180.

[4] A sacred pastoral first published in the *Spectator*, May 14th, 1712. It has also been translated into *Hebrew*:—
Messiah. A Sacred Eclogue. By Pope. : הַמָּשִׁיחַ שִׁירַת הָרֹעִים By Stanilaus Hoga. London: . . . MDCCCXXXVII. (Sm. 8°. 8 *ll.*, in printed wrapper.)
The translator had been a Government Censor of the *Hebrew* press in Russia. On coming to London, he came under the influence of the Rev. Alexander McCaul (Father-in-law of James Finn, the British Consul at *Jerusalem*), who induced him to become an apostate. They co-operated in the production of "The Old Paths" . . . London: . . . 1836–1837, which Hoga translated into *Hebrew*. He died repentant about the end of the year 1849. The *Hebrew* translation he had made of "The Old Paths," entitled נתיבות עולם was not published until 1851. ("The evil that men do lives after them; . . .")

influence which has been exercised by it upon this poet. We have the authority of Mr. [Joseph] Addison (1672–1719) himself for the assertion, that he was fully sensible of the beauties of the English translation. 'Our language,' says the writer, in the 405th Number of the *Spectator*, 'has received innumerable elegancies and improvements from the infusion of Hebraisms which are derived to it out of the poetical passages of Holy Writ;—they give a force and energy to our expression, warm and animate our language, and convey our thought in more ardent and intense phrases than any that are to be met with in our own tongue.' Addison was the founder of that pure, classical, and polished style which has, ever since the publication of the *Spectator*, been considered as the *ne plus ultra* of that manner of writing. Knowing then, as we do, the sentiments of this accomplished writer, it is not to be supposed that he would, in the formation of his own style, have neglected to borrow largely from that which he praised so much; and thus it appears probable that the translation, throughout in this case itself a direct agent, has yet exercised a beneficial influence upon the prose even of modern writers. . . ."

"In the poems of [James] Thomson (1700–1748) there are a few passages for which he was, probably, in some measure, indebted to the Bible Translation— . . ."

"In the writings of [Edward] Young (1683–1765), many expressions may be found indebted for the idea or manner of expression to Scripture. In his paraphrase of the Book of Job, one of his earlier works, first published in 1719."

"In the *Night Thoughts*,[1] traces of Biblical influence are not so traceable, but it is probable that they exist. . . ."

"[Dr. Mark] Akenside (1721–1770), in one of his poems;[2] [Thomas] Gray (1716–1771), in his admirable lines on Milton,[3] and [Thomas] Warton [the Elder] (1688?–1745), in his Address to Night,[4] had clearly in mind some of the passages in the Psalms."

"There is a real strain of religious feeling, of the very strongest description, which breathes through the poetry of

[1] The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality. . . . . London: . . . 1742. . . . (Fol. 20 *pp.*)

[2] The Pleasures of Imagination. A Poem. In Three Books. . . . London: . . . M.DCC.XLIV. (*4to.* 125 *pp.*)

[3] Odes By Mr. Gray. . . . Printed at Strawberry Hill, For R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall. MDCCLVII. (*4to.* 21 *pp.*) [*p.* 10, III., 2. "Progress of Poesy": A Pindaric Ode written in Cambridge in 1754.]

[4] The Pleasures of Melancholy: A Poem. . . . London: . . . 1747 . . . (*4to.* 24 *pp.*)

[William] Cowper (1731–1800); but though he no doubt felt that admiration for the translation with which a person of his great taste and love of religious writings especially must have been imbued, there is no very perceptible evidence of its having exercised more than a general influence upon his language. . . ."

"The mind of [George Gordon] Byron [Sixth Baron Byron] (1788–1824) had been early tinctured by a love of the poetical parts of the Bible; . . and there are several traces to be found in his works of the influence which this book exercised upon his mind. . . ."

"There are some expressions in the *Revolt of Islam*[1] that would seem to indicate that the author of that poem had kept in memory some of the descriptive and mystical passages of Ezekiel. . . ."

"In [Robert] Southey (1774–1843) there are several Biblical expressions and ideas. . . ."[2]

"In the beautiful songs of a justly celebrated . . . writer, Mr. [Thomas] Moore (1779–1852), there is much that can be traced to a scriptural origin."[3]

It can now be seen, we hope, satisfactorily demonstrated, that the translation of the Bible into English has exercised a considerable influence upon the poetry of the last two centuries; it is now time to speak of the effects which it has produced upon our prose. . . . There are, . . . to be found in the writings of many of the most distinguished prose authors in our language, passages which, from the general character of their style, or the form of the ideas they express, may be concluded to have been suggested, or at least modified, by the influence of the Bible Translation. . . . in the writings of Sir Thomas Brown[e] (1535 ?–1585), an author who enjoyed a considerable degree of fame in the days of Queen Elizabeth (1533–1603), great traces are to be discovered of Biblical influence;—while at a much later period [Edward] Hyde (1609–1674), Earl of Clarendon (particularly the introduction, and part of the first volume)[4]

[1] The Revolt of Islam; A Poem, In Twelve Cantos. By Percy Bysshe Shelley. [1792–1822.] London: . . . 1818.

[2] The Curse of Kehama: By Robert Southey. . . . London: . . . 1810. (*4to.* 16+376 *pp.*)

[3] "Fallen is thy Throne, O Israel!"—"Sound the loud Timbrel, Miriam's Song"—"War against Babylon."

[4] The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641. . . . Written by the Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, . . . Oxford, . . . MDCCIV.

will convince the most sceptical reader, that the translation of the Bible has not been disregarded by that writer. . . ."

"It may, perhaps, . . . seem paradoxical to affirm, that the art of public speaking, . . . can have been indebted to so remote an event as the translation of the Bible; but this supposition will nevertheless be found to be correct: . . . The speeches of [John] Pym (1584–1643) and others upon the Earl of Strafford's (1593–1641) impeachment [1640], of Viscount Falkland (1610 ?–1643), Sir Henry Vane (1589–1655), etc., upon the Episcopacy Reformation question, will suffice as instances of discourses in which many proofs may be found, upon perusal, of Biblical influence."

"It is well known that [William Pitt] the [First] Earl of Chatham (1708–1778), the most eloquent orator that England has ever produced, recommended to every person who wished to become acquainted with the force of the English language, and to acquire the power of expressing himself with facility, to study the writings of the copious Barrow. Now we know that Barrow was deeply read in the Holy Scriptures; we know that his style is greatly tinctured by the influence which they exerted upon him; will it, then, be too much to assert that English speaking, in general, . . . has been considerably influenced by the Bible translation? . . ."

"It may be concluded from the foregoing observations, that the translation of the Bible into our language is a most remarkable event in the history of English literature: . . . Those who have compared most of the European translations with the original have not scrupled to say that the English translation is the most accurate and faithful of the whole. . . . Besides, our translators have not only made a standard translation, but they have made their translation a standard of our language. The English tongue of their day was not equal to such a work; but God enabled them to stand as upon Mount Sinai; and *crane* up their country's language to the dignity of the originals, so that after the lapse of two hundred years, the English Bible is still with a very few exceptions the standard of the purity and excellence of the English tongue."[1]

This influence of the *Hebrew* language can be traced not

[1] An Essay upon The Influence of the Translation of the Bible upon English Literature, . . . By [William Thomas Petty (1811–1836) *afterwards* Fitz-Maurice, Earl of Kerry] Lord Kerry. . . . Cambridge: . . . 1830. (8°. 1 *l.*+82 *pp.*)

only in the masterpieces of great poets; it was also of a general and popular character. The study of the *Hebrew* language among Christians, which had only casually and at intervals occupied the attention of ecclesiastics during the Middle Ages, received an immense impulse from the revived interest in the Bible caused by the Reformation.

Scientific progress in *Hebrew* was perhaps more considerable in other countries where the Reformation was gaining ground, but while in other countries this influence was felt chiefly among scholars, in England the influence has been popular and has been felt in the daily life of the nation. The process of enrichment and ennoblement of the English language has been going on for centuries among all classes of the population, and one of the chief agencies by which it has been effected is certainly the influence, direct and indirect, of the *Hebrew* Bible.

To penetrate into the history, prophecy, and poetry of the *Hebrew* Bible, to revere them as the effusion of Divine inspiration, to live in them with all the emotions of the heart, and yet not to consider *Israel*, who had originated all this glory and greatness, as the "Chosen People," was impossible.[1]

Hence among the Puritans there were many earnest admirers of "God's Ancient People," and Cromwell himself joined in this admiration. It was by this Biblical *Hebrew* movement that public opinion in England had been prepared for a sympathetic treatment of the idea of a readmission of the Jews into England.

[1] Among modern English poets and writers, Robert Browning (1812–1889) was a great friend of the Jews and a good *Hebraist*, and very often quoted *Hebrew* sentences. In a letter to a friend Browning wrote:

"The *Hebrew* quotations are put in for a purpose as a direct acknowledgment that certain doctrines may be found in the Old Book, which the concocters of Novel Schemes of Morality put forth as discoveries of their own."

In *Jewish Fancies* there are many *Hebrew* phrases, also in the *Melon Seller* and in the *Two Camels*. In *Rabbi Ben Ezra* and *The Doctor* the reader will find essentially Jewish thoughts.

Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809–1892) also read the Bible in the original *Hebrew*. Lady Tennyson (1813–1896) writes in her journal in 1867:

"A." (meaning her husband Alfred) "is reading *Hebrew* (*Job* and the Song of *Solomon* and *Genesis*). He talked much of his *Hebrew*. He brought down to me his psalm-like poem 'Higher Pantheism.'"

John Bright's (1811–1889) sublime oratory was avowedly based on the Bible; from it, not from the classics of Paganism, came the inspiration of his highest eloquence. The memorable party nickname, "*The Adullamites*," which he conferred on the Liberal seceders on the Franchise Bill in 1866, shows his familiarity with the details of Bible history and the readiness with which he could adapt his knowledge to political illustrations. How minutely he knew the Old Testament is apparent to any reader of his speeches.

Solomon Alexander Hart, R.A. (1873)

JOHN THURLOE — *Sir* JOHN GLYNN — HUGH PETERS — MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL

THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN MANASSEH BEN-ISRAEL AND OLIVER CROMWELL (1655)

From the painting at the Jews' College, Queen Square House, London

CHAPTER III

THE RE-ADMISSION OF THE JEWS INTO ENGLAND

Manasseh Ben-Israel—Aaron Levi *alias* Antony Montezinos—Moses Wall —Leonard Busher—David Abrabanel [Manuel Martinez Dormido]— Oliver St. John.

MANASSEH BEN-ISRAEL (1606–1657), the Amsterdam Jewish preacher and *Hebrew*-Spanish author, was the chief promoter of the readmission of the Jews to England and the leading figure in the history of that great event. He had all the virtues and accomplishments of a leader. He was a man of fine intellect and high moral character, unselfish in thought, word and deed, straightforward and sincere, extraordinarily endowed and irresistibly attractive, at the same time a faithful religious believer and a practical man of action. All the sorrows and all the hopes of the old Jewish nation were in him, and all the beauty of the Bible was in his visions.

Manasseh was neither a first-rate *Talmudical* authority, nor the principal of a great *Rabbinical* school, nor a celebrated and officially recognized leader of *Rabbis*. He achieved nothing striking in the field of *Halachah*,[1] where alone, according to traditional views, authority can be won among learned *Rabbis* and their followers. In high *Rabbinical* quarters he may have been considered a dilettante or an eclectic, perhaps a sort of dreamer ; and not without justice. The " practical " people of the period, again, may have pointed out that there was plenty of immediate " practical " work for Manasseh to do in congregations, in societies, in charities and in schools among the Portuguese Jews of the " *Jodenbreestraat* " in Amsterdam, and that he would do better if he devoted himself to ordinary local work, instead of chasing chimeras and planning Utopian schemes in close agreement with the Puritan Saints and *Marrano* travellers. And yet, in spite of all the immediate needs of the hour, this remarkable man, inspired by a vision of the lost Ten Tribes

[1] Jewish Jurisprudence.

of *Israel*, wrote one book after another ; not the traditional commonplace *Rabbinical* books dealing with questions and details of the conduct of everyday Jewish religious life, but books about the past and the future, about the Ten Tribes and about *Israel* as a nation—and with an inimitable touch of mysticism and poetry. He thought that Judaism required something more than local activities, that it needed clear-sighted and fearless self-defence, emancipated from routine, and not localized within the boundaries of one country. And he not only wrote books in *Hebrew*, Spanish, and Latin on this subject, but had several of them translated into other languages ; he also entered into personal relations with non-Jewish "dreamers" who had proved by their ideas their intellectual kinship with him, although they challenged him to controversy on some essential points. He wrote petitions and proposals, and interfered to a certain extent with what should, according to some other rabbis, be confidingly left to Providence. It had dawned upon him that the Jews should resettle in England, to pave the way for their final resettlement in Palestine.

Manasseh was nothing if not a Zionist, if we look upon Zionism in the light of his time. He was undoubtedly a dreamer, but one of those dreamers to whom the word of the Psalmist applies, ". . . We were like unto them that dream."[1] He combined worldly wisdom with the prophetic spirit. There was some ancient magic about him ; there was a deep sense of religion in all his writings. This religious character enabled Manasseh to stir up Christian England at a time when there was a great rekindling of the religious consciousness. No wealthy Jew could have influenced England as did this poor *Hebrew* scholar ; no powerful Jewish community could have produced an impression equal to that produced by this Jewish dreamer, not only by his boundless activity, determination and persistence, but chiefly because he was an inspired man. He brought to his task deep religious feeling, and a mind ripened by Jewish historical studies. He thus set himself to perform with energy and moral courage an exceedingly responsible service to the Jewish people, which he carried out with singular fidelity, inspiration and enthusiasm, as well as with discretion and tact.

He sent his brother-in-law, David Abrabanel [Manuel

[1] Psalms, *chap.* cxxvi., *v.* 1.

Martinez Dormido][1] to England in 1654, to present to the Council a petition for the readmission of the Jews, and followed up this visit by his own journey to England, in order to support this petition.

There were undoubtedly several auxiliary causes which made the readmission of the Jews possible, and the general conditions of the time and the country were assuredly favourable. Still, the fact remains that Manasseh's powerful imaginative impulse and his emotional Messianic conception were the most important driving force in the wonderful story of the resettlement of the Jews in England.[2] It is true that he did not succeed in obtaining that formal permission for the resettlement which he wanted, but by the publicity of his appeal he brought the subject prominently before the ruling minds of England, and thus indirectly led to the recognition of the fact that there was nothing in English law against the readmission of the Jews.[3]

One can say, without exaggeration, that there was a Biblical and Messianic idea at the very root of this great event. In effect, Zionism stood at the cradle of the resettlement of the Jews in England. This is clear to everybody who has studied Manasseh's writings, particularly in the original *Hebrew*, the language in which he can best be understood and appreciated. His favourite idea was that the return of the Jews to their ancient land

[1] He was a native of Andalusia, Spain, and was imprisoned for five years (1627–1632) by the Inquisition, and tortured, together with his wife and her sister. On being released he went to Bordeaux, and in 1640 to Amsterdam.

In the preliminary leaves of *Thesouro dos Dinim*, by Manasseh Ben-Israel, Amsterdam, 5405 (1645), his name appears as one of the dedicatees and is described as the *Parnas da Sedaká e Talmud Tora*. In 1663 he settled here, and in the following. year " David ABrabanel dormido " appears as one of the signatories to the first *Ascamot* of the *Sephardi Kahal* in London in the year 5424. He died 2 *Nisan* 5427, and was interred in the second *carera* at the *Beth Haim* in the rear of the *Beth Holim* at Mile End.

[2] Not that there had not been Jews in England since the expulsion. The researches of Sir Sidney Lee and Mr. Lucien Wolf have shown that hardly for a single year was English soil without Jewish inhabitants, some of them of considerable distinction: Dr. Rodrigo Lopez (*ob.* 1594), Antonio Fernandez Carvajal (1590 ?–1659), Manuel Martinez Dormido [David Abrabanel] (*ob.* 1667); but they were tolerated only as privileged individuals.

[3] Mr. Lucien Wolf, to whose researches our knowledge of the secret services of Carvajal and his friends to Cromwell and the Commonwealth is due, is inclined to give them all the credit for the readmission. But it is clear that had not public opinion been aroused on the side of Jewish rights, nothing could have been done.

must be preceded by their general dispersion. The Dispersion, according to the words of the Bible, was to be from one end of the earth to the other, and must therefore include the British Isles, which lay in the extreme north of the inhabited world. Manasseh made no secret of his Messianic hopes, because he could and did reckon upon the fact that the "Saints" or Puritans wished for the "assembling of God's people" in their ancestral home and were inclined to help and promote it.

What was the difference between Manasseh and other *Rabbis?* No *Rabbi* could fail to be well acquainted with the familiar prophecies of the Bible, and to know that the Dispersion was to be from one end of the earth to the other. Are not these prophecies quoted in the Jewish daily prayers, prayers that have been lost unheard, as it seems, in the dark depths of 2000 years of dispersion, and are known to every Jewish child? Or did not the *Rabbis* cherish those Messianic hopes which inspired Manasseh? There was only one difference: the difference between passivity and activity, between purely spiritual impulses and impulses which lead to action. If the dispersion has to be complete, let Providence make it complete—this was the usual point of view. Those who merely believed declined to do anything, as they did not wish to face the danger of failure. They lived on that, of which other nations die—on sorrow. Their melancholy had much of majesty in it, but it led to nothing and ended in nothing. They dared not attempt to penetrate into the secrets of the Almighty; for God alone can see what will happen, and no man can avoid his destiny. They refused to undertake any effort for the readmission of their brethren not only into Palestine, but even into England. They were believers, not men of action. Manasseh took matters into his own hands. He not only believed, he acted in accordance with his belief. He collected evidence with judicious care, weighing and measuring difficulties, keeping facts calmly before his mind, studying the facts of the dispersion with interest and zeal. He occupied himself with Messianism more than any Jewish scholar since *Don* Isaac *de* Judah Abrabanel (1437–1508), and more effectively than the latter, because of the active character of his plans.

In his מקוה ישראל, *Esperança de Israel* (Appendix iv), Manasseh relates how the *Marrano* traveller, Aaron Levi, *alias* Antony Montezinos, while travelling in South America,

had met a race of natives in the Cordilleras, who recited the *Shema*, practised Jewish ceremonies, and were, in short, Israelites of the tribe of *Reuben*. Montezinos had related his story to Manasseh, and had even embodied it in a sworn affidavit before the heads of the Amsterdam Synagogue. Montezinos' story seemed to be a proof of the increasing dispersion of *Israel*. *Daniel* (xii. 7) had foretold in his prophecies that the dispersion of the Jewish people would be the forerunner of their restoration.

"And the Lord shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; . . ." (Deuteronomy xxviii. 64).

It was clear from Montezinos' and other travellers' reports that the Jews had already reached one end of the earth. "Let them enter England and the other end would be reached." In this sense Manasseh wrote his book, which, at the instigation of John Dury (1596–1680) was translated into English by the Puritan Moses Wall,[1] from the Latin version (Appendix v), of the original Spanish under the title of *The Hope of Israel* (Appendix vi), which produced a profound impression throughout England. It was followed in the next few years by two other tracts by Manasseh, *The Humble Addresses* [1655] (Appendix vii) and *Vindiciæ Judæorum* [1656] (Appendix viii).

These tracts followed the remarkable evolution of English religious ideas which occurred in the seventeenth century. It is a well-known fact that the recognition of religious liberty in England was due chiefly to the struggle between the True Believers and other Nonconformists. The Reformation had granted only a limited form of religious liberty: when the True Believers themselves began to be persecuted the demand for religious liberty became very strong. The earliest pamphlet on this subject, by Leonard Busher, published in 1614,[2] had already demanded religious liberty for the Jews as well.

[1] "... Moses Wall, of Causham or Caversham in Oxfordshire, a scholar and Republican opinionist, of whom there are traces in Hartlib's correspondence and elsewhere." (*Life of John Milton*, by David Masson (1822–1907), vol. v, 1877, *pp.* 601–2).

See also *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington* (1618–1671). Edited by James Crossley (1800–1883). . . . 1847, *pp.* 355 and 365.

[2] Religious | Peace: | Or, | A Plea for Liberty of | Conscience. | Long since presented to King *James*, | and the High Court of Parliament then | sitting, by *Leonard Busher* Citizen of *London*, and Printed in the Yeare 1614. | Wherein is contained certain Reasons against | Persecution for Religion, Also a designe for a|peaceable reconciling of those that differ in

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The English refugees in Amsterdam came into contact with the Jews of that town, and above all with Manasseh, whom they admitted to the innermost circle of friendship. The intercourse was continuous, and did much to dispel the mutual prejudices which old enmities had created and ignorance had nourished. Intimacies were formed which proved salutary to both, particularly to the Saints. Manasseh was also on terms of intimacy with Oliver St. John (1598 ?–1673), the English Ambassador in Holland (1651), who was afterwards a member of the Committee selected to consider the readmission of the Jews into England.

opinion.| . . . London,|Printed for John Sweeting at the Angel in Popes-head-alley,|1646.| (4*to*. 4 *ll.*+38 *pp*. [B. M.])

Imprimatur :—This usefull Treatise (Entituled *Religious Peace*), long since Presented by a Citizen of *London* to King James, and the High Court of Parliament then sitting ; I allow to be Reprinted. *Aprill* 1. JOHN BACHILER.

A copy of the first edition, published in 1614, has not yet been discovered.

p. 28 : ". . . but shall offend also the Jews, . . . who account it tyrrany to have their consciences forced to religion by persecution."

p. 71 : " Then shall the Jews inhabit and dwell under his majesty's dominion, to the great profit of his realms. . . ."

CHAPTER IV

MANASSEH BEN-ISRAEL

Manasseh as a Jewish *Rabbi* and as a *Hebrew* writer—His activity as a publisher and corrector of *Hebrew* books—The Bible editions, the Psalms and the *Mishnah*—Manasseh's connection with *Safed* in Palestine—*Enseña a Pecadores*—The influence of *Rabbi* Isaiah *ben* Abraham Horwitz—Solomon *de* Oliveyra—Manasseh's *De Termino Vitae*—The Influence of *Don* Isaac Abrabanel—The Lost Ten Tribes and the *Marranos*.

THE literature concerning Manasseh, which is chiefly in English, but partly also in Dutch, German, *Hebrew* and Spanish, is very rich in detail and affords an accurate and thorough insight into Manasseh's intellectual relationship to contemporary Christian scholars and statesmen, and extensive information as to his writings in defence of Judaism, his missions, *etc.* The Jewish Historical Society of England has played a prominent part in the researches on the subject by arranging lectures and publishing excellent papers, and the ground has been covered on the whole very thoroughly. There is, however, one point which has not yet been sufficiently elucidated, *viz.*, Manasseh's attitude as a Jewish *Rabbi* and as a *Hebrew* writer. His literary communications with Christian divines, his apologetic writings in Spanish and Latin, and his Spanish translations present after all only one view of his individuality and activity, the view seen by the outside world. If, however, we wish to describe Manasseh in his private, inner life, and to understand his particular views and methods, we have to leave the apologist and the polyglot translator and to discover the author when he writes for his nation in the national language. Here, and only here, we discover the Jewish scholar in his originality.

In this connection we meet Manasseh as publisher or corrector (proof reader) of his three partial and complete Bible editions: (1) *Chamisha Chumshé Thora*, Amsterdam, 1631; (2) *Sefer T'hillim* (Psalterium Hebraicum ex recens. Manasseh, *etc.*), Amsterdam, 1634; (3) *Esrim V'arba* (Biblia Hebraica), Amsterdam, 1639.

These books were edited by Manasseh with great care and

fine judgment. Heer J. M. Hillesum, the scholarly librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana (Universiteits—Bibliotheek, Amsterdam), supposes that the first *Hebrew* book printed in Amsterdam[1] was the "Daily Prayers" according to the Spanish rite dated January, 1627, and edited by Manasseh.[2] Whatever view may be taken of this assumption, it is, at all events, certain that Manasseh was one of the pioneers of Amsterdam *Hebrew* printing, which will for ever have a distinguished place in the annals of *Hebrew* publications. He not only displayed artistic taste worthy of the friend of Rembrandt in creating the first specimens of beautiful *Hebrew* books, but by the precision of his corrections he proved himself an excellent *Hebrew* grammarian. It must be borne in mind that *Hebrew* grammarians among the *Rabbis* of his time were seldom met with, and found only among scholars of a somewhat progressive type.

He showed his competence also in the *Mishnah*, three volumes, Amsterdam, 5404, corrected with great care by Manasseh Ben-Israel, Teacher of the Law and Preacher, and published by Eliahu Aboab.[3] In this edition we see mere corrector's work. As we gather from the preface, manuscripts of the *Mishnah* were brought from "the town which is full of Scholars and writers, *Safed* in the Land of *Israel*, may God rebuild it soon!"

In the course of our inquiry we shall show that Manasseh was in close touch with the Holy Land; here attention is called only to the fact that in this editorial work Manasseh was actuated by a desire to compare the various manuscripts. These *Mishnaioth* are a wonderful pocket edition, containing the text without any commentary, and evidently destined for repetition. *Talmud* students will find here a good many instructive variants.

Another book edited by Manasseh, though it is merely a

[1] Het eerste te Amsterdam gedrukte Hebreeuwsche Boek. Verbeterde overdruk uit maanblad "*Achawah*" van 1 Februari *en* 1 Maart 1910 (No. 185 *en* 186) by Heer J. M. Hillesum.

(2) סדר תפלות כמנהג קהל קדש ספרד . . .
נדפס עתה במצות הנבירים אפרים בואינו ואברהם צרפתי
באמשטילרדאם בבית מנשה בן ישראל שנת ויישכן ישראל בטח
(16*mo.* 1 *l.*+360 *pp.* (paginated, 2–361)+1 *l.* [Bodleian.])
The only other copy known is in the library of Elkan N. Adler.

(3) יעקב ספיר איש ירושלם is inscribed on the preliminary leaves of the British Museum copy. He was known as *Eben Sappir, Rabbi*, Author and Traveller. Born in Russia 1822 and died in *Jerusalem* 1886.

translation, throws some light on the tendencies of the time and on Manasseh's Jewish connections. This is the *Libro Yntitulado Enseña a Pecadores.*[1] (Appendix ix). This little book contains, in addition to a translation of a prayer composed by *Rabbi* Isaac (1534–1572) *ben* Solomon [Ashkenazi] Luria, a translation of a section of *Rabbi* Isaiah (1555–1630) *ben* Abraham Horwitz's *Sepher Shné Luchot Ha'brith* . . . Amsterdam . . . 5409. The author's name has come down to posterity by the initials of his great work "S. L. H."[2] with the attribute *Hakadosh.*[3] He was *Rabbi* in Frankfort-on-the-Main, Prague, Posen, and Cracow, and then went to the Holy Land, where he was called מרה דארץ ישראל[4] His *Shné Luchot Ha'brith* is a work of admirable erudition in the *Agadah* (Legend, Saga) of the *Talmud,* as well as in homiletics and *Cabbalah. Rabbi* Isaiah Horwitz was a religiously inspired Zionist. His enthusiasm in expounding the glory of the Holy Land (*Shné Luchot Ha'brith, p.* 275, sermon to *Lech L'cha,* and *p.* 389, sermon to *Va'etchanan*) was almost unique in the literature of that time. He combined moreover a rare religious ecstasy and *Cabbalistic* visions with progressive ideas on education, in which he recommended a systematic method, contrary to the customs of that time—a tendency also found in Manasseh. *Rabbi* Isaiah lived to an advanced age, and his activities came to an end in the Holy Land. His manuscript was brought to Amsterdam and published there, with additions by his son David, who was also a distinguished scholar. This book seems to have impressed Manasseh so much that he published a translation of a part of it, containing prayers and contemplations for repentant sinners, evidently for *Marranos,* for whom a great many prayer-books and religious tracts were published at that time in Spanish and Portuguese.

This book, while proving the fact of Manasseh's connection with a great Palestinian authority, shows also that he was in touch with the *Hebrew* poet and grammarian, *Haham Ribi* Solomon[5] *de* David *de* Israel *d'*Oliveyra, the author of *Sharshot Gabluth—Ayeleth Ahabim,* which were both published in Amsterdam in the year 5425 [1665], and many other books and treatises on *Hebrew* poetry. He is considered to be one of the precursors of the revival of

[1] Instruction for Sinners.
[2] Pronounced "*Shloh.*"
[3] The Saint.
[4] Lord of the Land of *Israel.*
[5] *Ob.* 23 May, 1708, at Amsterdam.

modern *Hebrew* literature in Holland, and wrote poems and compositions of a didactic character. In the course of our inquiry we shall discover that Manasseh himself had a great predilection for *Hebrew* poetry. Embodied in the *Enseña a Pecadores* is a "Confession of Penitence" composed by *Haham d'*Oliveyra in *Hebrew* וידוי כפרה and Portuguese [*Vidvy Penetencial*], which includes a prayer for the rebuilding of the "Holy City," using the Biblical phrase:— תבנה חומות ירושלים *Fabricarás murallas de Yerusalaim.*

Another work of Manasseh in Latin, *De Termino Vitae*, Amsterdam, 1639 (Appendix x), was written with the object of answering a question which was addressed by his friend the Christian scholar Jan *van* Beverwijck [Johannes Beverovicius] (1594–1647) to various divines and scholars, and is, consequently, apologetic in character. But two passages throw some light on Manasseh's views as to the Land of *Israel* and Messianism. In one of them he emphasizes the fact that the Jews frequently collect alms for those who live in the Holy Land;[1] and in the other he says that "if anyone desires to know all the controversies of the Jews concerning the explanation of *Daniel's* (*fl.* 3389 *a.m.*) Prophecies, he may read Abrabanel's Treatise, which the learned Johannes Buxtorf II (1599–1664) has translated into Latin."[2] In this way he identifies himself with the ideas expounded by Abrabanel in his *Mayy'neh Hayeshuah*, which showed that Abrabanel was not only Messianistic in the usual sense, but was firmly convinced that the end of the Captivity might be expected in the near future.

Manasseh was a *Hebrew* grammarian concerned with the correctness of ancient sacred texts, and an editor of keen discrimination. In his scholarly work he kept in close touch with the scholars of *Safed;* he was moreover influenced by the religious Zionistic enthusiasm of *Rabbi* Isaiah Horwitz. In his Messianic hopes he was a disciple of Abrabanel, and he highly appreciated the modern though religious *Hebrew* poetry of his time, which poetry he introduced in his devotional book as a *Viduy*, concluding with an apotheosis of *Zion* and *Jerusalem.*

Regarded from the point of view of these ideas, Manasseh of the "*Conciliador*" appears to us in his proper light. Broad-minded, highly accomplished, interested in all the

[1] "*Hinc etiam in Synagogis Hebraeorum . . . vel eorum qui terram sanctam incolunt . . .*" (De Termino Vitae, *p.* 103).
[2] *Ibid.*, *p.* 184.

discoveries of his time—an important period for discoveries —he sincerely believed in Montezinos' report concerning his distant brethren, while, on the other hand, his great devotion to Palestine and his belief in Abrabanel's predictions made the question of the Lost Ten Tribes for him not one of curiosity but one of vital importance for the national salvation. *Judah and Israel* are to return—where, then, is *Israel?* Is the Return thinkable so long as *Israel* is lost? All the legends concerning the *Sambatyon* and the various reports of Eldad *ben* Mahli Ha'dani (*fl.* 9th century) concerning the tribe of Dan and the "Sons of Moses" who live somewhere as an independent, strong nation, were essentially the reflex of a powerful national aspiration. The descendants of *Judah, Benjamin* and half of the tribe of *Manasseh* felt themselves too weak, too humiliated and too few in number to achieve the great work of Restoration, but believing as they did in the impossibility of the disappearance of the ancient nation, they were sure that the descendants of *Israel,* uniting with and absorbed by other nations though they might be at present, would one day be awakened to consciousness as to their origin and join *Judah* in repopulating the Loly Land. This is the reason why they were so fascinated by the reports respecting the Lost Ten Tribes. Is it to be wondered at that *Marranos* were particularly ready to believe in this miracle? Were they not themselves like one of the Lost Ten Tribes in that, after all the tortures of the Inquisition, and after having apparently been ultimately denationalized, converted and absorbed, they had reasserted themselves and were now awakening to a new Jewish revival? Considering that these aspirations happened to coincide with the hope for the Restoration and the rediscovery of the Lost Ten Tribes, in which reformed Christianity, and especially the Puritans, believed, we can fully realize the popularity which Manasseh's ideas had gained in these circles, and we can quite understand how they led to the readmission of the Jews to England.

CHAPTER V

MANASSEH'S *NISHMATH CHAYYIM*

The most important of his Hebrew writings—Quotations from Gebirol, Bedersi, *R.* Kalonymus, *R.* Zerahiah Ha'levi, and others—Plato, Aristotle and Philo—*Cabbalistic* ideas—*R.* Isaac Luria—Miracles and Christian Saints—Manasseh's Jewish Nationalism—"The Jewish Soul"—The *Zohar*—*R.* Jehudah Ha'levi—The holiness of the Land of *Israel*—*R.* David Carcassone, the messenger from Constantinople.

THE most important of Manasseh's *Hebrew* writings, though it is only alluded to incidentally, or dismissed with derisive criticism in some biographies, was his *Nishmath Chayyim* . . .,[1] Amsterdam, 1651 (Appendix xi). Sarcastic observations have been made with regard to the legends and superstitions with which this book abounds. It is true that the book contains many legends and superstitious beliefs; but that is just why, from a literary point of view, it contributes far more to a real knowledge of Manasseh than the writings in which he advocated certain causes as apologist or translator. In this book we get Manasseh himself, a national Jew, preaching to his brethren in the national language. A careful study of the book in the original, with its peculiar style, its wide range of allusion, and its distinctive spirit, gives us a clear idea of Manasseh's religious views, his Jewish national self-consciousness, or—to use the modern term—his Zionism.

The book is a careful compilation, skilfully put together and well chosen in every part. Though somewhat florid in certain portions, it is on the whole excellently written. Its style reminds one of that of Abrabanel, with a touch of *R.* Isaac (1402 ?–1494) *ben* Moses Arama. The author often quotes poetical sentences of Solomon (1021 ?–1058) *ben* Judah Ibn Gebirol [Abu Ayyub Sulaiman Ibn Yahya Ibn Jabirul], known as Avicebron: *R.* Jedaiah (1270 ?–1340 ?) *ben* Abraham Bedersi [Bedaresi].[2] *R.* Kalonymus (1286–

[1] "The Breath of Life": on the existence of the soul, the future life, *etc.*

[2] He quotes Bedersi also in *De Termino Vitae*: "Quando aspicis coelum, quod supra te est"—with the *Hebrew* original (*p.* 17).

post 1328) *ben* Kalonymus *ben* Meir [Maestro Calo]; *R.* Zerahiah (1131?–1186?) *ben* Isaac Ha'levi Gerondi, and others, and thus shows himself well versed not only in the ancient texts, but also in the beauties of comparatively recent *Hebrew* poetry.

Manasseh's argument aims at proving that the immortality of the soul is an old *Biblical* as well as a *Talmudical, Rabbinical* and *Cabbalistic* principle. He defines the *Nefesh* (Soul) as the internal ultimate principle by which man thinks, feels and wills. The term *Ruach* (Mind) denotes this principle as the subject of man's conscious state, while *Nefesh* denotes it as the source of man's physical activities as well. The question of the reality of the soul and its separate existence apart from the body is for him one of the most important problems of religion, for with it is bound up the doctrine of a future life. He knows Plato (427?–347? *b.c.e.*), Aristotle (384–322 *b.c.e.*) and Philo (20? *b.c.e.*—*post* 40 *c.e.*). It is well known that Mysticism shares to a great extent the ideas of the system of Plato, *e.g.* in his theory of the world of ideas, of the origin of the world-soul and the human soul. The two standpoints, the cosmological and the epistemological, are found combined in Plato. In the *Phædo* the chief argument for the immortality of the soul is based on the nature of intellectual knowledge interpreted by the theory of memory; this of course implies the pre-existence of the soul. This doctrine developed into an extreme Transcendentalism. Aristotle, on the other hand, emphasized the intimacy of the union of body and soul. The difficulty in his theory is to determine what degree of distinctness or separateness from the matter of the body is to be conceded to the human soul. He fully recognizes the spiritual element in thought, and describes the "active intellect" as separate, but the precise relation of this "active intellect" to the individual mind was an obscure point in his theory. Philo combined the Platonic theory with the data of the Bible, and taught that every man, by freeing himself from matter and receiving illumination from God, may reach the mystic, ecstatic or prophetic state, where he is absorbed in the Divinity. The Stoics taught that all existence is material, and described the soul as a breath pervading the body. They also called it Divine, a particle of God. Manasseh's system is a syncretism of the ideas of Plato, Philo and the Stoics, while he rejects the Aristotelian ideas. He endeavours to prove that Moses

Maimonides (1135–1204) did not follow the great Peripatetic, and opposes the commentator of Maimonides' *Moreh-Nebuchim* Moses (*fl. 14th cent.*) *ben* Joshua Narboni [Mestre Vidal], in a somewhat forced dialectical manner.

Accepting on these grounds the pre-existence of the soul, the continuance of the soul in the world to come, and reincarnation, he comes to the *Cabbalah*, quotes the *Zohar*, and declares himself a disciple of *R.* Isaac Luria. According to the *Zohar*, man is composed of three things: Life, or *Nefesh*, Spirit, which is *Ruach*, and Soul, which is *Neshamah*. By this man becomes a *Ruach Chajah* (Living Spirit).[1] Manasseh's doctrine may be summarized as follows:—

(1) The human soul is endowed with special gifts fitting it for an intimate union with the Divinity—the Stoic "particle of God," corresponding to the *Hebrew "Chelek Eloha Mimaal";*

(2) The gifts or graces through which every man is equipped for his perfection form his Life, Spirit and Soul into an organized whole, whose parts are knit together;

(3) Through contemplation and piety the human soul enters into that higher heavenly soul, into the mystical cosmos whose parts are united in divine eternity. This is, to his mind, the meaning of the Biblical teaching that man is made in the image and likeness of God.

The *Cabbalistic* ideas once accepted, Manasseh accepts also the transmigration of souls, physical resurrection, expelling of demons, and so on. He indulges in theosophical visions and metaphysical speculations. All these seem strange from a modern point of view, but he should be considered in the light of his time. He believed in miracles. Did not the Fathers of the Christian Church believe in them? Origen (185?–253(4)) says that he has seen examples of demons expelled.[2] St. Athanasius (293–373) writes in the Life of St. Anthony (251(2)–356(7)) from what he himself saw and heard from one who had long been in attendance on the saint. Justin Martyr (100?–163–7), in his second apology to the Roman Senate appeals to miracles wrought in Rome and well attested. Tertullian (155?–222?) challenges the heathen magistrates to work the miracles which the Christians perform[3]; St. Augustine (354–430) gives a long list of extraordinary miracles wrought before his own eyes, mentioning names and particulars.

[1] See *p.* 157, *The Secret Doctrine in Israel*, by A. E. Waite, 1913.
[2] *c. Celsum*, i. 2.
[3] *Apol.*, xxiii.

And even in the time of the Reformation, did not Johann *von* Reuchlin (1455–1522) adhere to *Cabbalistic* mysticism in his *De arte cabalistias* and *De verbo mirifico?* Paradoxical as it may seem at first sight, Manasseh even in his metaphysical beliefs was somewhat of a rationalist, in the sense that he accepted only evidence of trustworthy authority. The *Safed* authorities, who were supposed to have witnessed the miracles of Luria, of course impressed him in the same way as Montezinos' reports, because they were in harmony with his theory. At any rate, it is characteristic of his way of thinking that he was anxious to build upon facts and evidence.

We have had to wander to some extent into a domain outside our province in order to appreciate fully Manasseh's general ideas. His Jewish nationalism, which is for us the principal point, can be understood only in connection with his whole system of ideas. This nationalism is outspoken in the *Nishmath Chayyim*. What we, in modern language, call race, national (from *natus—natio*) individuality, *i.e.* what the Jew is by himself, by the fact of being born a Jew, is termed by Manasseh "the Jewish soul." His system is rooted in his faith in the excellency of the Jewish soul, which is a profound act of homage to the race; that is the point of view from which he regards Jewish history. History, he thinks—and in this point again he is guided by the evidence of historical facts—bears witness to the beneficial influence that the soul of *Israel*, or—more precisely—the *Israelitish* soul, has exerted on the intellectual life of mankind.

On this point he is even carried away by his imagination to make exaggerated statements of the following kind, again backed up by authorities: "It is a truth confirmed by innumerable writers, that all the learning of the Greeks and Egyptians was derived from the Jews: Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria (150 ?–213 ?) and Theodoret (386 ?–247) assert that all the best philosophers and poets owe their learning to the Holy Scriptures, for which reason they call Plato the "Attic *Moses*"; the "Athenian *Moses*." Clearchus the Peripatetic (320 *b.c.e.*) writes that Aristotle gained most of his learning from a Jew with whom he had much conversation; Ambrose (340 ?–397) writes that Pythagoras (*fl.* 540–510 *b.c.e.*) was by origin a Jew, and like a pilferer robbed them of many things; Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor (80 *b.c.e.*) writes that he was a disciple of the prophet *Ezekiel* (*fl.* 3332 *a.m.*). Lastly, it is certain that

Orpheus (*14th* or *13th cent. b.c.e.*), Plato, Anaxagoras (500–428 *b.c.e.*) Pythagoras, the Milesian Thales (640–546 *b.c.e.*), Homer (*fl.* 962–927 *b.c.e.*) and many other very learned men, derived their knowledge from the wide ocean of the knowledge of *Moses* (2368–2488 *a.m.*) and the Sages and professors of his most Holy Law ; for, according to the Psalmist,

"He declareth His word unto Jacob, . . ."
(Psalm cxlvii. 19).

"He hath not dealt so with any nation ; . . ." (*Ibid.* 20).

In his preface to *Nishmath Chayyim* he makes this statement in a more general form, saying that "wherever he quoted the non-Jewish authorities, he wanted only to show that most of their teachings were derived from our ancient sources." He repeats that "Pythagoras was a Jew, and all he taught and wrote was copied from our Holy Law and true Tradition" (*fol.* 171*a*), and that "Plato had learned the teachings of our prophet *Jeremiah*" (*fol.* 171*b*) (*fl.* 3298 *a.m.*). Not that he was lacking in love and consideration for other nations. Far from it : on the contrary, he lays stress upon the sentence of the *Mishnah*, that the pious men even of heathen nations have their share in the future life, inasmuch as they observe the Seven Commandments of the *Noahides ;* and, needless to say, he highly respected Christianity, and was practically the first *Hebrew* author who quoted so often and with such great reverence the authority of the Christian Church. Even when he speaks of the Spanish Inquisition, of which his father was one of the tortured victims, no word of contempt or hostility escapes his pen, although, living in Holland, and dealing almost exclusively with the adherents of the Reformation, he could have expressed his ideas on this subject quite frankly. But, nevertheless, he is convinced that "God gave to the *Israelitish* soul a very special grace, by which it is enabled to feel his sensible presence," that "the *Israelites* are and have to remain a distinct nation, having essentially the prerogative of sanctifying life," and he continually quotes and illustrates the Biblical verses :—

". . . Blessed be . . . Israel, Mine inheritance"
(Isaiah xix. 25).

". . . Israel is the tribe of his inheritance ; . . ."
(Jeremiah x. 16).

"And who is like Thy people, like Israel, a nation one in the earth, . . ." (2 Samuel vii. 23).

as well as several passages of the *Zohar*, which emphasize the particular dignity of the Jewish soul, and *R.* Judah (1085(6)–*post* 1140) *ben* Samuel Ha'levi's [Abu al-Hasan al-Lawi] well-known views, expounded in the *Kuzari* (*chap.* i., *par.* 46) :—

> "The Israelites are favoured, for God gives them holy souls."

This sentence from the *Zohar* is the keynote of Manasseh's teachings, and his favourite phrase when he speaks of all *Israel* is,

> ". . . shall . . . surname himself by the name of Israel" (Isaiah xliv. 5).

Whenever he means to lay stress on Jewish origin, without distinction of country, party, school, *etc.* (a significant allusion also to the *Marranos*), he uses this phrase. If we add that he emphasizes the holiness of Palestine, enumerating the seven degrees of sanctity, explains the desire of pious men to find their rest after death in Palestinian soil by the fact that the *Shechina* will dwell in the Holy Land, and so on —we can realize the depth of his national Palestinian enthusiasm. His devoted attachment to the cause of his persecuted brethren is expressed when he speaks of *Rabbi* David Carcassone, the messenger from Constantinople, "who came to our city to collect funds for the relief of our brethren who had fallen a year before into the hands of the Cossacks, . . . may God send His angel before him" (*fol.* 173*b*) —referring to the massacres in Poland, 1648. The most interesting reference to his propaganda among Christians on behalf of the Restoration is made in his preface, where he relates that towards morning he had a vision : "And I raised my eyes and I saw behold an Angel touched me and said unto me . . . I have given thee for a light to the Nations in the book which thou hast written about the Ten Tribes to possess desolated heritages. . . ."

CHAPTER VI

SOME OF MANASSEH'S VIEWS

The massacres of Podolia—The *Marrano* Tragedy—Manasseh's views on the mission of *Israel*—Dispersion and Restoration—*R.* Jacob Emden's annotations—Manasseh's theory of the Jewish race.

THE frightful massacres of the Jewish communities in Podolia, Volhynia, and other provinces of Poland, entirely startled and horrified Jewry all over the world. For months and years the murder of the Jews went on. No language can describe the cruelties and sufferings inflicted upon this unfortunate people from the Dnieper to the Vistula. There was "a kind of chase taking place within an enclosed area." Some of the aged and prominent Jews were kept as hostages in the hands of the mob, who demanded heavy ransoms from the Jews of other countries. This was the purpose of Carcassone's mission from Constantinople to Amsterdam. Turkey offered an asylum for the hunted refugees who were fortunate enough to cross the boundary, but only very few succeeded, while thousands of those who tried to escape were murdered, or languished in the galleys and prisons as hostages. Manasseh, himself the son of a refugee and a martyr, felt this tragedy. On the other hand, the news concerning the Inquisition in the country of his birth was still horrifying the world, for Jews were still being burnt alive there. Putting together the brief note in the *Nishmath Chayyim* regarding the massacres of 1648 with the remarks in *De Termino Vitae* on the Inquisition, we obtain a terrible picture. In *De Termino* Manasseh alludes to the emigration of the *Marranos.*

The *Marranos!* What a splendid record of noble deeds, of spontaneous, gentle piety, of triumphant suffering, is called to memory at the mere mention of the word! What powerful endurance is described in the history of these Jewish martyrs! What an inspiration to attempt even the impossible in the cause of liberty of conscience! What a great tragedy theirs was—a tragedy illumined by personal deeds of self-sacrifice! Their story is a story of thrilling

personal experiences and of sorrow and separation and death.[1]

They flock, says Manasseh, in thousands to other countries, and it is useless to attempt to tell in a few words the incalculable loss that Spain and Portugal have sustained in losing wealth, and inhabitants, by the inhuman acts of the Inquisition. Apart from their execrable inhumanity, the utter folly of the atrocities is apparent from the fact that the Inquisition forces the wealth, trade and skill of the country to leave it. Here he speaks as a statesman who knows the countries in question. In *Nishmath Chayyim* the note is one of sober-minded resignation. He does not inveigh against the Cossacks as he did against the Portuguese ; he simply expresses the hope that Carcassone may raise the necessary funds, and that God may send His angel before him. By using this Biblical phrase[2] Manasseh expresses his high appreciation of the importance of the mission. The general situation of the Jews in the Diaspora is described by him in short but plain terms : " If the nations would ask, Why are you in captivity, exposed to outrage and contempt, dispersed and scattered . . . ? " Manasseh clearly rejected the idea that Israel's mission demands an everlasting dispersion. It seemed to him that the dispersion ought to be made complete, because it must lead to the Restoration. In this respect his views were not only in accordance with Scripture, but the outcome of a train of reasoning. The process of dispersion has to reach its climax, and then the process of restoration will begin. The *Hagadic* sentence :—

(3) צדקה עשה הקדוש ברוך הוא בישראל שפזרן לבין האומות.
פסחים, פז:

often quoted by the adherents of the dispersion in support of the *Galuth*, was interpreted by Manasseh to mean that so long as the Israelites must live dispersed they should live dispersed among several nations, because in this way their complete destruction is more difficult than if they were dependent upon one or two nations. But dispersion is not for him the ideal state of the Jewish nation.

[1] H. H. R. Jacob *de* Aaron Sasportas gives in his *Ohel Jacob* (Amsterdam, 1737) a most eloquent and stirring description of the tragedy of the Marranos (*Respon.* III.).

[2] ". . . . He will send His Angel before thee, . . ." (Genesis xxiv. 7).

[3] " The Holy One Blessed be He did justice with Israel by scattering them among the nations" (*Pesachim, fol.* 87).

[The only sentence of this kind, against innumerable others in the opposite sense.]

The law of Divine providence with regard to the nation of *Israel* has ever been that defection is eventually to be followed by dispersion and reconciliation by restoration.

> "Son of man, when the house of Israel dwelt in their own land they defiled it . . ."
> (Ezekiel xxxvi. 17).

> ". . . and I scattered them among the nations, and they were dispersed through the countries; . . ."
> (*Ibid.* 19).

> ". . . from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you" (*Ibid.* 25).

> "And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be My people, and I will be your God" (*Ibid.* 28).

There is not one passage in which the promised restoration is represented as anything other than a distinct proof of reconciliation between God and his ancient People, or dispersion as anything other than a punishment. The People and the Land of *Israel* are so linked with one another that whatever continuity is ascribed to the one must, on all strict principles of interpretation, be also attributed to the other. In the twenty-sixth chapter of *Leviticus* we find *Moses* giving the people, as warning and encouragement, a prophetic outline of their future history, which forms the real basis, and, in fact, makes up the substance of all that is found in the later prophets as regards the people of *Israel.* It is true that both the judgments there threatened and the mercies there promised are set forth hypothetically, on the supposition of their wickedly departing from the Lord and afterwards repenting—"*if ye walk contrary unto Me, and will not hearken unto Me,*" on the one hand; "*if they shall confess their iniquity*" on the other. But since the conditional statements are changed—as they are in other places—into absolute announcements of what is to take place, the hypothetical forms of expression must be regarded as merely the appropriate mode of conveying warnings against defection and an encouragement to repentance:—

> "And they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, . . . and also that they have walked contrary to Me" (Leviticus xxvi. 40).

> "I also will walk contrary unto them, and bring them into the land of their enemies; . . . and they then be paid the punishment of their iniquity"
>
> (*Ibid.* 41).

> "then will I remember My covenant with Jacob, and also My covenant with Isaac, and also My covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I will remember the land" (*Ibid.* 42).

It is impossible to deny that the "remembrance of the covenant" and the "remembrance of the land" here go together. If we allegorize the one, we must allegorize the other as well, and then there is neither land, people, covenant, prophets nor law—an obvious absurdity which at once refutes itself. The fundamental Mosaic principle is clear, plain and positive. The land is to be held in perpetuity by the Jewish nation, provided the conditions of the covenant are fulfilled. The infringement of the covenant subjects the rebel to bondage and makes him an outcast from the land of his inheritance. The promise of redemption is a rescue from the penalties thus incurred. Therefore, he explains, the *Agadist* did not say *heglom*, "He drove them out," which is the usual expression, but *pizrom*, "He spread, scattered them," because, so long as the *Galuth* lasts, they have to live in various countries. Yet it is absurd to think that the state of *Galuth*, predicted by *Moses* as a curse, is a blessing. Here we have in short Manasseh's ideas as to the *Galuth* and Restoration. We know that he also acted in full accord with these ideas.[1]

The constitution established by *Moses* was a theocracy. The true King of *Israel* was God, and the constitution was the Law. The priests and Levites were God's ministers; the

[1] The British Museum has a copy of the *Nishmath Chayyim*, Amsterdam, 1651, with autograph annotations of *R.* Jacob Emden [Jacob Israel] (1697–1776) *ben* Zebi Hirsch Ashkenazi (1658–1718). Two of these annotations are of special interest. Manasseh writes (*fol.* 6*b*) about the physical weakness of the Jews when compared with Gentiles. On this Emden remarks: I admit this only with regard to the Jews in the *Galuth;* when the Jews lived in their own land they amazed the Romans by their great heroes and athletes, and more so at the time of the First Temple. In another passage (*fol.* 8*a*), where Manasseh writes about the shorter life of those who keep the Law as compared with others, Emden again remarks: But in Palestine the Jews distinguished themselves by much greater longevity. (M. Seligsohn, the author of Emden's biography in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, who enumerates various books with Emden's autograph annotations, does not seem to have had any knowledge of these annotations.)

prophets were God's ambassadors, commissioned to convey his instructions not only to the people but to the King himself. The Kingdom was thus emphatically the Kingdom of God, and the King was the earthly viceroy of the invisible Sovereign. He was more limited than a constitutional monarch; he was subject not only to the Law, but also to those who were entitled to explain the Law. Such a state of things never existed in any other nation, either in ancient or in modern times. The Jewish nation regards it as an Ideal State, and looks forward to a future in which this idea will be accepted by the whole world, when God will be the King; but this will take place only after the establishment of this Divine order in Palestine. Therefore Jews pray to God to give them their judges and their counsellors as in ancient times, *i.e.* to restore their life under God's order, a life of justice and peace and wisdom; they hope also that this will influence all mankind to recognize the Kingdom of God, *i.e.* the rule of justice, mercy and love. Then the promise to *Abraham* will be fulfilled :—

> ". . . and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; . . ." (Genesis xxii. 18).

and the blessings and privileges of God's Kingdom will be offered freely to all mankind. Here the influence of Abrabanel is evident.[1] Another interesting point in Manasseh's theory is his combination of the idea of the *Nefesh Ha'yisraelith* with the principle of heredity. He terms this principle *Mizgé*[2] *Ha'aboth*, that is, the particular character of the nationality inherited from the ancestors. This is Jewish nationality, which is part of the Jew's inheritance at birth.[3]

[1] Abrabanel's commentary on 1 Samuel viii.

[2] In Biblical *Hebrew* "*Mezeg*" means blended, or mingled ["*Al Yechsar Hamazeg*" (*Cant.* vii. 3)]: in mediæval *Hebrew* it signifies "Character," "Individual Nature," "Temperament."

[3] It is worthy of notice that some Christian theologians have come—from another point of view—to the same conclusion as to the importance of the Jewish race:

"The question of their National Restoration is one of blood and not of creed, of race and not of conversion, of nationality which might include as many sects as in the days of Christ. One only question can be demanded by the hallowed soil of that country, and by the Providence of God—*Are you a Jew?* In this sense the twelve Apostles were Jews, and if now on earth their title to their land is as clear, undoubted, and equitable as that of Nehemiah or any modern Jew. The Christian creed does not make any of that nation less a Jew and a descendant of Abraham. . . . The question of Jewish nationality, and consequently of restoration, is not one of creed but of race, and as such it should be

This is more than the religious idea of the *Z'chuth Aboth* (Merits of the Fathers); it is, though mixed up with *Cabbalistic* notions, an ethnological conception—the real basis of the modern Jewish national idea.

Manasseh's conception of the character (or particular blood mingling) of ancestors, which lives on in the nation, accords entirely with the mode of thought of a modern national Jew as this finds expression in the best writings of the new Zionistic literature. When the Jew feels the pulse-beat of nature in his heart, then the history of his forefathers comes to life within him. He no longer struggles alone through life, he is sensible of connections between himself and millions who have been and of whose spirit and soul he has received a share in life. The most glorious, invigorating feeling which an old race can offer; the consciousness of individual transitoriness and universal constancy, begins only then to be of value for him because the easily intelligible national future has made comprehensible his own infinite one. This psychic process is the unconscious aim of that which he perceives as national longing. The free individual must become a problematic nature if he cannot force the roots of his spiritual and physical personality into the soil of a soul-related community. The unit goes adrift in the chaos of social struggles when it is not linked by a thousand tender and yet untearable threads with the ethnical community of a nation. This ethnical community is the fount of two infinite perceptions which have become the mightiest supports of human civilization; first of all arises the consciousness of national control which develops into the unnoticed, yea, self-evident foundation of the ethnical unit, the moral consciousness of duty and sense of responsibility. National responsibility finds its complement in the right of recovery of the individual against the community. In the wrestle with other morals and conceptions of life, the individual has often to lean on those who are like-minded because like-born so as not to lose himself. It has been repeatedly experienced in Jewish

kept before the mind. The isolation of the Jew would be as great, if all were Christians, as at present. His separation from amongst the nations has been pronounced by that omnipotent word, whose truth and will in effecting its purposes are only equalled by the unalterable character of the Divine nature. They shall dwell alone. They are not amalgamated with the nations. In their final return, a peculiarity of religious rites and laws will keep them apart from other people. Once a Jew, he is always a Jew, whatever may be his creed" (Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth, Remarks, *etc.*, London, 1852, *p.* 21).

history that many Jews have not only lost their veriest substance but have voluntarily surrendered it, so that their culture subsisted only through an ingenious system of exquisite imitations of foreign nature and foreign customs.

What Manasseh understood under " Character of Ancestors " pertains as little to atavism as the modern Jewish national idea. Atavism is something unconscious, it is found even among the dejudaized Jews. But what with the dejudaized is atavism becomes with nationalist Jews the historic basis of their whole life tendency. The comprehension of the past wafts the first breath of life into the present, upon the wreckage of bygone times dawns the premonition of the greatness of each lived moment—and new life blossoms upon the ruins. Therein lies also the power of the national consciousness to create cultural values. What is based upon heredity and tradition is no longer sacrificed to thoughtless recession of self—misconstrued as civilization—but replenished with national love. It is no longer the anarchy of aimless " culture " which wants to link up with the attainments of unfamiliar races so as to become like them, and which as an imitation it can never attain, but it is a strongly rooted culture, which reaches deep down to the national wells of life, and can thereby become equal to all other great and deep-rooted cultures.

The individual is the outcome of a nation, its ultimate aim. The nation is the circuitous way of nature to produce an individual. A nation is great, not only when great creative minds arise from its midst, but also when the many live intensively, so that they receive impulses from the few, and return impulses to the few—and when the past lives on in the present. It is this idea of Jewish nationality which Manasseh had forefelt in spite of his mysticism. He was permeated with religious enthusiasm and, at the same time, all aglow with intense national feeling. Therefore, his thoughts and sentiments tended to greatness; he understood that the best means of strengthening and reaffirming the national consciousness of a people about to lose the knowledge of its ethnical individuality, is just that it should be told its history, that its ancestors should be recalled to memory, their great deeds sung and praised, and that pride of the past should be instilled. As he poetised so sublimely he could

also accomplish great deeds, because he kept his eye upon Palestine he was also able to achieve great results in the Diaspora. He was the father of post-exilic English Judaism, and this Judaism ought to follow in his footsteps.

To conclude, reference should be made to the *Hebrew* writer Perez Smolenskin, himself a pioneer of modern Zionism, who, though he did not deal with the matter in detail, was guided by a sound intuition when he characterized Manasseh in his *Am Olam* (1880) as a great pioneer of the national idea.

CHAPTER VII

MANASSEH'S CONTEMPORARIES

The Renaissance and the Reformation—John Sadler—Milton's belief in the Return—Edmund Bunny—Isaac *de* La Peyrère—Leibnitz——Thomas Brightman—James Durham—The pamphlet "Doomes-Day"—Thomas Burnet—The pamphlet "The New *Jerusalem*"—Thomas Drake—Edward Nicholas, John Sadler, Hugh Peters, Henry Jesse, Isaac Vossius, Hugo Grotius, Rembrandt, Isaac *da* Fonseca Aboab, Dr. Ephraim Hezekiah Bueno, Dr. Abraham Zacuto Lusitano, *H. H. R.* Yahacob Sasportas, *Haham* Jacob Jehudah Aryeh *de* Leon [Templo]—Manasseh's origin.

As a result of the impulse given to Letters generally by the Renaissance in the fifteenth century, and by the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the knowledge of the *Hebrew* language and literature spread rapidly in the literary world, and particularly in the first half of the seventeenth century. *Hebrew* was a favourite study with Puritan ministers, who dwelt much upon the Messianic hopes and promises of the Scriptures and *Rabbinical* works. A great stir was caused among Jews as well as Christians by Montezinos' report and other rumours concerning the lost Ten Tribes. John Sadler (1615–1674) (Appendix xii), Town Clerk of London, a friend of Cromwell, and probably also of Milton and Dury, stated that there was an old prophecy which fixed the time of the Restoration at the year 5408 = 1648 A.D. Puritans and Sectarians began to take the greatest interest in Jewish Messianic affairs just before King Charles I (1600–1649) was executed, for most of them were looking forward to some new reformed Commonwealth, some new communion of saints, some republic, some peaceful kingdom of Truth and Justice, and they connected the restoration of *Israel* scripturally with its advent. That was one reason why Sadler and Cromwell and others were favourably disposed towards the Jews and inclined to let them come back to England, for the idea prevailed that the Jews had first to be dispersed throughout the whole world before the Lord would return to set up His millennial Kingdom. Milton thought that the whole twelve tribes would return to *Zion*;[1] and similar sympathetic views are expressed in an

[1] Paradise | Regain'd. | A | Poem. | In iv. Books. | To which is added | Samson Agonistes. | The Author | John Milton. | London, | Printed by

anonymous romance published in London in 1648, entitled *Nova Solyma* (Appendix xiii), of which it has been claimed he was the author.

Edmund Bunny (1540–1619), a theological writer, devoted himself to the work of an itinerant preacher, visiting towns and villages. His doctrine was Calvinistic, but his warm attachment to the ideals of ancient *Israel* was a singular feature of his theological views.[1]

The distinguished French-Huguenot scholar Isaac *de* La Peyrère (1594–1676) of Bordeaux, probably of *marrano* Jewish blood, author of many works, wrote and published anonymously *Dv Rappel des Ivifs*, M.DC.XLIII.[2] (Appendix xiv) which was intended to be part of a greater work on the same subject.[3] He demands in this book the restoration of *Israel* to the Holy Land in an unconverted state, in the belief that this restoration will lead to the final triumph of Christianity. He expects France to carry out this idea, and appeals in this sense to the Royal Dynasty in a somewhat strange

J. M. for *John Starkey* at the | *Mitre* in *Fleet street*, near *Temple-Bar* MDCLXXI (8°. 2 *ll.*+111+101+1 *l.* ERRATA). "Licensed July 2, 1670."

[Samson Agonistes was translated into *Hebrew* by Joseph Massel and published under the title of שמשון הגבור in Manchester, in 1890. (8°. 3 *ll.*+107 *pp.*+3 *ll.*)]

Joannis Miltoni Angli De Doctrina Christiani . . . Cantabrigiæ, . . . M.DCCC.XXV. (4*to*. 6 *ll.*+544 *pp.*+1 *l.*)

[1] The|Scepter of|Ivdah:|Or, what maner of Government it|*was, that unto the Common-wealth* | or Church of Israel was | *by the Law of God*|appointed.| *By Edm. Bunny.*| . . . *Imprinted at London by N. New-*|ton, and A. Hatfield, for|*Iohn Wright.*|1584.| (*Sm.* 8°. 4 *ll.*+160 *pp.*+31 *ll.* [B. M.]

The | Coronation of | *Dauid* : | Wherein out of that part of the | *Historie of* David, *that sheweth how* | he came to the Kingdome, wee have set | forth unto us what is like to be the end | of these troubles that daylie arise | for the Gospels sake. | By *Edm. Bunny.* | . . . *Imprinted at London by* Thomas Orwin for | Thomas Gubbin and John Perin. | 1588. | (4*to*. 6 *ll.*+108 *pp.* [B. M.])

Of The | Head-Corner-Stone : | by Builders still over- | much omitted : . . . By Edm : Bvnny, Batche-| ler of Divinitie. | . . . Printed by W. laggard, 1611. | (*Sm. Folio*. 11 *ll.*+577 *pp.* [B. M.])

[2] ". . . the curious will be rather surprised to learn that the Abbe [Henri] Grégoire (1750–1831) and others have been under a mistake in asserting that Peyreyra's *Rappel des Juifs* was printed during his life-time, upwards of 120 years : for this singular book, as it appears from the learned Jesuit, his friend, he could never obtain a license ; but the fair copy, which he deposited in a public library, only appeared in print in Paris, after it became the pleasure of the head of the French government to assemble a Jewish *Sanhedrin* in May, 1806, for reasons that are obvious. . . ."

(*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxii., November, 1812, *p.* 432.)

[3] *p.* 373 : ADVIS AV LECTEVR. *Ce petit Traittè n'est qu'vn Essay et vn Extraict d'vn plus grand Desseing que i'ay conceu ; intitulè* SYNOPSIS DOCTRINÆ CHRISTIANÆ AD VSVM IVDÆORVM ET GENTIVM.

homiletical manner.[1] In 1644 he was appointed French Ambassador at Copenhagen. Being on intimate terms with the eminent scholars Isaac [Vos] Vossius (Appendix xv) (1618–1689) and Hugo Grotius [Huig *van* Groot][2] (1583–1645) he became acquainted with their mutual friend Manasseh and with Manasseh's friends, Caspar [*van* Baerle] Barlaeus (1584–1648), Simon Episcopius (1583–1643), Gerard John [Vos] Vossius (1577–1649),[3] Johannes [*van* Meurs] Meursius (1579–1639), David Blondel (1591–1655), [Peter] Petrus [Serrurier] Serrarius (*fl.* 1650–1700) and Paulus Felgenhauer (*circa* 1625), who all supported similar ideas.

The Rev. Thomas Draxe[4] (*ob.* 1618), a theologian of great knowledge and influence, demonstrated that "all the particular promises, such as the land of Canaan, a certain form of government . . . were proper to the Jews . . .," and "that we (Christians) must therefore acknowledge ourselves debtors unto the Jews, and deeply engaged unto them, we must be so far off from rendering or returning them evil for good. . . ."[5]

Thomas Brightman (1562–1607), a Puritan Divine and Bible exegete, in his comment on :—

[1] "Ie fonde cette Cõiecture sur ce que cette grãde Deliurance des Iuifs fut traittée & concluë dãs la ville Royale de Susan: Svsan, qui signifie Le Lys. Ville Royale de Susun qui est donc mesme chose que la ville Royale du Lys : and mesme chose ville Royale de France."

This appeal recalls another of a similar kind addressed in 1672 by Baron G. W. *von* Leibnitz (1646–1716) during his sojourn in Paris (1672–1676) to Louis XIV (1638–1715) about the conquest of Egypt. "Epistola ad regem Franciæ de expeditione Egyptiaca." This interesting appeal, which contains also some references to *Jerusalem* and Syria, was discovered in Hanover during the first occupation by the French and transmitted to the First Consul Bonaparte, who wrote from Namur on the 4th August, 1803 : "Mortier m'envoie à l'instant même un manuscrit, en latin, de Leibnitz, adressé à Louis XIV., pour lui proposer la conquête de l'Egypte. Cet ouvrage est très-curieux." M. de Hoffmann published this document in a pamphlet which appeared in French in 1840 : "Mémoire de Leibnitz à Louis XIV. sur la conquête de l'Egypte."

[2] Swedish Ambassador in Paris, 1635–1645.

[3] William Laud, Bishop of London (1628–1633), presented Gerard John Vossius to a canonry in Canterbury Cathedral in 1629. His son, Dionysius Vossius (1612–1633), translated the *Conciliador* (Pentateuch), Francofurti 1632 [I. S.] of Manasseh Ben Israel into Latin, Francofurti, 1633 [I. S.] and Amsterdami, 1633 [I. S.].

[4] The History Of The Worthies Of England. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, D.D., London, . . . MDCLXII., *pp.* 125–126.

[5] The Worlde's Resvrrection, or The gener'all calling of *the Iewes* . . . By Thomas Draxe, *Minister of the word of God* . . . At London . . . Anno 1608. (*4to.* 6 *ll.*+124 *pp.* [B. M.])

P. van Gunst, sculp.

H. H. Reby YAHACOB SAPORTAS

From a line engraving (proof before all letters)
lent by Israel Solomons

> " And the sixth [angel] poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates ; and the water thereof dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared " (Revelation xvi. 12).

gives reasons why these " kings of the east " must mean the Jews, and then says : " What ! Shall they return to *Jerusalem* again ? There is nothing more certain : the prophets do everywhere confirm it."[1]

The Rev. James Durham (1622–1658) not only upholds, but gives solid reasons for his belief in the Restoration of the Jews.[2]

Mr. Vavasor Powel (1617–1660) expounds with abundant references to scriptural prophecy, the return and re-establishment of the Jews, attended with many miracles and peculiar circumstances.[3]

An anonymous writer relates :—

> ". . . . the Jewes . . . are . . . assembling . . . from out of all countreys . . . to regaine the holy land once more out of the hand of the *Ottaman* : "[4] (Appendix xvi).

Thomas Burnet (1635 ?–1715), Master of the Charterhouse, a great scholar and celebrated author in English and Latin, writes :—

> *Deum nunquam deserturum esse finaliter populum suum Israeliticum.*
>
> Secundò, *Nondum impleta esse promissa omnia Israelitis data.*[5]

[1] A Revelation Of Mr. Brightman's Revelation, Whereon Is shewed, how all that which Mr. *Brightman*, . . . hath fore-told . . . hath beene fulfilled, and is yet a ful-filling, . . . whereby it is manifest, that Mr. *Brightman* was a true Prophet. . . . Printed in the yeare of fulfilling it. 1641. (*4to.* Eng. Front.+1 *l.*+37 *pp.* [B. M.]

[2] A Commentary Upon the Book of Revelation. . . . Delivered in several Lectures, by . . . Mr. James Durham, Late Minister of the Gospel in *Glasgow*. . . . . Edinburgh . . . 1680.

[3] A New and Useful Concordance to the Holy Bible. . . . Also a Collection of those Scripture-Prophesies which relate to the Call of the Jews, and the Glory that shall be in the latter days.

Begun by the industrious Labours of Mr. Vavasor Powel, late deceased : . . . . London, . . . 1671.

[4] Doomes-Day : . . . The gathering together of the Jews . . . for the conquering of the Holy Land. . . . London, . . . 1647.

[5] De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium Tractatus. Ajicitur Appendix de Futurâ Judæorum Restauratione.

Autore Thoma Burnetio, S. T. P. Editio Secunda. Londini : . . . M.DCC.XXXIII. (8°. VIII.+432 *pp.* [B. M.])

p. vi. : Editoris Præfatio. . . . Londini, ex Hospitio Lincolniensi, mense Oct. A.D. 1727 : *pp.* 315–432 : " Appendix de Futura Judæorum Restauratione. Autore Thoma Burnetio, S. T. P."

Another anonymous theologian published in 1674, *A Paper, shewing that the great . . . Restauration of all* Israel *and* Judah *will be fulfilled . . . and that the* New Jerusalem *is most probably then to be set up* (Appendix xvii).

Among the Christian friends of Manasseh, the following distinguished persons may be named: Edward Nicholas, the author of *An Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews*, 1648 (Appendix xviii); the above-mentioned John Sadler, who petitioned Richard Cromwell (1626–1712) for a pension for Manasseh's widow; Hugh Peters (1598–1660), one of Oliver Cromwell's army chaplains, and a strong advocate for the unrestricted admission of the Jews (Appendix xix), Isaac Vossius, the scholarly Protestant ecclesiastic, with whom he was in correspondence.[1] Vossius, at one time a member of the Court of Queen Christina of Sweden, was instrumental in bringing Manasseh to her notice.[2] Dr. Nathanael Homes (1599–1678), the famous Puritan divine and author,[3] and the great painter Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Ryn (1606(7)–1669). The most notable of his Jewish friends were, Isaac *da* Fonseca Aboab (1605–1693) (Appendix xx), *Haham* of the *Sephardi* community at Amsterdam, on whose initiative the Great Synagogue there was erected. Dr. Ephraim Hezekiah (*ob.* 1665) [*de* Dr. Joseph[4] (*ob.* 1641)] Bueno (Bonus), author of several liturgical works[5] and the subject of Rembrandt's

[1] Two of these letters have been published by *Heer* J. M. Hillesum, in his article "Menasseh Ben Israel," in the *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje*, 1899, *pp.* 27–56.

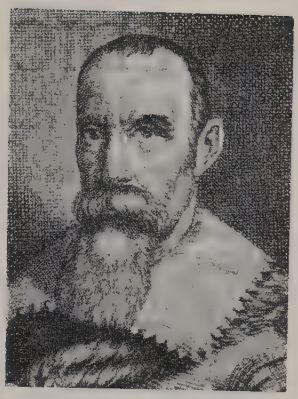
[2] Manasseh in her honour published in Portuguese:—Oracion Panegirica a su Magestad la Reyna de Suedia. Amsterdam, 1642. 4*to.*

[3] The Resurrection—Revealed Raised Above Doubts & Difficulties. In Ten Exercitations. . . . By Doctor Nathanael Homes. . . . London, Printed for the Author, A.D. 1661.

[4] Wrote one of the "Aprovaciones" for "La primera parte del Conciliador enel Pentatcucho, 1632." "Del excelente Señor Doctor Joseph Bueno, Philosopho, y Medico preclaro.": and also a SONETO which appears on the ninth introductory leaf of "Menasseh Ben Israel De La Resvrreccion De Los Mvertos, . . . En Amsterdam, En casa, y à costa del Autor. Ano. 5396. de la criacion del mundo." (12*mo.* 12 *ll.* + 187 *pp.* + 1 *l.* [I. S.]

[5] At the joint expense of Ephraim Bueno and Jona Abrabanel (who both contributed SONETOS to De La Resvrreccion De Los Mvertos) the *Sepher Pene Rabah* [I. S.] was issued at Amsterdam in the year 5388. It was edited, re-arranged and printed by Manasseh Ben Israel. Jona (*ob.* 1667) Abrabanel was a poet, and son of Dr. Joseph (*ob.* 1620?) Abrabanel, a physician in Amsterdam, whose sister Rachel was the wife of Manasseh Ben Israel. Their father, Isaac Abrabanel, a scientist (*ob.* 1573), lived and died in Ferrara, Italy, and was on intimate terms with the famous *marrano* physician, Juan Rodrigo *de* Castel-Branco [Amatus Lusitanus]

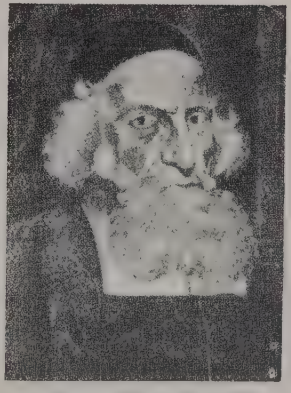
Dr. EPHRAIM H. BONUS



Dr. ABRAHAM ZACUT

H. H. R. MANASSEH BEN-ISRAEL

Haham J. J. A. *de* LEON
[*Templo*]



H. H. R. ISAAC ABOAB
da FONSECA

From rare engravings lent by Israel Solomons

famous etching " The Jew Doctor " ; Dr. Abraham Zacuto Lusitano (1580–1642) (Appendix xxi), one of the most celebrated physicians of his age ; Jacob Jehudah Aryeh *de* Leon [Templo] (1603–1675), chiefly known as having designed models of the Tabernacle and Temple and was called " Templo " for that reason, which was assumed as a surname by his descendants. In anticipation of his visit to England, to exhibit the models before Charles II (1630–1685) and his Court, he published in Amsterdam a pamphlet in English describing them (Appendix xxii) : and *H. H. R.* Yahacob Sasportas (1610–1698), who accompanied Manasseh to England in 1655, was appointed in the month of *Nisan*, 1664, *Haham* of the *Sephardi* community in London. He was the author of one of the treatises in *Sepher Pene Rabah* edited by Manasseh Ben Israel . . . Amsterdam 5388, and also wrote *Sepher Ohel Ya'acob* and *Sepher Kizur Zizath Nobel Zebi*, which were published together at Amsterdam 5497, against the adherents of *Sabbatai Zebi* (1626–1676). His stay here was of short duration—not quite two years. He left the country to escape the plague which was then raging, and subsequently, in 1681, became the Ecclesiastical Head of the *Sephardi* Jews in Amsterdam. It is noteworthy that two of these friends of Manasseh, Aboab and Sasportas, were particularly interested in the Messianic hopes, though from different points of view. Aboab, a *Cabbalist*, whose religious poetry is remarkable for chaste diction and wealth of imagination, was supposed to be a secret *Sabbatian*, while Sasportas, sober-minded and a strict *Talmudist*, was strongly opposed to the mystical tendencies of pseudo-Messianism, and hoped for the restoration in the traditional way.

In 1603 Joseph Ben-Israel, the father of Manasseh, and his wife Rachel Soeiro, secretly left Lisbon. He had been a victim of the Inquisition, which deprived him of his wealth, and on three distinct occasions had been subjected to excruciating tortures, which undermined his health. They apparently fled to La Rochelle, France, for it was here that Manasseh was shortly afterwards born, in 1604, as is attested by his marriage certificate, deposited in the Archives of the City of Amsterdam (Puiboek, No. 669, *fo.* 95 *verso*, 15 Aug. 1623). Here he was also baptized, as it was not until his parents arrived at Amsterdam that they dared avow their

(1511–1568). He was the son of Joseph Abrabanel (1471–1552), a doctor of medicine, born at Lisbon and died at Ferrara, whose father, *Don* Isaac, was the illustrious Bible commentator and statesman.

faith in the God of *Israel*. In a holograph letter[1] of Manasseh to an unknown correspondent (suggested by Mr. E. N. Adler, the owner, to be Gerard John Vossius) he writes: ". . . and the *Thesoro delos Dinim* (Appendix xxiii) of our rites and ceremonies, the last in my Portuguese mother tongue, for I am a Lisbonian by patrimony. . . ." He did not claim Lisbon as his own birthplace, but as that of his father. Most of his connections were with Spanish and Portuguese Jews, though he was opposed to any sort of separation, condemning it in his writings, and emphasizing the necessity of Jewish unity and brotherhood. It is noteworthy that a hundred and twenty-six years later, when the father of Jewish Rationalism, Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), had to defend Judaism and the Jewish people, he found no better apology than Manasseh's *Vindiciae Judæorum* (1656), which was translated into German, and for which he wrote the admirable *Vorrede* (Appendix xxiv).

[1] Amsterdam, ultimo de Janro, 1648.

Mageo y muy docto Sr

. . . *y el Thesoro de los dinim de nuestros ritos y ceremonias, este en mi lengua materna lusitana,* porq' yo *soy por patria Lixbonense*. . . . Con esto *me despide, hora vale amantissimo* S.

El Haham Menasseh Ben Israel.

Jewish Quarterly Review, No. 63, *p.* 569, vol. xvi., April, 1904.—*About Hebrew Manuscripts*, by Elkan Nathan Adler . . . London . . . 1905, *pp.* 65–77—*The Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions* . . . Edinburgh and London. 1908 . . . *pp.* 177–183.

CHAPTER VIII

PURITAN FRIENDS OF THE JEWS

Newes from Rome—Rev. Dr. William Gouge—Sir Henry Finch, Sergeant-at-law—King James I—Archbishop Laud—Archbishop Abbot—Roger Williams—Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer—John Harrison—Rev. John Dury—Rev. Henry Jessey—Rev. Thomas Fuller—Re-admission and Restoration—Manasseh and the Puritans.

THE publication of a tract in 1607, entitled :—

> *" Newes from Rome . . . of an Hebrew people . . . who pretend their warre is to recouer the land of Promise . . ."* (Appendix xxv)

is remarkable for the interest evinced at a time when the presence of a Jew in England was deemed unlawful. It purports to be a translation from the Italian of a letter dated 1 June, 1606, sent by *Signior* Valesco to *Don* Mathias *de* Rensie of Venice. In it he is informed of the perturbed state of the world, and that Hungary, Bohemia and Muscovia are to declare war, seize Constantinople, and drive the Turk out of Europe. Tunis, Morocco, with the Arabians, and others, are to expel the Turk entirely out of Africa. The Soffie, the Medes, the people of Melibar on the border of India are in revolt. The most alarming news is to the effect than an unknown people, strong, mighty and swift, from beyond the Caspian mountains, claiming to be descendants of the lost Ten Tribes, are coming to recover the Land of Promise from the Turk. This is followed by a detailed account of the leaders of each tribe, the strength of each army, with the particulars of its equipment. The letter concludes by a promise of more news in a few days.

It was, however, a Puritan England that welcomed back the Jews as an ancient nation and as the " People of the Book." In 1621 the Rev. Dr. William Gouge (1578–1653) published the anonymous work :—

> *The World's Great Restauration. Or, The Calling of the Iewes* (Appendix xxvi).

In the preliminary leaf, " To the Reader," signed " Thine

in the Lord, William Gouge. Church-Court in Black-fryers. London 8. Ianuary. 1621." he states :—

> "... *I haue bin moued to publish this Treatise ... and to commend it to thy reading. And this is all that I haue done. The worke it selfe is the worke of one who hath dived deeper into that mysterie then I can doe. His great understanding of the Hebrew tongue hath bin a great helpe to him therein. How great his paines haue beene, not in this onely but also in other poynts of Diuinitie, his* Sacred doctrine of Diuinitie, *first published in a little Manuel, after set forth in a larger volume, his* Old Testament, *or* Promise, *Therein the mysteries of the Iewish types and ceremonies are opened, his* Exposition of the song of Salomon,[1] *and this,* The World's great restauration, *or* Calling of the Iewes (*workes of his heretofore and now published*) *doe witnesse.*"

The writer, Sir Henry Finch (1558–1625), Serjeant-at-Law (1616), was a distinguished author of many legal works. Mr. J. M. Rigg, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xix., 1889, tells us, that in this treatise "he seems to have predicted in the near future the restoration of temporal dominion to the Jews and the establishment by them of a world-wide empire." This caused James I to treat the work as a libel, and accordingly Finch was arrested in April, 1621. He obtained his liberty by disavowing all such portions of the work as might be construed as derogatory to the sovereign and by apologizing for having written unadvisedly. William Laud (1573–1645), Bishop of St. David's, 1621,[2] in a sermon preached in July of that year, took occasion to animadvert on the book. It was suppressed, and is now extremely rare.

In spite of the official proceedings, in consequence of which he was forced to sign his recantation and acknowledge his loyalty to the sovereign, Finch clearly never renounced the principal idea of his book. A letter from the pen of a celebrity of the day gives a fair idea not only of the sensa-

[1] *The Sacred Doctrine of Divinity*, 1589, 1613; and *Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, 1615, issued anonymously, are in the Bodleian Library. Neither Wood's *Athenæ*, Bohn's *Lowndes*, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, nor The British Museum catalogue mention them.

[2] Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1626; Bishop of London, 1628; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1633.

tion which Finch's *Apocryphal Apocalypse* created at the time, but also of the personal and somewhat strange motives underlying King James's indignation (Appendix xxvii).

Dr. Gouge was considered equally culpable. He was imprisoned for nine weeks, and only released on giving certain explanations, which [George Abbot (1562–1633)] the Archbishop of Canterbury (1611) deemed satisfactory. He was a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, where he taught *Hebrew*, having been the only steadfast pupil of a Jew (Appendix xxviii) who came to Cambridge to give instruction in that language.

Roger Williams (1604(5)–1683), the son of James (*ob.* 1621) and Alice Williams, was a native of London. He was one of the great pioneers of Religious liberty, his prime contention being that the civil powers should have no authority over the consciences of men. Ecclesiastical tyranny induced him to emigrate in 1631 to America. In 1635 he was banished from the state of Massachusetts for his heretical and political opinions. The following year he and a few other malcontents, after many hardships and trials arrived at Rhode Island, and in gratitude to God's mercy he named the first settlement " Providence." In 1638 he purchased land from the aborigines, and the state of Rhode Island was founded. In June, 1643, he set sail for his native land to obtain a charter, which was granted, dated 14 March, 1644, giving the " Providence Plantations " full power to rule themselves by any form of government they preferred. During his stay here of but a few months, he published two tracts advocating religious and political freedom. In one he writes : " For who knowes not but many . . . of the . . . Jewish Religion, may be clear and free from *scandalous offences* in their life, and also from *disobedience* to the Civill Lawes of a State ?[1]

In July, 1644, he left the English shores, and in the following month, the tract containing this plea for the Jews, was by the order of the Commons publicly burnt by the common hangman. The author arrived at Boston on the seventeenth of December following. In 1651 he again embarked for England, in connection with matters concern-

[1] The|Blovdy tenent,|of Persecution, for cause of|Conscience, discussed, in|A Conference *betweene*|Trvth and Peace.|Who, In all tender Affection, present to the High|Court of *Parliament*, (as the *Result* of|their *Discourse*) these, (amongst other|Passages) of *highest consideration*.|
Printed in the Year 1644.
(*4to.* 12 *ll.*+247 *pp.* [B. M.]) Chap. lvi., *p.* 171.

ing the State he had founded and remained for two and a half years.

Ecclesiastical affairs here were in an unsettled condition, so a "Parliamentary Committee," known as "The Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel," was formed, of which Cromwell himself was a member, to consider certain proposals of some twenty leading divines. Among the papers, one presented by Major Butler and others, contained the following clause :—

> 4. "Whether it be not the duty of the Magistrates to permit the Jews, . . . to live freely and peaceably among us."

This was accompanied by a comment, signed R.W.,[1] in which he argues at length under seven different heads why "this wrong"—their exclusion should not be continued :—

> "I humbly conceive it to be the *Duty* of the *Civil Magistrate* to break down that superstitious *wall* of *separation* (as to Civil things) between us Gentiles and the Jews, and freely (without this asking) to make way for their free and peaceable Habitation amongst us."
>
> "As other *Nations*, so this especially, and the *Kings* thereof have had just cause to fear, that the *unchristian oppressions, incivilities* and *inhumanities* of this Nation against the Jews have cried to Heaven against this *Nation* and the *Kings* and *Princes* of it."
>
> "What horrible *oppressions* and horrible *slaughters* have the *Jews* suffered from the *Kings* and peoples of this Nation, in the Reigns of *Henry* 2 (1133–1189), K. *John* (1167–1216), Richard I. (1157–1199) and *Edward* I. (1239–1307), concerning which not only we, but the *Jews* themselves keep *Chronicles*."[2]

He returned to Providence in 1654, and in September, shortly after his arrival, was elected President or Governor

[1] Roger Williams.

[2] The fourth paper presented by Major Butler to the honourable Committee of Parliament for the propagating the Gospel. . . .
Also a letter from Mr. Goad, to Major Butler, upon occasion of the said paper and proposals.
Together with a testimony to the said fourth paper. By R. W.
Unto which is subjoyned the fifteen proposals of the Ministers.
London, 1652. 4*to*.

of Rhode Island, one of the thirteen original states of the Union, and the first to accord Jews rights and privileges similar to other colonists. He held office until May, 1658, and it is worthy of note that one who took a significant part in securing the admission of Jews to England in the Old World, was the founder of a state in New England in the New World, which was the first to grant equal rights to Jews at a time when he was its President. He died at Providence in the early part of April, 1683.[1]

In 1899 a tablet, with the following inscription :—

> In Memory of Roger Williams,
> Formerly a Scholar of Charterhouse
> Founder of the State of Rhode Island, and the
> Pioneer of Religious Liberty in America. Placed here by
> Oscar S. Straus, United States Minister to Turkey, 1899.

was presented to the Charterhouse, where Williams was a scholar in the year 1624.

In 1649 two Baptists of Amsterdam, Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer, presented a petition to Lord Fairfax (1612–71) and the " generall Councell of Officers " in favour of the Jews (Appendix xxix). Religious fervour had been stirred to a high pitch, and there were few men whose minds had not been influenced by Messianic beliefs and other religious and mystical ideas.

John Harrison (*fl.* 1630), a famous traveller and diplomatist, envoy to Barbary, published *The Messiah already come, etc.* (Appendix xxx). He took a lively interest in the disputes which arose between partisans of the new Puritan movement and those who adhered to the old doctrines, besides dwelling on the question of religious liberty, and he argued that so long as the Jews were not equal in their rights to others as a nation, "the heart will be filled with violence."

John Dury (Durie), the ubiquitous Protestant divine, who travelled much and endeavoured to bring together all sections of Protestantism, was a great friend of the Jews. He was one of those who drew up the " Westminster Confession " and " Catechisms." In 1649–50 he wrote *An Epistolicall Discourse of Mr. Iohn Dury, to Mr. Thorowgood, concerning his conjecture that the Americans are descended from the Israelites* (Appendix xxxi), and during his stay at Cassel, in Germany, *A Case of Conscience, Whether it be*

[1] Roger Williams, The Pioneer of Religious Liberty. By Oscar S. Straus. . . . New York . . . 1894.

lawful to admit Jews into a Christian Commonwealth? (Appendix xxxii).[1]

Another great friend of the Jews was Henry Jessey, or Jacie (1601–1663), a Baptist divine. He began his studies in 1618 at Cambridge, where at St. John's College in 1662 he was admitted Constable's scholar. *Hebrew* and *Rabbinical* literatures were his favourite studies. He projected a revised translation of the Bible and made some progress in it. He collected £300 for the poor Jews of *Jerusalem*, who in consequence of the war between the Swedes and Poles in 1657 were reduced to great extremity, as the main source of income derived from their charitable coreligionists in European countries was thereby cut off. This is, as far as is known, the earliest instance of English Christians helping the Jews of Palestine (Appendix xxxiii).

In 1653 he wrote a treatise for the purpose of reconciling the various religious opinions of Jews and Gentiles, entitled, *The Glory of Jehudah and Israel* (Appendix xxxiv).

His liberality to Jews was memorable on other occasions. He claimed for them the rights of citizenship and admission to this country which was then under consideration.

He was one of the members of the Assembly convened by Cromwell to consider Manasseh Ben Israel's proposals for the return of his coreligionists to England. He is supposed to be the author of an anonymous tract, entitled *A Narrative of the late Proceeds at White-Hall, concerning the Jews* (Appendix xxxv).

Thomas Fuller (1608–1661),[2] Prebendary of Salisbury, delivered several sermons, in which he argued that the Jewish nation was fulfilling an important office in the world

[1] The Rev. Walter Begley, in his issue of *Nova Solyma*, 1902, vol. i. p. 350, refers to the *Commonwealth of Israel*, 1650, as one of Dury's works. The catalogues of the British Museum and the Bodleian Libraries do not record a copy. The *D.N.B.* does not include it in its list of his works, but mentions 20. *Epistolary Discourse* [*on Israelitish origin*], 1649, and 27. *Epistolary Discourse* [*on Americans being Israelites*], 1650, both equally unknown. The latter, however, may be "An Epistolicall Discourse Of Mr. Iohn Dury . . . that the Americans are descended from the Israelites," printed in the preliminary leaves of *Iewes in America . . . Tho: Thorowgood* . . . 1650.

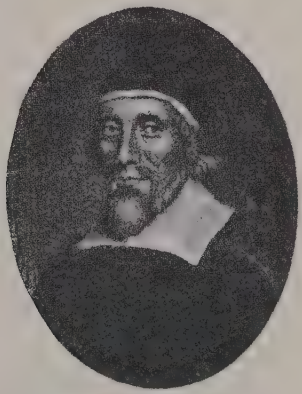
[2] Author of "A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine" . . . London . . . MDCL. He was the elder brother of Francis Fuller (1637–1701), at whose obsequies the Rev. Jeremiah White (1629–1707) said: ". . . But I will add no more concerning his Learning, because it was not only a *Personal*, but *hereditary* Accomplishment: For I think it did belong to his Family to be learned . . ." [*p.* 112: "A *Funeral Sermon* Preached upon the Death Of the Reverend Mr. Francis Fuller . . . By Jeremiah White, . . . London . . . 1702."] (*Sm.* 8°. 4 *ll.* + 119 *pp.* [B. M.])

Sir OLIVER ST. JOHN

THOS. BRIGHTMAN

Rev. Dr. WILLIAM GOUGE

HUGO GROTIUS



Rev. HENRY JESSEY

and was, under the order of Providence, an instrument in giving the victory to good over evil. This nation ought not, therefore, to content itself with mere existence, but should throw its elements, or the best of them, into another mould and constitute out of them a new society which would become a blessing to the world.

All these Christian pioneers of religious liberty and Zionism were in close connection with Manasseh, and helped him to prepare the way for the re-admission of the Jews into England.

The view held by many Christians, especially in England, was that the Israelitish race, now scattered over the face of the earth, would eventually be brought back to its own land. To this was generally added the belief that the Jews would return in a converted, *i.e.* Christian, state.[1] In conformity with the general spirit of the period, all these ideas had a religious colouring in the minds both of English theologians and writers and of the Jews themselves.

Why were these considerations particularly important with regard to England? In seeking an answer to this question we are met at once by the significant fact dealt with in the first chapter of this book: the attachment of Englishmen to the Bible.

The men and women who live in the pages of the Bible had long ago become recognized types for the English nation. As early as the seventeenth century interest in the restoration of *Israel* had become deep and general, England providing the earliest stimulus to Zionism. The connection between this idea, and the idea of the readmission of the Jews into England after long years of exclusion, following their final expulsion under Edward I. in the year 1290, and the steady progress of the latter idea, supported and determined by the former, is characteristic not only of Manasseh's writings, efforts and plans, but of the whole epoch. Facts prove with what steadfastness of aim and consistency of thought the problem was attacked and conquered by the Puritan theologians and writers, and to what an extent their defence of the Jews formed one comprehensive and consistent scheme, of which the readmission of the Jews (justice applied to *individuals*) was one part, and the Restoration of *Israel* (justice applied to *the nation as a whole*) was another.

[1] The final ingathering of the Jews is taught in both the Jewish and Christian Bibles.

Whoever studies Manasseh's writings and the Puritan literature of that epoch will have no difficulty in recognizing that the idea of national justice to the Jews underlies all the discussions and controversies and is common to all schools of thought. Thus Zionism has but brought to light and given practical form and a recognized position to a principle which had long consciously or unconsciously guided English opinion. The ideas of Readmission and Restoration originally formed a single stream in England, before they separated to flow in distinct but parallel channels. Readmission, however, became an immediate practical result, whilst Restoration was left for the future.

CHAPTER IX

RESTORATION SCHEMES

Dr. John Jortin—Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol—Edward King—Samuel Horsley, Bishop of Rochester and St. Asaph—Jewish Colonies in South America—Marshal de Saxe's scheme—Anecdote by Margravine of Anspach—Earl of Egmont's project—Proposed settlement of German Jews in Pennsylvania—Viscount Kingsborough's Mexican colony—John Adams, President of the United States.

THE books and pamphlets, consisting largely of interpretations of the Bible, naturally contain many ideas open to serious criticism on the part of a modern reader. Inevitably also (seeing that the writers were theologians) they exhibit a persistent tendency to conversionism. But one thing that continually impresses one is the earnestness and sincerity revealed throughout. The readmission of the Jews into England was likewise connected in some quarters with conversionist tendencies, but on the whole it was an act of justice, and the Jews profited by it.

The writers with whom we have been dealing were men trained from childhood to read the Holy Scriptures, to reflect upon what they read, and to consider every question from the standpoint of their religious convictions. A certain weakness will no doubt be found in the one-sided exegetical tendency shown in the numberless explanations of the seventh chapter of the Book of *Daniel*, and various Apocalyptic prophecies. But have not all the different denominations done the same ? Has not each one made use of some part of the Bible in order to support its ideas ? Does not every sect explain the word of God according to its own way of thinking ? Do not the opinions of one sect conflict with and contradict those of another ? It must be remembered that this method of Scriptural interpretation was in keeping with the spirit of the time, and that the entire question was still in its infancy. Be that as it may, one cannot but be grateful for the devotion of these Christian champions, in spite of the peculiarity of some of their notions. Although as Jews we often differ from them as regards the interpretation and application of certain verses, still we cannot

withhold our admiration for the sincere enthusiasm which is evinced in most of their writings.

Dr. John Jortin (1698–1770), an ecclesiastical historian and critic, the author of *The Life of Erasmus* . . . London . . . 1758–1760, and of many books dealing with the problem of the Jewish people, developed the idea that the preservation of this people, "under such long, such signal and such unexampled persecutions and calamities inclines one to think that they are reserved for some illustrious purpose of Providence."

Thomas Newton (1704–1782), Bishop of Bristol (1761), a divine of great authority, defended the idea of the Restoration of *Israel* in words which no Jewish national enthusiast could excel. The Jews, he believes, will be restored to their native city and country. At the same time, he emphasizes the dignity and the necessity of Jewish distinctiveness all over the world, and condemns anti-Jewish prejudice :—

> "We see that the great empires, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin ; because, tho' they executed the purposes of God, yet that was more than they understood ; all that they intended was to satiate their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And if such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, let it serve as a warning to all those, who at any time or upon any occasion are for raising a clamor and persecution against them "[1] (Appendix xxxvi).

Edward King (1725–1807), a miscellaneous writer and essayist, was a zealous champion of more enlightened theological views than were approved in his day by the orthodox believers. In one of his books,[2] which is written with intense faith and enthusiasm, and abounds in beautiful passages that appeal to the imagination and heart, the one point in which he is particularly emphatic is the return of the Jews as Jews to the Holy Land.

Samuel Horsley (1733–1806), Bishop of Rochester (1793–1802), Bishop of St. Asaph (1802–1806), considered King's book of sufficient importance to publish another[3] in reply,

[1] Dissertations on the Prophecies, . . . vol. i. . . . MDCCLIV. *pp.* 241–242.

[2] Remarks on The Signs of the Times ; By Edward King, Esq., F.R.S.A.S. . . . . London : . . . 1798. (*4to.* 40 *pp.* [B. M.])

[3] Critical Disquisitions on the Eighteenth Chapter of Isaiah, in A Letter to Edward King, Esq., F.R.S.A.S. By Samuel, Lord Bishop of Rochester, F.R.S.A.S. London : . . . M.DCC.XCIX. (*4to.* V.+109 *pp.* [B. M.])

from which one gathers, that the opinions expressed by King were not entirely rejected. " I agree with you," wrote the Bishop, " that some passages in *Zechariah* (*fl.* 3408 *a.m.*) in particular, make strongly for this idea of a previous settlement . . . and so far I can admit. . . ."

This declaration must have made a profound impression. It was the declaration of a man who was, as a contemporary biographer says, " an ornament to the Senate, an honour to the Church of England, and one of the first characters of the age in which he lived."

In some tracts written at the beginning of the nineteenth century a semi-political note is already sounded, as, for instance, in the tract *A Call to the Christians and the Hebrews, by Theætetus* (Appendix xxxvii). This call did not find an immediate response ; nevertheless, the political idea of the Restoration of *Israel* reappeared at various epochs in England as well as in the other English-speaking countries and elsewhere.

The various efforts to establish autonomous Jewish Colonies in America during the early history of that country are not strictly Zionism, but are not without interest from the Zionist point of view. " Under the authority of the Dutch West India Company. . . . In 1652, a tract of land . . . was granted in the island of Curaçao to Joseph Nunez *da* Fonseca, and others, to found a colony of Jews in that island . . . but it was not successful. . . ." [1]

About 1654 a project was formed for a settlement in Surinam, then a British colony, with Jewish fugitives from Brazil. The scheme is referred to as " Privileges Granted to the People of the Hebrew Nation that are to goe to the Wilde Cust " (*Egerton MSS., vol.* 2395, No. 8. [B. M.]).

A grant was made by the French West India Company to David Nasi, a Portuguese Jew, in 1659, by a charter which authorized him to found a Jewish colony in Cayenne.

Some of the later projects are even more interesting. About the year 1749 Marshal *de* Saxe[2] contemplated erecting

[1] *The Settlement of the Jews in North America.* By Charles P. Daly, LL.D. . . . New York . . . 1893. *p.* 9.

[2] Hermann-Maurice (1696–1750) [Moritz *von* Sachsen], Comte *de* Saxe, Marshal of France, was the illegitimate son of Friedrich August (1670–1733) the First, Elector of Saxony (1694–1733), who reigned over Poland (1697–1733) as August the Second [the Strong] ; and Maria Aurora (1668–1728) Gräfin *von* Königsmark. His father's legitimate son (1696–1763), who succeeded to both dignities as Friedrich August the Second, Elector of Saxony, and as August the Third, King of Poland (1733–1763), was the father of Maria Josepha, the wife of the Dauphin Louis (1729–1765), and mother of that unfortunate Monarch, Louis XVI (1774–1792) of France.

a Jewish state in South America of which he would be King. ". . . We have only meagre accounts of this scheme; I am unable even to say whether he had abandoned it prior to his death. . . ."[1]

The Margravine of Anspach[2] tells us in her anecdotes about him, that " He took a fancy to become a king: and on looking around . . ., as he found all the thrones occupied, he cast his eyes upon that nation which for seventeen hundred years had neither sovereign nor country; which was everywhere dispersed, and everywhere a stranger. . . . This extraordinary project occupied his attention for a considerable time. It is not known how far the Jews cooperated with him, nor to what point their negotiations were carried; nor was his plan ever developed: but the project was well known to the world, and his friends sometimes even joked with him on the subject."[3]

John Perceval (1711–1770), the second Earl of Egmont, when scarce a man, had a scheme of assembling the Jews, and making himself their King.[4]

Hardly was the constitution of Pennsylvania of September 28th, 1776, adopted. . . . A German Jew, whose name and domicile are not mentioned, forwarded a letter to the President of the Continental Congress . . . that a number of German Jews had the intention of settling in America. . . . Let the conditions be stated to us, gracious President. . . . .[5]

Edward King (1795–1837), Viscount Kingsborough, eldest son of George, third Earl of Kingston (1771–1839), promoted and edited with copious notes a magnificent work, entitled *Antiquities of Mexico* . . . 9 vols. Imperial Folio and 60 *pp.* of a tenth volume. London, 1830–1848. The drift of King's speculations was to establish the colonization of Mexico by the Israelites.[6]

[1] *Early American Zionist Projects*, by Max. J. Kohler, A.M., LL.B., in Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, 1900, No. 8 *pp.* 76–79.

[2] Elizabeth (1750–1828), youngest daughter of the fourth Earl of Berkeley, K.T. (1715(6)–1755), who in 1767 married William Craven (1738–1791), afterwards the sixth Baron Craven. In the month following his death, she espoused the Margrave of Anspach (*ob.* 1806).

[3] *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach.* Written by Herself . . . London: . . . 1826. Vol. ii., *pp.* 132–133.

[4] Note by Lord Holland (1773–1840) in *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II* (1683–1760), by Horace Walpole (1717–1797) . . . London . . . 1847. Vol. i., second edition, *p.* 35.

[5] *A Memorial sent by German Jews to the President of the Continental Congress.* By Dr. M. Kayserling. (Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 6, 1897, *pp.* 5–6.)

[6] Gordon Goodwin in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

In this connection special mention should be made of a great American who was undoubtedly inspired by English Puritanism and displayed the same broad-mindedness as the Puritans in relation to the Jewish problem. This was John Adams (1735–1826), the second President of the United States of America (1797–1801), and one of the most distinguished patriots of the Revolution. He was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Zionist idea. In a letter addressed to Major Mordecai Manuel (1785–1851), he says: "I really wish the Jews again in Judea, an independent nation, for, as I believe, the most enlightened men of it have participated in the amelioration of the philosophy of the age; once restored to an independent government, and no longer persecuted, they would soon wear away some of the asperities and peculiarities of their character, ..." But, anticipating that he might be wrongly supposed to desire the return of the Jews to Palestine for the purpose of getting them away from America or limiting their rights in that country, he continues: "I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every part of the world. This country (America) has done much; I wish it may do more, and annul every narrow idea in religion, government and commerce."[1]

[1] Discourse on The Restoration of the Jews: Delivered at the Tabernacle, Oct. 28 and Dec. 2, 1844. By M. M. Noah. With a Map of the Land of *Israel*. New York: . . . 1845. (8°, viii.+55 *pp.*+folded map.) *p.* vi.: "I find similar and stronger sentiments in a letter from President John Adams, written to me when nearly in his ninetieth year, with all the fervour, sincerity and zeal he exhibited in the early scenes of our Revolution," *etc.*

CHAPTER X

PALESTINE

The Love and Knowledge of the Holy Land—The Land of the Bible—The Bible Societies and the Institutions for the Investigation of the Holy Land—The Palestine Exploration Fund—Colonel Conder—Sir Charles Wilson—Sir Charles Warren—Lord Kitchener.

THE love and knowledge of the Holy Land were scarcely less valuable than the influence of the Bible and its language in paving the way for an understanding of Zionist aspirations. What is more natural than that the Land of *Israel* most strongly attracted the Christian Englishman by its past history and its present condition? He could not lay his hand upon his Bible without being reminded of the *Jordan*, of the *Lebanon*, of the *Mount of Olives*. Every Sunday called to his mind the ancient history and lost prosperity of the "glory of all lands," while the existing ruin and desolation of the country gave testimony to the truth of the Bible and the certainty of the promised blessings.

While the familiar passages of Scripture concerning the Restoration were calculated to promote human effort in this great cause—for in many of these passages the spiritual application is not the most obvious, and all of them seem inspired by the vision of a real and natural return to the Land—the Biblical descriptions of the Holy Land contributed not less to the propaganda of what we may call the Zionist idea. There is no country whose geography is, if not better known, at any rate dearer to the heart of man than that of the land of which the Bible speaks.

Apart from the divine character of the Scriptures, they have handed down through the centuries the earliest history of which we have any records, and have preserved for all time records of the economic, domestic and political life of a people which inhabited one of the most important provinces of the ancient world. The people and the land are no allegory, no abstraction; they are realities. They still exist, and they can be brought together again as they were in their natural condition. They are both equally typical, almost unique. There is no other country whose

geographical features are so strongly marked as those of Palestine, the character of whose inhabitants so strikingly depends on peculiarities of position, soil and climate. And there is no other people whose character, history and destinies are so peculiar as those of the Jewish people.

Two kinds of English organizations, without parallel in any other country—Bible Societies and Palestine Societies—have contributed particularly to the investigation of Palestine. Apart from their conversionist tendency, the Bible Societies were founded in order "to promote the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, both at home and in foreign lands." This idea could take deep hold of the minds of the people only in England. The first Bible Society of Great Britain was founded in 1802 (Appendix xxxviii). Shortly afterwards—in 1805—a "Palestine Association"[1] was established for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of its geography, natural history and antiquities, with a view to the illustration of the Holy Writings. The inquiries of the Society were directed in the first place to ascertaining the natural and political boundaries of the several districts within the limits of the Land of *Israel*, the topographical situation of the towns and villages, the courses of streams and rivers, the ranges of mountains, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. They extended to the natural products of the Holy Land and adjacent countries, to peculiarities of soil, climate and minerals, and to the exploration for Jewish antiquities. This was, however, by no means the beginning of the study of Palestine: it was rather a new organization of the studies in question. But notwithstanding the learned and laborious compilations of Christianus Adrichomus (1533–1585), Petrus Ravanellus (*ob.* 1680), Christophorus Cellarius (1638–1707), Thomas Fuller (1608–1661), John Lightfoot (1602–1675), and the more recent work of Dom [Antoine] Augustin Calmet (1672–1757), Johann Heinrich Michaelis (1668–1738), Thomas Harmer (1715–1788), Willem Albert Bachiene (1712–1783), and Ijsbrand *van* Hamelsveld (1743–1812), many of the most important points were still left unexamined. "No country should be of so much interest to us as Palestine, and at the same time no country more urgently requires illustration." With this motto the "Palestine Association" started its fruitful work, which it

[1] Palestine Association. 1805. (Proposals.) *p.* 4. *Saville Row, March* 31, 1805. [B. M.]

continued during the whole of the last century with growing skill and success.

The Society known as the "Palestine Exploration Fund" was first formally constituted in 1865. The object of the founders was the prosecution of systematic and scientific research in all branches of inquiry connected with the Holy Land, and the principal reason alleged for conducting this inquiry was the illustration of the Bible which might be expected to follow such an investigation. The Society numbered among its first supporters both Christians and Jews. The War Office granted the services of Royal Engineers for the execution of excavation work—Colonel Claude Reignier Conder (1848–1910), Sir Charles William Wilson (1836–1905), and Sir Charles Warren. Colonel Conder devoted his whole life to Palestinian research. Earl Kitchener (1850–1916) surveyed *Galilee* for the Society, and his work aroused general interest and led to important results (Appendix xxxix). Hitherto knowledge regarding the country had been very limited; reconnaissance sketch-maps of parts of the country had been made, but every successive traveller was able to point out deficiencies, errors and unexplored tracts. With trained skill, thoroughness and conscientious work the Society combined a love and enthusiasm for Palestine which made it possible to obtain the most admirable results. The progress from the theological character of the first "Palestine Association" to the scientific methods of the "Palestine Exploration Fund" typifies the evolution of the whole Palestinian idea from a traditional belief to a great human and historical aspiration—the same evolution which can be traced in the development of the Zionist idea.

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CHAPTER XI

NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST

The Appeal of Bonaparte to the Jews of Asia and Africa—Haim Mu'allim Farhi—The Fortress of Acre—Jewish opinion in Palestine—El-Arish —*Gaza*—*Jerusalem*—Moses Mordecai Joseph Meyuchas—"A Letter addressed by a French Jew to his Brethren"—France and England—The real motives of Bonaparte's Appeal.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769–1821) issued in 1799 a summons to the Asiatic and African Jews to march under his banner, promising "to give them the Holy Land," and "to restore ancient *Jerusalem* to its pristine splendour" (Appendix xl). One hardly knows whether this was to be taken quite seriously. The Jews in *Jerusalem* appear either not to have put much trust in Bonaparte's flattering words, or to have been utterly ignorant of the proclamation. The question was so important, and so much confusion prevailed regarding it, that the appeal, being vague in its terms, could not lead to any practical action. Some historians suppose that this proclamation was only a trick which Bonaparte played with the intention of winning over to his cause the Jewish minister of the Pasha of Acre, Haim Mu'allim Farhi (1750 ?–1820), the soul of the defence of that important sea-fortress. This supposition, however, is based on no evidence. It is pure speculation, and is highly improbable.

No Jew seriously believed in the success of Bonaparte's ambitious design or in the possibility of his victory, and no attention was paid to his promises. On the other hand, it would not have been impossible to suppose that Bonaparte's plan might succeed after he had conquered Syria and carried the war into the heart of Turkey. He would then perhaps have assigned a share in his government to members of the Jewish nation upon whom the French could rely.

Bonaparte's idea was simple and his intentions were sincere. He regarded the Jews—particularly those living in Asia and Africa—as a nation, and as having indisputable historical claims on the Holy Land and *Jerusalem*. He was

sure that they would help him and hail his victory as a happy triumph[1] if they knew that their national ideal was to be realized and "ancient *Jerusalem*" to be restored to its "pristine splendour." Was this not the same policy which he applied in later years in his relations with the small nationalities in Europe?

Jewish opinion in the East was reserved and somewhat pessimistic, not with regard to the purpose, but concerning the opportunity and the means. The Jews were willing to make any sacrifices in order to restore "ancient *Jerusalem*" in a peaceful way, but not to revolt against the rulers of the country. Moreover, they knew that this campaign was bound to be a failure.

The Turks followed the plan of allowing the inadequate forces of Bonaparte to advance as far as possible from their Egyptian base, while they massed heavy forces in Syria. El-Arish and *Gaza* in the south-west of Palestine fell into the hands of Bonaparte's army on the 17th and 25th February, 1799. The Jewish community of *Gaza* had fled. In *Jerusalem* the news of victories and atrocities created a general panic. It was rumoured that Bonaparte was about to enter the Holy City. At the command of the deputy Governor the inhabitants began to throw up ramparts, the Jews also taking part in the work. One of the *Rabbis*, Moses Mordecai Joseph Meyuchas, encouraged and even assisted them in their operations. After these occurrences the success of Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria was arrested,

[1] In an Order, in which he confirms the prerogatives of the Monks of the Mount *Sinai* convent, he refers to the Jews.

Au Caire, le 29 frimaire au 7 (19 décembre, 1798).

Bonaparte, général en chef, voulant favoriser le convent du mont *Sinai*: . . . 2° Par respect pour *Moise* et le nation juive, dont la cosmogonie nous retrace les âgres les plus reculés; . . . Bonaparte.
(*Correspondance inédite officielle et confidentielle de Napoléon Bonaparte* . . . Egypte. Tome Deuxième. Paris . . . M.DCCC.XIX. *p.* 179.)

In another Appeal, Bonaparte ordered his troops to treat the natives with tolerance: "Agissez avec eux comme vous avez agi avec les Juifs, les Italiens; ayez des égards pour leur mufti et leurs imams, comme vous en avez eu pour les rabbins et les evêques; ayez pour les cérémonies que prescrit l'Alcoran, pour les mosquées, la même tolérance que vous avez eu pour les convents, pour les synagogues, pour la religion de *Moise* et de Jésus Christ" (Proclamation of General Bonaparte of the 22nd June, 1798).

Colonel Sebastiani wrote concerning the Jews in his report on his mission to Constantinople in 1802 in a somewhat anti-Semitic spirit: "Les Juifs sont, comme partout ailleurs, indifférents sur tout changement de gouvernement qui ne leur offre pas la matière à de nouvelles spéculations" (*Bibliothèque Diplomatique—Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottomane* . . . Par le Baron J. *de* Testa . . . Tome Premier France. Paris . . . MDCCCLXIV. *p.* 513).

chiefly by the arms of Great Britain, and his schemes in the East were frustrated.

The appearance of Bonaparte in Palestine was like the passing of a meteor, which, after causing much perturbance, disappears. His dream of becoming Emperor of the East faded away quickly. Still the fact remains that the idea of the Restoration of *Israel* had occupied the mind of this great conqueror in the prime of his youth, at the very beginning of his unexampled career. He and his adherents seemed, even after this failure, to persist in gazing with a wistful eye towards the same quarter, and their ambitious plans evidently involved the future fortunes of those Eastern countries which have so long been the monotonous scenes of isolation and ignorance.

Whatever judgment we may form as to the practical value of Bonaparte's scheme in those days, the suggestion of restoring Palestine to the Jews remains highly significant. It is obvious that had there not been Jewish aspirations of this kind in France such a suggestion could not have arisen even as a fantastic plan or as a caprice of military headquarters in a distant country. Bonaparte had too much political foresight even in his younger years to run the risk of engaging himself in an undertaking before he had sounded the competent circles in his own country. As a matter of fact these aspirations were expressed, and, imaginary as they were, seem to have been very popular among French Jews. There is, consequently, reason to conclude that Bonaparte's scheme was, in reality, more serious than it might have seemed at first sight.

A most curious document, almost entirely overlooked or underestimated by French historians, throws some light on the real tendencies of that time among French Jews. This is a " Letter addressed to his brethren by a Jew " in 1798[1]—one year before the Bonaparte Proclamation (Appendix xli). This letter is a sort of Zionist programme. It is a mixture of different elements, partly Jewish, partly pan-French Imperialist, expounded in a manner that only a deep Jewish national feeling could have inspired. The impenetrable political speculations of those days already contain the germs of some ideas which are developed to full consciousness and clearness a hundred years later in modern Zionist speeches, pamphlets and programmes.

[1] Restoration of the Jews . . . Second Edition . . . By J. Bicheno. 1807. *pp.* 60–62.

The author of this "Letter" rightly proclaims in the first place the pre-eminent interest of his theme, "the greatest theme of Jewish history." "It is at last time to shake off this insupportable yoke—it is time to resume our rank among the other nations of the universe." The nations of the world—he now hopes—will support the Jewish claim that the Jewish nation should be treated on the lines of the national idea. The design of the author, then, is to suggest a solution of no less a problem than the Jewish Tragedy. He begins with a review "of the Jewish situation during many ages under the weight of the cruellest persecutions," and this review is not less tragic than the Jewish elegies of the Middle Ages, though it was written a few years after the great Revolution. He then addresses himself to his main task, the exposition, based, as far as he is able to base it, on lessons learnt from contemporary events, of that system of Restoration which he regards as the most practical.

This author was, no doubt, the agent and mouthpiece of the people behind him. The fact that this "Letter" was published at the suggestion of those then in power in France shows that the scheme suggested in it was in accordance with the views of the Government. This being the tendency of the Government, the appeal addressed by Bonaparte to the Jews of Asia and Africa one year after the publication of the "Letter," in 1798, appears to be a logical consequence of prevailing opinions. Moreover, the fact that schemes of this kind had gained great currency in England, and that the Restoration of *Israel* was a favourite idea of the English, could not be unknown in France. It is scarcely necessary to point out what was the fundamental idea of the Egyptian and Syrian campaign. The idea of the Restoration of *Israel*, as suggested in the "Letter of the French Jew" in 1798 and in Bonaparte's Appeal of 1799, was merely a link in the same chain.

To sum up, the situation of affairs, in view of the possibility of great changes in the East, seemed to afford an opportunity for the solution of the Jewish problem on national lines. Bonaparte may also have been anxious to avail himself of the services of the Jews of Asia and Africa. But the essential point is that many influential Christians as well as Jews considered the Jewish problem from a national point of view at the end of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XII

HAIM FARHI

Saul Farhi—Ahmad Jazzár — Saul Farhi's sons: Haim, Solomon, Raphael and Moses Farhi—Jewish communities in Palestine and Syria—The importance of Palestine in the struggle between Bonaparte and the Ottoman Empire—Haim Farhi's martyrdom.

In order to grasp the real importance and meaning of Bonaparte's idea, we have to occupy ourselves with the *dramatis personæ*, and first of all with Haim Farhi. The life of this man was full of romance and of a devotion which has not yet met with such appreciation from Jewish historians as it deserves.

Haim Farhi was born at Damascus about the middle of the eighteenth century. The Farhis were an old Jewish family, whose members for several generations devoted their energies to the task of defending their ancient nation, while remaining loyal subjects of the Ottoman Government. Haim's father, Saul, was "*Katib*" to Ahmad Jazzár (1735 ?–1808), who was first *Pasha* of Acre and Sidon, then for a few years *Pasha* of Damascus, and afterwards for many years again *Pasha* of Acre and Sidon, and exercised a great influence over Syria and Palestine. Ahmad Jazzár (the Butcher) was a man without morals, as cruel as he was capricious and impetuous. Instead of using his influence and great wealth to promote the happiness of his subjects, he left the large plain near Acre almost a marsh. Pomp and luxury were greatly encouraged by him, while agriculture was neglected. His conduct was the exact opposite of that of the Sheikh Daher, his predecessor, who raised Acre from a village to a large town, and during whose reign the population of the district increased immensely. The main source of the riches of Jazzár was the *pashalik* of Damascus, which he contrived to add to his former dominion. Till the year 1791 the French had factories at Acre, Sidon and Beyrout. In that year they were all expelled from the territory of Jazzár by a sudden edict, which allowed them only three days in which to leave their respective abodes, under the penalty of death.

Jazzár retained his ill-gotten *pashalik* of Damascus a few years only. His government knew no methods but those of oppression and cruelty; he extorted from his people a considerable part of its fortunes, and put to death several hundred persons, who were mostly innocent. His own suspicious conduct, as leader of the caravan to Mecca, combined with the machinations of his enemies at the Porte, led finally to his deposition; but he left behind living monuments of his cruelty in the shape of mutilated subjects who by his orders had had their noses and ears cut off. Thus driven from Damascus, he returned to his former *pashalik* of Acre and Sidon.

Jazzár, who was full of energy and life, and was possessed of some heroic qualities, but was a monster in human form, and a true specimen of the Eastern "*satrap*," addressed himself to his *Katib* for assistance and advice. *Katib* in Arabic, like *Yazgy* in Turkish, means no more than "writer" or "scribe," but the office confers greater power than the name implies. The *Katib* is often at once government secretary and treasurer; and, as he is generally a permanent official in the *pashalik* for life, while the *pashas* are often changed, by removal or death, it necessarily happens that he is master of the business of the *pashalik*, and of its revenues and resources, while the *pashas*, coming from distant provinces, enter upon a rule of which the key is in the *Katib's* hands, and are compelled to keep him in their service and to be guided by him. The *pashalik* of Damascus was, moreover, singularly placed, in so far as its *pasha* and chief officials had to go every year on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and consequently were more than ever bound to confide their affairs to the *Katib*. It is said that the order of march, the ordinances and regulations for the pilgrims, the quantity of provisions required and various other essential facts connected with this important occasion, had somehow become secrets in the keeping of the Jews, and that Saul Farhi was considered a great expert and a recognized authority in these matters. He had four sons: Haim, Solomon, Raphael and Moses (*ob.* 1840) and one daughter. Haim, the eldest, was initiated by his father into all the professional secrets of his office. He was a young man of excellent abilities and learning. In the early part of his life, when he was still in Damascus, the machinations of his enemies prevailed in so far that he was summoned to Constantinople to answer certain accusations made against

him ; and, being mulcted in a fine which he was unable to pay, he was thrown into prison. His sister, a woman of great energy, undertook the journey from Syria to Constantinople to petition for her brother's release. She succeeded, and brought her brother back to his house. Haim's loyalty and integrity were placed beyond doubt, and his experiences in Constantinople must have helped to give him knowledge of the laws and insight into the central government, to which he was sincerely devoted. He was then appointed by Jazzár to the post of *Katib* or minister at Acre, where there lived at that time thirty-six Jewish families. *Jerusalem* had, besides 9000 Moslem and Christian inhabitants, about 1000 Jews ; and old communities of considerable size existed in *Tiberias, Safed, Jaffa* and *Hebron.* Although not important in numbers, the Jews, owing to their connection with the communities of Damascus, Aleppo, Bagdad, Constantinople, Smyrna and Salonica, which possessed numerous religious schools, and big business enterprises extending as far as Egypt and India, were justly considered an important element. The fact that Saul Farhi was *Katib* at Damascus, and his son Haim at Acre, and that, according to the general opinion, the Jews were better acquainted than anyone else with the route to Mecca, and with the ordinances and regulations, which were not only of a fiscal and commercial value, but also of great strategic importance—this fact did not fail to appeal to the imagination of Bonaparte. From this point of view, and considering all the circumstances, it would appear that Bonaparte's appeal to the Jews was not so fantastic as it might seem at first sight. It was a well-considered scheme.

Haim Farhi's activity was twofold. It fell to his lot to look after the communications with Damascus and the Hedjaz, to remain in touch with all the distant centres of commerce and resources, and at the same time to cultivate very carefully relations with Constantinople. Both these departments of official activity abounded with difficulties and responsibilities. The roads were bad, the tribes, clans, and families much divided and continually at feud with one another. Communications were unsafe, and the danger of being cut off was always imminent. On the other hand, the maintenance of peaceful relations between a powerful, capricious *Pasha* and the *Padishah* with all his camarilla was naturally a hard task. Farhi had secured a reputation for exceptional

ability in both directions. Having been brought up in the atmosphere of the *Katib's* profession, he was better informed than anyone else concerning the communications and the state of affairs in Damascus and elsewhere, while his dignity of manner, worthy of the descendant of an old Jewish family, his intellectual gifts and wonderful knowledge of Eastern languages, enabled him to cope most successfully with the duties of a diplomatic career. As to the latter function, there is the testimony of Jazzár, to whom is ascribed the statement that "Farhi's notes to the Porte have the wonderful quality of being polite as well as expressive."

Needless to say, Farhi's influence and activity, which would have been important even in times of peace, proved of exceptional importance at the eventful period when for the first time since the Crusades East and West were involved in a struggle for existence. It was one of the strangest caprices of history that this contest of strength between the greatest powers of the world—Bonaparte and the Ottoman Empire of that time, backed up by Great Britain—was to be decided in the Holy Land, in the neighbourhood of that little port, and that a son of the nation which had possessed this land and made it a land of glory, and to which God had promised it as an "everlasting inheritance," was the very soul of the defence, frustrating all the plans of the enemy.

Haim's career, romantic as it was, derives a peculiar interest from one of its incidents, which makes the *Pasha* appear as a monster of barbarity and madness. The story sounds like the invention of a wild imagination, but is a real, indisputable fact. We mentioned with regard to Jazzár's activities in Damascus that living monuments of his cruelty remained behind in the shape of the noseless faces and earless heads of the Damascenes. This passion for maiming and mutilating seems to have grown with him in Acre.

The Rev. John Wilson[1] (1804–1875) tells us: "Almost every one in his domestic establishment was maimed. Some wanted a hand, some a foot; others mourned over the loss of a toe, a finger or an ear, according as the rage of the tyrant happened to be directed. Haim Farhi was an able man and withal of fine figure and prepossessing address. He enjoyed the confidence of the *Pasha*, and grew rich in his

[1] Land of the Bible . . . Edinburgh, 1847. Vol. ii., *pp.* 341–342. Note 1.

employment. One day Ahmad (Jazzár) said to him: 'Haim, you have a fine person, you are very beautiful, you are the most athletic of men; when visitors come, it is you, not me, they admire; every one seems to say how happy is the *Pasha* to have such a man: Now, because of this I had some thoughts of dismissing you from your office; but my great love to you prevents that; you cannot, however, have any objection to my putting out one of your eyes.' The barber was instantly sent for; and Haim Farhi lost his eye. He continued in his office, and faithfully discharged its duties, and the *Pasha* continued to heap favours upon him. The Jew, however, was attentive to his appearance, and dexterously contrived to edge down his turban so skilfully that his visual defect was not much observed. Jazzár noticed this, and said to him one day, 'All I have done has been of no use, you have become as beautiful and as attractive as ever; I must cut off your nose.' The barber was again sent for, and Haim lost his nose. He still continued in the service of the *Pasha*, and discharged his duties faithfully, and even presided over the obsequies of his tyrannical benefactor."

CHAPTER XIII

NAPOLEON IN PALESTINE

Bonaparte approaching *Jerusalem*—Anti-Jewish accusations—Bonaparte and the Christians—Suleiman *Pasha*—Abdallah *Pasha*—Haim Farhi's martyr death—The Farhi family—Generations of martyrs.

THROUGH the primitive but excellent channels of information of the Eastern caravans, Bedouins and Dervishes, Bonaparte must have heard of this treatment of the Jewish minister by the "Butcher," and of the other atrocities committed by him. The expulsion of the French from Acre, Sidon and Beyrout by this *Pasha* in 1791 was still fresh in his memory as an insult to France.

Haim Farhi continued his services; his popularity suffered no diminution, and it was evidently he who provided Acre with the necessary supplies, kept communications open with the hinterland, and made it possible to offer the stoutest resistance ever recorded in history. Great Britain helped, the Turks and Arabs were brave, and Jazzár with all his savage caprices possessed, no doubt, remarkable abilities as a general; but the soul of the entire organization was Haim. Winning him over would have meant breaking down the defence; but it was impossible to win him over.

Under such conditions Bonaparte approached *Jerusalem*. He had reached *Ramleh* (between *Jaffa* and *Jerusalem*) and intended to besiege the Holy City, but he changed his mind and turned to Acre. Meanwhile rumours spread that the Jews were helping the French as spies, and that they sympathized in their hearts with Bonaparte. This is the familiar story which hatred and calumny set on foot whenever people are excited, and there is any opportunity of stirring up thoughtless credulity and brutal instincts against a weak and defenceless minority. Bonaparte captured *Gaza* on the 25th December, 1799. The Jews of that place had to endure brutal treatment at the hands of Bonaparte's soldiers, so that many seized the opportunity of escaping. The Jews of *Jerusalem* were, meanwhile, in the greatest danger of being massacred by the Mohammedan

inhabitants, who accused them of being in secret communication with Bonaparte with a view to the surrender of the city. The Mohammedans actually believed that all the Jews of *Jerusalem* were spies and traitors, and they secretly resolved among themselves to kill all the Jewish inhabitants as soon as Napoleon marched on *Jerusalem*. This resolution, however, got abroad and was communicated by a Mohammedan, a confidant and friend of the Jews, to two *Rabbis* named Algazi and Meyuchas, who saved Palestinian Jewry, and particularly the *Jerusalem* Jews, by their presence of mind and wise precautions, such as arranging public prayers, helping to fortify the city, *etc.* The sight of the venerable, grey-headed *Haham* Meyuchas standing with a spade in his hand did not fail to impress the Mohammedans. The Jewish community was thus saved ; still at *Tiberias* and *Safed* the Jews were savagely treated by Bonaparte's soldiers.

It is impossible to know who circulated the accusation against the Jews. Such accusations are like proverbs ; nobody knows their author, they are in the air, they appeal to the imagination, gain currency and subsequently become dogmas ; nobody has examined their soundness, there is no evidence, no reason, there is merely a vague generalization, and yet people believe in them. We cannot know what some Jews may have thought of Bonaparte's attempt : oppressed, persecuted, insulted as they were by the Jazzárs, some of them may have thought that Bonaparte's victory would be their salvation, although, on the other hand, the behaviour of his soldiers caused great suffering. But in practice the Jews were most loyally devoted to the Ottoman cause.

The Jews were saved, and the outraged Farhi remained in service. According to the testimony of all his Christian contemporaries, this Jew, like a real Christian, " loved his enemy." When Jazzár died, in 1808, he arranged the ceremonies of the funeral with remarkable devotion. Jazzár was succeeded by Suleiman *Pasha*, who confirmed Haim in his dignity. Suleiman, an *ex-mameluk*, ruled with Farhi sixteen years, and this was the happiest period for Palestine. Suleiman died in 1824, and Abdallah, the son of Ali *Pasha* of Tripoli (*ob.* 1815 at Acre), who was educated and looked after with great care by Farhi, was appointed *Pasha* of Acre. Very soon after the appointment of Abdallah *Pasha* the Jewish minister came to a tragic end. Abdallah showed himself not an impetuous barbarian of the

Jazzár type, but a miserable and treacherous murderer. Jealous of his benefactor's popularity, and seeing that it was impossible to disfigure him further, he ordered his *Kiaja* (minister of the police) to assassinate the old and venerable statesman, and to throw his body into the sea. The implacable tyrant was deaf to the entreaties of the dead man's family and friends, who implored him to allow the body to be buried. It is said that the body was left floating for several days near the harbour, and that the *Pasha* ordered his servants to attach heavy stones to it and then to throw it into the sea. Farhi's property, the personal fortune which he had acquired not as the result of his official occupation but as a member of an old and wealthy family, was ransacked and confiscated. His family escaped, and his widow died, in consequence of hardships, on her way to Damascus. As to the pretext for the murder of Farhi there are various accounts. According to Damoiseau, a French renegade, Abdallah (in whose service he was) proposed the building of some new fortifications. There was no practical reason for the fortifications ; relations with the European powers being friendly, the measure could only stimulate the suspicions of the Porte. Moved by these reasons and by considerations of economy, Farhi objected. He was sentenced to death, and the *Kiaja* was authorized to carry out the execution. This he did by attacking the old man suddenly in his house, and murdering him in the night. But Abdallah never thought afterwards of building any new fortification. The version given by *Rabbi* Joseph Schwarz (1804–1860) in his *T'buoth Ha'arez* (Jerusalem, 1845) is somewhat different in details, but the facts are essentially the same. Another traveller, Professor J. M. A. Scholz (1794–1852), happened to be at that time in the neighbourhood of Acre, and he confirms the first version. He gives also the precise date of the assassination : the 24th August, 1824.

Peaceful and loyal as the Jews in the East were, this monstrous crime seems to have put an end to their great patience. The brothers of Haim in Damascus arranged to send an expedition of revenge. This was the first time for several centuries that Jews had gone forth as fighters in their own cause. The *Pashas* of Aleppo and Damascus concluded a treaty, and supported the expedition arranged by the Farhis. They besieged Acre, and had it not been for a spy sent to the camp of the Farhis, who succeeded in

treacherously poisoning Solomon Farhi, the expedition would have had an excellent chance of success. The death of Solomon, however, put an end to the expedition, of which he was the organizer and leader. The last survivor of Haim's brothers was Raphael. He also was a distinguished statesman. He was Minister at Damascus in 1820, and after the restoration of Ottoman rule in Syria was elected to the Council of that town.

Rev. John Wilson[1] gives a further account of his visits to Damascus in 1843. "6th June.—Mr. Graham and I visited the house of the chief *Rabbi*, Haim Maimon Tobhi. He had been eighteen years resident at Damascus, but is a native of Gibraltar. He had obtained, he said, an English passport, entitling him to British protection, from Lord Palmerston (1784–1865); and he had been elected to office on account of the privilege which he thus enjoyed, it having been conceived by the Jews, that the name of an English subject, borne by him, would give weight to his dealings with the Turkish Government" (*Ib.* 330). "On the second day of our excursions among the Jews we visited one of the princely mansions of the Farhis, the richest bankers and merchants of Damascus." In a footnote Wilson quotes [Sir John] Bowring's [F.R.S.] (1792–1872) *Report on Syria*, *p.* 94: "As a class, the Jewish foreign merchants of Damascus are the most wealthy. . . . The two most opulent are believed to be Mourad Farhi and (Raphael) Nassim Farhi, whose wealth in trade exceeds one and a half millions each. Most of the Jewish foreign houses trade with Great Britain." In the first of these mansions Wilson admired the library, containing nearly the whole of Jewish literature, to which Jewish students had free access for purposes of study. He met there some of the *Rabbis*, who told him that the Jews of Damascus were supposed to number 5000 souls, and those of Aleppo 6000. He and Mr. Graham, who accompanied him, were then introduced to the female members of the household, who "deported themselves with a dignity and grace which would have done credit to the nobility of Europe." "On the 8th of June we visited the mansion of Raphael, the chief of the Farhis. On our arrival we were received by a Jew, who humbly described himself to us as the 'worthless Jacob Peretz,' a quondam tutor to the children of the great man, and who in acknowledgment of his services is, with his whole family, retained as part of his

[1] Land of the Bible. *Ibid.*, *pp.* 330–341.

household, which, he informed us, consists of from between sixty to seventy souls." This establishment was even grander than that which we visited yesterday. . . . Mr. Graham expressed his doubts whether those in our own Royal palaces are superior to them." He then gives particulars of the principal apartments and reproduces a *Hebrew* inscription with an English translation (of his own). Of special interest is Mr. Wilson's description of the head of the family, Raphael, the Nasi of the Damascus Jews, an old man who was at that time seriously indisposed, but received him and his friend with great kindness, and took them to his library, which was very large.

In 1840, during the riots following the accusation against the Jews, Raphael and his sons suffered very severely. Raphael died very soon after Wilson's visit. This was the end of this Jewish family, whose history is bound up with the history of Palestine and Bonaparte's expedition. They have a twofold claim upon our attention, first as eminent Jewish statesmen, and secondly as Palestinian martyrs.

CHAPTER XIV

TWO *JERUSALEM RABBIS*

Rabbi Moses Mordecai Joseph Meyuchas—The Spanish Jewish traditions—*Rabbi* Israel Jacob Algazi—The importance of the Jewish settlement in Palestine—Zionist aspirations.

To obtain an idea of the views and aspirations of the Jews of Palestine in that period we may glance at two *Hahamim* of *Jerusalem*—Moses Mordecai Joseph Meyuchas and Israel Jacob Algazi.

Haham Samuel Moses Mordecai Joseph *de* Raphael *de* Meyuchas was born in 1738 and died in *Jerusalem* in 1806. He was the descendant of a family of *Rabbis* and *Talmudic* scholars of great fame in Palestine and elsewhere. His most valuable contributions to *Talmudic* literature are his three works : *Mayim Shaal* (Salonica, 5559), *Shaar Ha'mayim* (Salonica, 5528) and *B'rehot Ha'mayim* (Salonica, 5549), which show profound scholarship and wide learning. He was on terms of intimacy with the great *Talmudic* scholars of his time, who addressed to him questions on various religious and communal matters. In the Preface to his *B'rehot Ha'mayim* he speaks in exalted terms of his love "of the dear land, the Golden *Jerusalem*," and of "the changeable events of his time." He says that he has had much to suffer, and that, poverty-stricken as he is, he enjoys his miserable existence and keeps in good spirits ; he expresses his humble gratitude to God for having allowed him to earn "a piece of dry bread," and to bear his share in building up the city ; and adds that his only hope and aspiration is to be able to spend his life there to a very advanced age. His use of the verse :—

> "For He hath made strong the bars of thy gates ; . . ."
> (Psalm cxlvii. 13).

in connection with what he describes as the "good idea," which he "carried out," might be taken as an allusion to his remarkable action in 5559 (1799), when this old *Rabbi* "stood with spade in hand labouring on the fortification of *Jerusalem*, digging and working with the greatest industry to make a new bastion and rampart around the fort, the

Kallai,"[1] were it not for the chronological fact that his book was published in 5549 (1789). He is said to have practised medicine, and though this was not uncommon among the *Sephardi Hahamim* of the old generation, it probably indicates that he was a man of wider outlook than that of the usual *Rabbi* type. It is a mistake to suppose that all Palestinian *Rabbis* of the older generation were superstitious and hostile to science. The *Sephardi Hahamim* of that time in particular had preserved something of the scientific and rationalistic tradition of the Judæo-Spanish school. Some of them were men of great ability, well versed not only in the *Talmud*, but also in Oriental languages. They cherished an intense and sincere love for the Holy Land, and, if the position of the Jewish people in the country was maintained, through all the horrors and dangers of war and plague, stress and danger, it was due to the self-denial and the wonderful moral strength of those noble martyrs who guided and inspired the down-trodden people. Mostly descendants of the Spanish-Jewish fugitives who found refuge and shelter in the dominions of the *Sultan*, their loyalty and gratitude to their rulers were sincere and deep-rooted. The *Jerusalem Rabbis* were attached to their masters and friends in Constantinople, Salonica, Smyrna, Damascus and Aleppo. The Jewish communities, particularly those in distant parts of the Ottoman Empire, suffered severe afflictions from time to time, but they bore their heavy burdens with fortitude and resignation in order to maintain and to strengthen their foothold in the country. They trusted in the justice of the Central Government, and did not expect anything of Bonaparte's invasion, or of any other invasion of the kind.

Haham Meyuchas was at that time *Dayan*.[2] Another scholar of great authority was the Chief *Rabbi* of *Jerusalem*, *H.H.R.* Israel Jacob Algazi, a great-grandson of *Haham* Solomon Algazi the Elder (who was *Rabbi* in Smyrna and in *Jerusalem* in the seventeenth century, wrote on all subjects of *Rabbinic* literature, and contributed much to the science of *Talmudic* methodology). *Haham* I. J. Algazi wrote some valuable books on homiletics and *Halachah*, which testify to his exceptional genius and astonishing industry. He was an excellent *Rabbi*, possessed of a keen intellect and a high sense of duty. His books *She'erith Jacob* (Constantinople,

[1] *Sepher T'buoth Ha'arez*, by Joseph *ben* Menachem Schwarz, *Jerusalem*, 5605.

[2] Ecclesiastical Assessor.

5511) and *Neoth Jacob* (Smyrna, 5527) contain many chapters that bear testimony to his ardent desire for the development of the Jewish community in the Holy Land.

We read with special interest the books written by these two rabbis during that troublous period. These books are distinguished by the highest intellectual ability. There is nowhere a trace of weariness, languor or even indifference to be found; on the contrary, freshness, strength and unsatisfied intellectual impulse are throughout discernible. Living ideas pervade them all. It is impossible for any reader who is a *Talmudic* student not to be touched by their depth and force of sentiment, and their exceptional vigour and eloquence, in spite of the usual clumsiness and complexity due to the old *Rabbinic* language. It is indeed a relief to turn from the intrigues of the Pashas and the bloodshed of the expeditions to *Haham* Jacob Israel Algazi, who writes in a reply to the Leghorn Jews: "We are here insignificant in numbers, modest in our requirements, and we pray God that we may become self-supporting. We have to be here for the sake of our ancestors and our children's children. This question is not of appearances, but of realities; not of delights, but of duties; not of private option, but of divine authority." Both these *Rabbis* deal with Palestinian affairs in an elevating spirit and from an idealistic point of view. Whatsoever is in Palestine is holy and sublime, and all Jews are bound to support the *Yishub*.[1] This is the keynote of all their ideas. *Haham* M. M. J. Meyuchas writes to Salonica: "We have in our community some artisans, too few for our nation—because they should be more numerous here—and too many for the charities to support them when they are workless; more wealthy people should come here." And *Haham* Algazi discusses the question of the special *Rabbinical* rules concerning the right of the community to inherit the property of rich Jews who die in Palestine leaving relatives in other countries. "It is not the community," says the learned *Rabbi*, "it is the whole of *Israel* which is the iheritor in this way. . . . Our people, so long scattered, oppressed, and trodden down, and wonderful from the beginning till now, should never despair. Israel is not deserted," he says in another passage. The aspirations of an ancient people, as he knew, do not depend on the intrigues and adventures of *Pashas*, and will outlive all these passing incidents.

[1] A Settlement.

CHAPTER XV

NAPOLEON'S *SANHEDRIN*

The "*Sanhedrin*"—*R.* David Sintzheim—M. S. Asser—Moses Leman—Juda Litvak—Michael Berr—Lipman Cerf-Berr—The Decisions and Declarations—Napoleon I and the Jews.

MEANWHILE circumstances had undergone a material change, and eight years after the failure of the Syrian Campaign and the Appeal to the Jews of Asia and Africa, Bonaparte, now Napoleon I, issued an order to convene a Jewish "*Sanhedrin*" in Paris (1807).

This came as a joyous surprise to the Jewish nation. The "Great *Sanhedrin*," a feature of the ancient Jewish Government which had perished together with the Second Temple, and which alone had been endowed with unlimited religious authority in *Israel*, was to be revived in modern times, in the centre of civilized Europe, for the purpose of taking decisions which would command indisputable recognition on the part of Jews in all countries and throughout all centuries. "A great event," wrote one of the leading Jews of that time, "is about to take place, one which through a long series of centuries our fathers, and even we in our own times, never expected to see, and which has now appeared before the eyes of the astonished world. The 20th of October (1807) has been fixed as the date of the Great *Sanhedrin* in the capital of one of the most powerful Christian nations, and under the protection of the great Prince who rules over it. Paris will thus show to the world a remarkable scene, and this memorable event will open to the dispersed remnants of the descendants of *Abraham* a period of deliverance and prosperity."

On the 9th February, 1807, the Grand *Sanhedrin* assembled at the Grand Synagogue in Paris under the Presidency of *Rabbi* David Sintzheim (1745–1812) of Strasburg. Service was read in *Hebrew*, French and Italian ; an excellent discourse was delivered by the President in the first-named language. After his discourse he took a scroll of the Law from the Ark and blessed the Assembly, and then recited a

Damame de Martrait, del. et Sculpt.

GRAND SANHÉDRIN
Convoqué à Paris par ordre de Napoléon-le-Grand, 1807

From an aquatint printed in colours lent by Israel Solomons

prayer for the Emperor, the glory of his arms, and the return of peace. From the Synagogue the Assembly adjourned to the Hôtel de Ville, where, after appropriate speeches from the most distinguished members, the Committee appointed by the late First Consul laid before the *Sanhedrin* a general plan of organization for Mosaic worship, consisting of twenty-seven articles. According to this plan a Consistory and Synagogue were to be established in each Department containing 2000 Jews ; those of the persuasion who intended to reside in France were to announce their intention to the Consistory within three months of their arrival on French territory ; there was to be a Central Consistory in Paris, consisting of five persons, of whom three were to be *Rabbis ;* and none were to be appointed *Rabbis* who were not naturalized in France or in the Kingdom of Italy. The functions of the *Rabbis* were to be :—

1. To give instruction in religious matters.

2. To inculcate the precepts contained in the decisions of the Grand *Sanhedrin.*

3. To preach complete obedience to the laws, and particularly to those enjoining the defence of the country, and above all, to exert themselves every year during the time of conscription, from the first summons to the complete carrying out of the law, in exhorting their followers to conform to that measure.

4. To impress the need for military service upon the Jews as a sacred duty, and to explain to them that so long as they devoted themselves to that service, their religion would give them a dispensation from such laws and customs as were incompatible with it.

5. To preach in the Synagogues, and to recite the prayers which were offered up for the Emperor and the Imperial Family.

6. To solemnize marriages and give divorces.

On the 12th February the *Sanhedrin* met again formally and commenced its deliberations as to the plan of organization. During the ensuing March the Deputies from Holland, Moses Solomon Asser (1754–1826),[1] Moses Leman (1785–1832), the learned Polish Jew, Juda Litvak (1760–1836), and the delegates of Frankfort-on-the-Main were admitted into the *Sanhedrin,* and declared, in the name of their constituents, that they would adhere to the doctrinal decisions

[1] Great-grandfather of the eminent Dutch Jurist, Tobias Michael Carel Asser (1838–1913).

of the great *Sanhedrin* of France and Italy.[1] The President answered both delegations in *Hebrew*, congratulating them upon their resolutions, and also the Assembly on having them in its midst, and himself on having to answer co-religionists from a community so highly distinguished for its piety, and now governed by a just and liberal Prince, from whom the friends of humanity had everything to hope and expect. In brief, he considered himself fortunate in having to congratulate the Deputies of a country in which equal participation in the common rights of men had long since been granted to all the inhabitants, including the *Israelites*, who were quite as industrious as the best of the citizens. The President afterwards gave a discourse in French, which made a most favourable impression on the Assembly, and offered them the opportunity of expressing their gratitude to the great man whom Providence had chosen to be the instrument of its blessings and its miracles. He expressed the most sanguine hopes as to the salutary influence which that august Assembly and its labours would have upon the future destiny of the Jews. Having expressed sentiments of lasting devotion to all his colleagues, who had been convoked by the voice of this great man, from the Pyrenees to the borders of the Maine, and from the shores of the Adriatic to the Zuyder Zee, to form a religious Assembly unparalleled in modern history, and having done justice to the talents of the two Assessors, he paid, in the name of the *Sanhedrin*, a tribute of homage to the Commissaries of the Emperor, *MM.* le Comte Louis Matthieu Molé (1781–1855), Etienne Denis, Baron et Duc *de* Pasquier (1767–1862), le Comte Joseph Marie Portalis (1778–1858), and others, whose assiduity, zeal and indulgence had so powerfully contributed to the success of the common cause. *M.* Abraham Furtado *de* la Gironde (1756–1816) afterwards proposed a vote of thanks to the Chief of the Grand *Sanhedrin*, which was adopted with acclamation. *M.* Michael Berr (1780–1847) then read the Procès Verbal, and the President concluded by announcing that the sittings of the *Sanhedrin* were closed.[2]

[1] *The Times* reported on the 17th January, 1807, from Warsaw, the capital of Poland: "It is stated, that there are no less than nine thousand *Jews* in Warsaw. BUONAPARTE will very probably confer on them the privilege of sending their Representatives to the Jewish Sanhedrim, at Paris. At all events, it is likely that his *Corsican Majesty* will have some business to settle with them. [Baron Alexander *de*] Talleyrand (1776–1839) is going there, and will want *beaucoup d'argent*."

[2] Collection des Procès-Verbaux et Décisions du Grand Sanhedrin, . . . Publiée par *M.* Diogène Tama. Paris . . . 1807. [B. M.]

Some historians have been inclined to regard the Paris *Sanhedrin* as a denial of Jewish nationality. This view is wrong, and no conception of history could be more contrary to the facts. A careful study of the literature of that time will show that the *Sanhedrin* was inspired by traditional Jewish ideas. One of the most prominent French Jews, who was the first Jew to practise in France as a barrister, *M.* Michael Berr, had sent a request to all princes and nations "to release the Jews from bondage." Another member of the *Sanhedrin, M.* Lipman Cerf-Berr (1760–1831), said in his public speech: "Let us forget our origin! Let us no longer speak of Jews of Alsace, of Portugal, or of Germany! Though scattered over the face of the earth, we are still *one people, worshipping the same God,* and as our law commands, we are to obey the laws of the country in which we live."[1] This is not the language of men who aim at assimilation and the disintegration of their nationality. The ideas of these men are not to be confused with what modern Jewish assimilation preaches. Modern Jewish assimilation denies and rejects all Jewish "separatism" except on the religious side. Consequently, it would not allow the Jew the right to forget that he was in Alsace, in Portugal, and so on. According to the assimilation doctrine, a Jew must be merely an Alsatian, or a Portuguese, "of the Jewish persuasion." The purpose of the *Sanhedrin* was evidently quite different. The *Sanhedrin* intended to reconstruct European Jewry on French imperial lines, with a religious centre in Paris. It therefore examined, with great care and minuteness, those passages in the Bible and the *Talmud* which showed that the general laws of the Empire were binding on the Jews. On these premises was based a declaration of loyalty given by united Jewry, and sanctioned by the revival of the *Sanhedrin,* an ancient national institution.

For Napoleon, however, the *Sanhedrin* had another purpose, connected with his imperial ambitions. He hoped that the Jews, living scattered all over the world, would contribute to the strengthening of his world-empire. Two years prior to the edict of 1806–7 he had conceived the idea of utilizing the special talents of his *Hebrew* subjects to that end. He had probably discovered that their financial skill

[1] Collection des Actes de l'Assemblée des Israélites de France et du royaume d'Italie, . . . Publiée par M. Diogène Tama. Paris, . . . 1807 [B. M.] *pp.*: 71, 124, 157, 158.

was unrivalled, that their commercial correspondence and intercourse throughout Europe was more speedy and reliable than any other, and that the ramifications of their business in various countries gave them a great advantage over all their rivals. He intended to make them his devoted co-workers in carrying out his universal political plans, and with that end in view he contemplated granting them many concessions. As, however, the political and legal position of the Jews in France, as well as in other countries, was still insufficiently defined, and numberless accusations were directed against their religious principles and *Talmudic* laws, he deemed it necessary to lay the foundations of a more definite status. As a preliminary step in this direction he summoned this meeting of the great *Sanhedrin*, which was to consist of the most eminent and learned *Rabbis* from every part of France, as well as from adjacent countries over which his influence extended. The purpose for which this convention was avowedly called was to "convert into religious doctrines the answers given by the assembly, and likewise those which may result from a continuance of these sittings." But these statements admit of various interpretations: they may mean a confirmation as well as a reformation of the old traditional laws. And while confirmation by a *Sanhedrin* is unnecessary, reformation would appear impossible. The *Sanhedrin* had no authority whatever to reform Judaism, and no intention of doing so. No conservative Jew would accept the *Sanhedrin's* opinion in a matter of religious tradition, and, on the other hand, "reformed" Jews would not be satisfied with its decisions, or, not being bound by any tradition, would not require *Rabbinical* decisions at all.

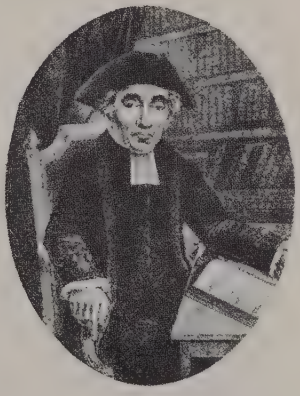
In reality the patriotic Declaration of the *Sanhedrin* was intended to discredit and demolish the dangerous accusations against the Jewish people and against the teachings of Judaism. It is a mistake to regard it, as some writers have done, as an indication of a desire for the reform of Judaism or for assimilation. The statements of the *Sanhedrin* were in accordance with the traditional Jewish Law. Its solemn declaration of loyalty and patriotism was not an innovation. The fathers and grandfathers of the *Rabbis* who made this declaration were not less faithful and loyal to their Governments and to the countries in which they lived than the *Rabbis* of the *Sanhedrin*. The Declaration was practically a new edition of the *Modaa Rabba*

MEMBERS OF THE PARISIAN SANHEDRIN

ABRAHAM FURTADO

Rabbi ABRAHAM *de* COLOGNA

Rabbi BARUCH GOUGUENHEIM



Rabbi EMMANUEL DEUTZ

Rabbi J. DAVID SINZHEIM

Rabbi JACOB MEYER

From rare engravings lent by Israel Solomons

printed as a preface to every treatise of the *Talmud*. This *Modaa* declares for human solidarity, community of interests with other nations and loyalty to the Government in the old traditional way ; the *Sanhedrin* expresses identical views in modern language, in accordance with the spirit of the new age and environment. The purport of both is undoubtedly the same.

Far from being a natural product of internal Jewish development, the *Sanhedrin* was a governmental affair intended to organize Jewry in the new world-empire. But it remained an episode, because Napoleon's attitude towards the Jews was, generally speaking, far from consistent. At one time he offered them *Jerusalem;* at another he was inclined to transport *Jerusalem* to Paris. Some time before the *Sanhedrin* assembled, he seemed to be vexed with the Jews—a feeling of a temporary character, which was probably the reflex of disappointment in his far-reaching plans. On other occasions he showed exceptional kindness to Jewish soldiers and other Jews.[1]

All these facts combined lead to the inference that the Jewish problem had often engaged his attention. He seems, like his adherents, to have wavered as to the acceptance of the idea of the Restoration of *Israel* or of that of Assimilation, but finally embraced the doctrines of the Sanhedrin, which could be applied easily to the small Jewish population in France. The elimination not only of the Jews of Asia and Africa, but also of the Jews in other European countries, from the Jewish problem in France, caused by the failure of great schemes of conquest, necessarily narrowed the scope of the Jewish problem and deprived it of its former grandeur.

[1] See *Napoléon et les soldats juifs, par Petit de Lagare*, p. 29.

CHAPTER XVI

ENGLISH OPINION ON THE *SANHEDRIN*

English opinion on the *Sanhedrin*—F. D. Kirwan—Abraham Furtado—Rev. James Bicheno—The Declaration of the *Sanhedrin* and English comment—M. Diogène Tama—The Prince *de* Ligne.

COMING back to English history, we now propose to trace the impression produced in this country by Bonaparte's Palestine Appeal of 1798 and the Proclamation of a *Sanhedrin* in 1807.

English opinion on this point was quite clear. No objections were ever raised to the restoration of the Jewish nation to Palestine: this idea had been cherished in England for centuries. But English opinion was opposed to its becoming a strategic or political instrument in the hands of an ambitious conqueror. Moreover, that opinion was not inclined to separate the idea of the Restoration of *Israel* from that of the emancipation of the Jews. Thus the *Sanhedrin* was considered merely a tentative preliminary step towards Restoration, and the Declaration made by that body against Jewish national aspirations produced an impression of surprise and bewilderment. This Declaration was not, in fact, intended to be a denial of Jewish nationality in its ethical, historical, cultural or religious aspect: it was rather an avowal of political loyalty. Yet such a Declaration, expressed as it was in exaggerated terms, was calculated to surprise and puzzle the genuine friends of the Jews in England, and give rise to misunderstanding.

F. D. Kirwan, the English translator of the *Parisian Sanhedrim*, published in French by the French-Jewish editor, M. Diogène Tama (Appendix xlii), says, in his preface: "... The ultimate views which Bonaparte may have on the Jewish nation are, to this day, involved in obscurity; while the supposed advantages he so pompously conferred on them may reasonably be called in question. When we consider that the Jewish population of France and Italy is not calculated, by the deputies themselves, at more than one hundred thousand souls (a small number indeed when compared with the population of those countries), we are at

a loss to see what great advantages could immediately result to Bonaparte from the Jews embracing zealously the profession of arms. We well know that his gigantic plans of ambition rest on the laws of conscription ; but the Jews are already liable to them ; they can hardly escape their excessive rigour ; and even the whole of the Jewish youth, of the requisite age, would, in point of number, make but a contemptible reinforcement to the immense armies of France.

" These exhortations to embrace the profession of arms, so zealously repeated by the leading members of the French-Jews, are besides, always coupled with strong recommendations to follow mechanical trades and husbandry ; in short, those professions without which *a nation cannot exist by itself*, but which are not more particularly useful than any others to a small given number of people, who consider *as their country* an Empire in which these professions abound."

" We find these same recommendations strongly inforced in the answer of M. Furtado to the commercial Jews of Frankfort, who hardly can have a choice of employment. ' We have,' says he, ' too many merchants and bankers among us, and too few artificers and husbandmen,—and, above all, too few soldiers ' : but if their *countrymen* thoroughly fill these branches of employment, what necessity is there for having husbandmen, artificers, and soldiers *of their own ?*

" The Jewish deputies say that Bonaparte conceived the idea of their *regeneration,* or their *political redemption,* in the land of Egypt and on the *banks of the Jordan.* This we doubt not ; and though we are almost ashamed to hazard the extravagant supposition, we feel a conviction that his gigantic mind entertains the idea of re-establishing them in Palestine, and that this forms a part of his plan respecting Egypt, which he is well known never to have abandoned.

" No one will contend that this idea is too wild for his conception ; it is, on the contrary, perfectly consonant with his love for extraordinary, dazzling enterprises ; he acts in this even with more than his usual foresight, by attempting to prepare the Jews for the new situation he intends for them. It is with this view that he encourages them to follow those professions which are necessary for men forming a distinct nation in a land of their own ; for certainly, a body wholly composed of merchants and traders could never exist as such. . . ."

" The answer to the sixth question, by which the French Jews acknowledge France as their country, without any restriction whatever, is a still more heinous dereliction of the tenets of the Mosaic law ; for they give up, by it, the hope of the expected Messiah, and of the everlasting possession of the promised land of Canaan, which they deem a part of the sacred covenant between God and His chosen people.

" While we thus inculpate the Jewish deputies, it cannot be expected that we shall lay too great a stress on the fulsome and frequently impious flattery which characterizes all their productions. . . .

" But flattery is the opiate of the guilty conscience ; it sooths the pangs of remorse ; . . ."[1]

A similar view was expressed with considerable eloquence by the Rev. James Bicheno (1751–1831), of Newbury, an Anapabtist minister who attained some distinction in his day through his works on the Prophecies, and of others on various subjects (Appendix xliii). He was the author of *The Restoration Of The Jews. The Crisis Of All Nations ; . . .* 1800[2] (Appendix xliv).

This book is a valuable contribution to Christian pro-Zionist literature. The author is a great believer in the future of *Israel* and of Palestine, but he looks upon the problem mainly from a religious point of view, though he does not demand any conversion of Jews prior to their Restoration. Many of his conclusions are unacceptable, and others are incapable of proof, but even these are useful in so far as they may " stimulate the minds of rulers to meditation, and thus suggest to them new aspects[3] and new ways of inquiry " ; and although there is little thought in his book, and some of its main themes are not developed with completeness or accuracy, the ingenuity which leads to so many suggestions, and the elegance which groups them so artistically, give the book vivacity and diversity. The author refers to the *Parisian Sanhedrim*, and accepts the view of the English translator, F. D. Kirwan.

". . . If the *Sanhedrim* were to consult only on what was

[1] Transactions of the Parisian *Sanhedrim* . . . London, 1807. *pp.* (iii.), vii.–ix., xv.

[2] A Second Edition, " To which is now prefixed a brief history of the Jews," was published in 1807.

[3] *Ibid., pp.* 1–63.

NAPOLEON LE GRAND,
rétablit le culte des Israélites, le 30 Mai 1806.

domestic, why invite the co-operation of all the Jews in Europe? The time was not come for the design to be exposed at full length. What grand scheme is developing, and whether Napoleon is devising the commercial aggrandizement of France, and the ruin of the English interest in the East, by the re-settlement of the Jews in their own land, time will discover. But it needs but little discernment, when, besides all this, the state of things both in Europe and in the East, and the character of the extraordinary man who has taken this people under his protection, are taken into consideration, to perceive, that something is intended more characteristic of the vast grasp of Napoleon's ambition than that of squeezing out of the Jews a few millions of livres. . . ."

Bicheno concludes thus: ". . . it must be allowed by all serious minds, . . . that the great question relative to the future fortunes of the Jews, who, for so many ages, have been preserved as by a continued miracle, possesses considerable interest: . . . that the Jews, after their present long captivity, will be gathered from all nations, and be again restored to their own country, and be made a holy and happy people. That their restoration will be effected at a time of great and general calamities. . . . That it is most likely they will be first put in motion by some foreign power, and that this power is some maritime one in these western parts of the world. . . . How long it is to the time when 'the dry bones of the House of *Israel*' will begin to move, it is impossible to say; . . . But although no one can say how near, or how distant, the time may be, when God will fulfil his promises to the Jewish nation; yet it is certain there never were so many reasons for concluding it not to be very far off, as at present. We live in awful times. We and our fathers have seen wars, but, since man learnt to shed blood, there never was one similar to the present, in which the nations are dashing each other to pieces. . . . Events the most alarming follow each other in quick succession. . . . Palestine itself is becoming the scene of contest; and that ferment, which has been productive of such unexpected and awful catastrophes in Europe, has reached the shores of Egypt and Syria."[1]

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that Bonaparte's idea of the restoration of the Jews was not quite new in France. Some suggestions of the kind had been made in

[1] *Ibid.*, *pp.* 59–60: 228–230.

French literature before. Thus the Prince *de* Ligne[1] wrote, in his *Memoirs upon the Jews*, in 1797 :

" After having traced to the Christian states their duties and their interests in regard to the amelioration of the condition of the Jews of Europe, we may prophesy what will happen in case they ignore this counsel. . . . If the Turks have a little common sense they will try and attract the Jews to them in order to make them their political, military and financial advisers, their police agents, their merchants, in short to become initiated by their advisers into all wherein lies the strength and weakness of the Christian states. Finally, the Sultan will sell to them the Kingdom of *Judah*, where they would act better than aforetimes. . . . The Jews who would have found again their country would be compelled to make therein flourish the arts, industry, agriculture and the commerce of Europe. *Jerusalem*, a horrible nest at present (this was written in 1797), giving a heartache to the pilgrims who come there now, would become a splendid capital. They would rebuild the Temple of *Solomon* upon its ruins. They would fix the waters of the torrents of *Kidron*, which would supply canals for circulation and exportation."

[1] Charles Joseph, Prince *de* Ligne, was born in Brussels, 1735, and died in Vienna, 1814. He distinguished himself as a general during the Seven Years' War. He was an immensely wealthy nobleman and a great traveller, and after the war he settled at Vienna, where he was attached to the Imperial Court, and became a friend and adviser of the Emperor Joseph II. (1765–1790). He addressed to the Emperor—who was much interested in the reformation of the Jews and granted them some measure of rights—a " Memorial about the Jewish problem," and suggested a scheme of a return of the Jews to Palestine (Œuvres choisis, Paris et Genève, 1809).

CHAPTER XVII

THE ZIONIST IDEA IN ENGLAND

The spirit of the time—Different currents—Thomas Witherby—Dr. Joseph Priestley—Anti-Socinus, *alias* Anselm Bayly—John Hadley Swain—William Whiston—Bishop Robert Lowth—Dr. Philip Doddridge—David Levi.

In the early years of the nineteenth century religious ideas exercised considerable influence on the English mind, and penetrated deeply into the soul of the nation. Public opinion was, therefore, favourably disposed towards Zionism, and prepared to accept it from the religious point of view. But that was not the only point of view from which Zionism was advocated and accepted. Zionism had two aspects, corresponding to the two meanings expressed by the words "Restoration of *Israel*." Those words sometimes denoted simply the tendency towards a Jewish national revival, an aspiration as elementary and natural as any other of the kind; at other times the idea of the "Restoration of *Israel*" was connected with the realization of religious prophecies, and it was held that Judaism or Christianity (according to the point of view) was to be glorified by the resettlement of Jews in Palestine. As religion, and especially the Bible, was one of the most potent agencies in the formation of political and moral theories in England, it came about that the history of the Zionist idea was interwoven with that of religious opinions. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to overlook the influence of nationalist ideas which supported the Zionist cause from another point of view, and were expressed in a different tone and spirit. While on the one hand religious imagination gave to the conception the richness and warmth that belong to sentiment, statemanship contributed the clearness and firmness that reason alone can give.

Every keen student of the literature of that epoch concerning Zionism will readily notice that there were two different currents of thought. We will refer only to one writer who was altogether averse to conversionism, yet adopted the Zionist view—Thomas Witherby (1760–1820). He was a London solicitor of repute, who after his retirement

lived at Enfield and took up the study of political and social problems. He wrote *An Attempt to Remove Prejudices Concerning the Jewish Nation* (Appendix xlv), and was opposed on some important points to Mr. Bicheno's prophecies (Appendix xlvi), but, essentially, shared the latter's opinions concerning the rights of the Jewish nation. He was the first English author who dealt with the imaginary incompatibility of Jewish citizenship with Jewish national claims to Palestine. He confessed that prejudices against the Jews, though not as vigorous then as they had been in times gone by, were still very strong. He admitted " the sad conduct of Christians against Jews " ; he praised " the Jewish sincerity and their attachment *to their nationality* and religion," and on those grounds he defended the claim of the Jews' citizenship. " Bad Jews would be bad citizens ; good Jews would be good citizens." According to his view, the just demand for equality of rights for the Jews does not conflict with the claim of the Jewish nation to a land of its own, in which he decidedly believed. We may let him speak for himself :

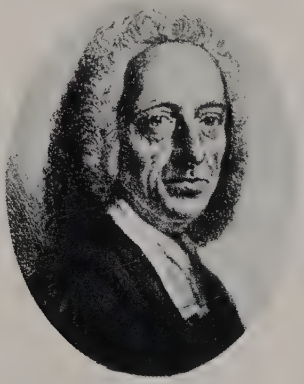
" Previous to the great and most conspicuous return of the Jews to their own land there will be a partial restoration of many of them to their land, which will probably be effected by the Protestant powers who may renounce their prejudices against them, and see that the non-acceptance of the Christian doctrines is not the bar to their restoration to the favour of God."

He recognized both the right of the Jews to decide for themselves in matters affecting the preservation of the race, and the independent validity of the considerations which lead to the recognition of Jewish rights in all countries. It was his opinion that while humanity and justice must refuse to recognize anything in the laws of any country which was at variance with the principle of equality, they should be the more ready to admit the higher claim of the Jewish nation to a home of its own.

Witherby stood, then, for the Restoration of *Israel* as well as for Jewish Emancipation. There can be no stronger and more convincing protest against the fallacious assumption of the irreconcilability of Zionism and Emancipation than Witherby's interesting and instructive pamphlet. His ideal—a noble and statesmanlike ideal—was to do justice to those Jews who lived in the country, and accordingly formed an integral part of the organism of the State, work-

Rev. JAMES BICHENO

DAVID LEVI



Rev. WILLIAM WHISTON

Dr. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY

President JOHN ADAMS

ing like others for the prosperity and safety of the realm. Equally he considered it a sacred duty of humanity to enable this ancient and disinherited nation to rebuild a central home for those of its members who saw the necessity of such a home, and had the inclination to go there. The policy of the State towards the Jews was to be based on these broad principles. Witherby was a man of practical sense and clear sight; he stated clearly and forcibly the anomalies of the Jewish position, and, unhampered by petty prejudices, sought earnestly for a solution of the Jewish problem in its entirety.

In concluding this part of the review of the Zionist idea in Christian England, we may mention the name of Dr. Joseph Priestley (1733–1804). Dr. Priestley was an eminent English philosopher, theologian, and chemist. Though not a conversionist in the true sense of the term, he was nevertheless somewhat influenced by that point of view. He was assisted by the Rev. Anselm Bayly (1719–1794), LL.D., Sub-Dean of His Majesty's chapels, *alias* Anti-Socinus, and John Hadley Swain. In his *Letters to the Jews* (Appendix xlvii) and in *A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses . . . And An Address to the Jews on the present state of the World* (Appendix xlviii) he threw his arguments into a series of hypothetical syllogisms, the only defect in which is that his premises could hardly be proved. Yet the stress which he laid on the acknowledgment of *Israel's* dignity atones for the sophistry of the argument. Having cast a good idea in the stereotyped mould of conversionism, he seems to have expected that a great impression would be produced upon the Jews; but, naturally, his conversionist methods evoked a storm of protest.

He found a strong opponent in David Levi (1742–1808), a *Hebraist* and well-known author of books dealing with Jewish theology and ritual. In his controversies with believers and non-believers David Levi attempted to show that the divine mission of the prophets was fully established by the present dispersion of the Jews. He published a reply —*Letters to Dr. Priestley, in answer to those he addressed to the Jews;* London, 1787 (Appendix xlix)—in which the orthodox standpoint of passive, religious Zionism is defined in the following terms: "And, as all the calamities that were to befall our nation, in consequence of our transgressing the Law, as foretold by that great prophet, and divine legislator, *Moses*, have been fulfilled in all respects; con-

sequently, those great and glorious promises, also foretold by the same prophet, must likewise have their full completion.

"But the exact time of this accomplishment is not known to any, save the eternal God Himself; . . . These prophecies, Sir, are our consolation in this long, and dreadful captivity, and have been our support, in enabling us to bear up against the many grievous and miserable persecutions, we have suffered. . . ." (*pp.* 2–3). In this way Levi withdraws Messianism altogether from human experience and the operation of the ordinary laws of thought.

On the other hand, William Whiston (1667–1752),[1] Bishop Robert Lowth (1710–1787)[2] and Dr. Philip Doddridge (1702–1751),[3] supported the idea of a speedy restoration of the Jews, and, with the exception of the liberal-minded Whiston, adopted the conversionist view. There was, unfortunately, too much hasty and captious objection on the one hand, and of settled and inveterate prejudice on the other; too strong a tendency to lose sight of the broader features of the main question in the eagerness to single out particularly salient points of attack. Nevertheless, the steady progress of the Zionist idea is unmistakable on both sides of the controversy. Regardless of all these polemical discussions, public opinion began to understand that Zionism was not opposed to and did not interfere with the Christian Millennium or the Jewish *Messiah*, but was simply a definite conception of the way in which humanity has to prepare for the realization of the great ideal.

[1] The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies. . . . . IV. Natural Preparations . . . for the Restoration of the Jews, . . . By Will. Whiston, M.A. . . . London: . . . MDCCXXIV.

[2] Isaiah, A New Translation; With a preliminary dissertation and notes, critical, philological, and explanatory. By Robert Lowth, D.D. . . . Lord Bishop of London. . . . London: . . . MDCCLXXVIII.

[3] The Works of the Rev. P. Doddridge, D.D. Volume viii. . . . The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; . . . . Leeds: . . . 1805.

CHAPTER XVIII

LORD BYRON

The Biblical drama "Cain"—Byron and the Bible—The *Hebrew Melodies*—A poet and a hero—The Hon. Douglas Kinnaird—Isaac Nathan—John Braham—Lady Caroline Lamb—Sir Walter Scott—Dr. John Gill—Dr. Henry Hunter—The Rev. John Scott—Mr. Joseph Eyre.

At that time the ideal aspirations of the Jewish nation found their most forceful expression in English poetry. George Gordon Byron (1788–1824), the sixth Baron Byron, who was conversant with every phase of human life, and touched every string of the divine lyre from its faintest to its most powerful and heart-stirring tones, rivals Milton, in his own sphere, in his noble and powerful Biblical drama *Cain*. He was one of the greatest of English poets, and his genius, like that of Milton, was penetrated with the aspirations of the Bible.[1] Byron had seen much in his Eastern wanderings, and by his *Hebrew Melodies* had constituted himself in some sort the laureate of Disraeli's own race.[2] There is in his work an intensity of grief and yearning, a vigour of thought combined with enchanting beauty of imagination, a tenderness which make him comparable only to the sweet *Hebrew* Muse of *Jehudah Halevi*. Zionist poetry owes more to Byron than to any other Gentile poet. His *Hebrew Melodies*, which are among the most

[1] "The Pilgrim Poet: Lord Byron of Newstead." By Albert Brecknock . . . Illustrated . . . London . . . 1911, *p.* 61. "Old Nanny" often spoke of the reverence and love Lord Byron had for his Bible, and states that in his quieter moments he could often be seen reading it. The verse Byron wrote on the fly-leaf of his Bible was taught to William Smith when quite a boy, by his mother. It runs as follows:—

Within this sacred volume lies
The mystery of all mysteries.
Oh! happy he of human race
To whom our God hath given grace—
To read, to learn, to watch, to pray,
To lift the latch, to force the way.
But better he had ne'er been born
Who reads to doubt, who reads to scorn.

[2] *Shelley* (1792–1822) *and Lord Beaconsfield*, by Richard Garnett. London: Printed For Private Circulation Only (1835–1906). 8°. *pp.* 22. 1887, *p.* 9.

beautiful of his productions, have been translated several times into *Hebrew*, and there are no lines more popular and more often quoted than :

> The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
> Mankind their country, Israel but the grave,

which might well have been a Zionist motto. Byron was a poet and a hero ; the keynote of his character is to be found in the word "revolt." Whenever the cause of liberty was in danger, his entire being was roused to indignation ; this was the passion of his soul, and for this he gave his life. This "Pilgrim of Eternity,"[1] who died a martyr to his zeal in the cause of the freedom of Greece, might perhaps have been equally able to sacrifice his life for the freedom of Judæa, had the deliverance of Judæa offered scope for a similar struggle in his time. As it was he expressed the Jewish tragedy, not only in its poetical but also in its political aspect.

The genius of pure imagination is usually apt to evade the actual facts of political and social life, and to wing its way into an ideal world of abstractions. But some there are who derive their material from the realities of social and national life, and transmute into poetry the prevailing ideas of the actual world. The Pilgrim Poet belonged to the latter category. He re-echoed the aspirations of his time. Thorough understanding of and sincere compassion for the sorrows of *Israel* found eloquent expression in the English writings of that epoch. At that time English writers were keen students of Jewish history, and since the time of Vespasian (9–79) Jewish history has recorded only sorrowful scenes : it tells mainly of fugitives banished to all quarters of the world, where they have sought asylum and have been compelled to realize the unanimity of the desire to annihilate them. "The Jews were a prey to innumerable calamities, and their existence was little else than a protracted agony." "The numberless banishments, oppressions, exactions, persecutions, massacres and miseries of all kinds, which they have undergone in almost every age and nation from their first dispersion down to these latter times—the various causes which have concurred to wipe off the very name and memorial of them from the face of the earth . . . are indescribable." This was what Byron read in the English literature of his time, and what he realized in his wanderings.

[1] Adonais . . . By Percy B. Shelley . . . MDCCCXXI. Stanza xxx, line 3.

A homeless nation—that was the fact which impressed itself most forcibly upon his mind.

Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*, which were written at the suggestion of the Honourable Douglas James William Kinnaird (1788–1830),[1] were published with music in January, 1815. Kinnaird was a man of considerable ability and great intellectual attainments. He introduced a Jewish composer, Isaac Nathan (1791–1864), to Lord Byron about 1812. This was the beginning of a friendship which ended only with the death of the poet. Byron wrote the *Hebrew Melodies* with the express purpose of their being set to music by Nathan, who subsequently bought the copyright of the work. Nathan decided to raise the means for the publication of the *Melodies* by subscription, and with that object associated himself with his co-religionist, the melodious tenor John Braham (1774 ?–1856), who began his musical career as a chorister at the Synagogue in Duke's Place. Braham composed several operas, one of them the *Americans*, containing that famous song, *The Death of Nelson ;* and achieved a European reputation in his time. On signing the subscription list, Braham intimated his desire to assist in the publication of the *Melodies* and to sing them in public. Hence on the title-page of the first edition, which was published in 1815, it was recorded that the music was newly arranged, harmonized and revised by I. Nathan and I. Braham.

The *Melodies* consisted mainly of a selection of favourite airs sung in connection with the observance of Jewish religious ceremonies (Appendix I). It is interesting to observe that the music was reviewed first. Some of the remarks respecting Hebrew music are worthy of note. " In our very limited Review, it cannot be expected that we should attempt to throw any new light on the dark subject of Hebrew musick. . . . Whether the present Melodies were ever performed by King David's 4000 Levites, . . . we shall not venture to decide : their age and originality are left entirely to conjecture, having been ' preserved by memory and tradition alone.' Some of them possess an interesting wildness of character, which leaves no doubt as to their real antiquity ; and the Editors assure us that they have preserved as much of this feature as the rhythm of written musick and the adaptation of the words, would permit."[2]

[1] Fifth son of George (*ob.* 1805), seventh Baron Kinnaird of Inchture.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1815, *p.* 539.

The Literary Review of the same Magazine devotes a very few lines to a criticism of the poems : " To say that these *Melodies* are Lord Byron's, is to pronounce them elegant. We select the following Poem, in addition to that already given in Part I, *p.* 450 " (*i.e.* " I saw thee weep "). There follows the poem " Saul."[1]

More light is thrown on the subject of Byron's attitude to the Jewish people and the Zionist idea in Nathan's *Fugitive Pieces and Reminiscences of Lord Byron* (Appendix li). In a note (*p.* 24) to " Oh ! Weep for those," Nathan writes : " Throughout the composition of these melodies, it will be observed by the attentive reader that Lord Byron has exhibited a peculiar feeling of commiseration towards the Jews. He was entirely free from the prevalent prejudices against that unhappy and oppressed race of men. On this subject, he has frequently remarked, that he deemed the existence of the Jews, as a distinct race of men, the most wonderful instance of the ill-effects of persecution. . . . That a period of 1800 years should have elapsed, and that these people should still preserve their own religion, their laws, and their customs, in defiance of ecclesiastical and civil oppression, does indeed seem astonishing ; but less so, when the effect of his Lordship's observation is sufficiently understood. On one occasion he remarked, " unfortunate men, surrounded by enemies among whom they are compelled to live ; oppressed, scorned, and outcast : condemned as criminal, because they cannot succumb to their oppressors, . . . " In another note (*p.* 61) contributed to the poem, " From the last hill that looks on thy once holy dome." *On the day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus*, Nathan says : " In the composition of the foregoing stanzas, he professed to me, that he had always considered the fall of Jerusalem, as the most remarkable event of all history ; for (in his own words), " who can behold the entire destruction of that mighty pile ; the desolate wanderings of its inhabitants, and compare these positive occurrences with the distant prophecies which foreran them, and be an infidel ? "

The authenticity of Nathan's co-operation is beyond question. Nathan was a composer of acknowledged ability, and a writer on various subjects. He was born at Canterbury, Kent, and early in life was sent to Cambridge to study Hebrew and the classical languages. Lady Caroline Lamb (1785–1828) was among Nathan's friends, and wrote poetry

[1] *Ibid.*, August, *p.* 141.

for him to set to music. Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), was also an admirer of Nathan's Jewish musical productions.

Enthusiasm for the revival of *Hebrew* music was characteristic of the time, and was partly due to the prevailing sympathy for the Jewish people, for their sufferings and their hopes (Appendix lii). If *Hebrew Melodies* were written at the suggestion of Kinnaird, this must not be taken to mean that poems like *Hebrew Melodies* can be written merely in response to the suggestion of a personal friend: they must be the product of a certain aspiration.

At the same time, the idea of the Restoration of *Israel* made considerable headway in other quarters. Rev. Dr. John Gill (1697–1771) remarks that "the Protestant Princes will be assisting the Jews in replacing them in their own land."[1] Rev. Dr. Henry Hunter (1741–1802) says: "It is indeed now pretty generally agreed among the learned, that we are warranted by the Scriptures to expect . . . their return to their own land; . . ."[2]

The Rev. John Scott (1777–1834), speaking of the preservation of the Jews, asks: "But wherefore are the Jews thus preserved? Is it only as monuments of divine vengeance, and to bear testimony to others of blessings which they shall never taste themselves? 'Hath God' for ever 'cast off His people'? 'Have they stumbled that they might fall,' to rise no more? God forbid! All the facts before us, and particularly their preservation, might well raise hopes in our minds that mercy was still in reserve for *Israel*."[3]

The "Advertisement" to Extracts from a work on the Prophecies, by Mr. Joseph Eyre, informs us that "The design in re-publishing them is to call the attention of Christians to those Prophecies of the Scriptures, which have a primary reference to the Jewish people, and which predict events concerning them that have not yet been fulfilled, and promise blessings to them of which they have not yet been partakers."[4]

"Civis" writes: "With respect to the restoration . . . permit me to refer your readers to Mr. (George Stanley)

[1] A Body of Doctrinal Divinity; . . . By John Gill, D.D. . . . London: . . . M.DCC.LXIX. Vol. ii., *p.* 715.

[2] The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews. . . . By the late Dr. Hunter, . . . London: . . . 1806.

[3] The Destiny of Israel: . . . By the Rev. John Scott, A.M., . . . Hull: . . . 1813. *pp.* 17–18.

[4] Extracts from a work, entitled Observations upon the Prophecies, relating to the Restoration of the Jews. By Joseph Eyre, Esq. Originally published in the year 1771. . . . London: . . . 1823.

Faber's (B.D.) (1773–1854) work on that subject, and also to *The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*, 1828. The reasons . . . are . . . satisfactory and convincing. Even if there were no other passage to prove it, the one where God declares that it shall in future times be said 'The Lord liveth, who brought up and who led the children of Israel out of the north country, and from all the countries whither I had driven them, and they shall dwell in their own land,' would, I think, be sufficient to prove it; because it seems too minute and circumstantial to admit of a merely figurative interpretation; and, indeed, what can it be a figure of? What is the reality which the figure is supposed to represent? I would ask, if a prophecy were intended to declare a literal restoration, what more plain and forcible terms could have been made use of? We should never resort to figures except where the nature of the subject, or common sense, imperatively requires it."[1]

"Paulinus" taking the opposite view, says: "In some circles a writer is almost unchristianized if he does not follow the opinion therein current . . . the literal restoration of the Jews to Palestine; in favour of which there is a much more general concurrence of opinion than in any other of the particulars."[2]

[1] Christian Observer, 1838, *p.* 443.

To this period belong the following articles on the Restoration of the Jews in *The Christian Observer* (Church of England):

1838 May, *pp.* 286–7
1838 July, *p.* 443
1838 August, *pp.* 518–520
1838 September, *pp.* 554–556
1838 November, *pp.* 665–670
1841 January, *pp.* 2–4
1841 May, *pp.* 271–273

[2] *Ibid.*, 1838, *p.* 286.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PALMERSTON PERIOD

The Conflict between Turkey and Egypt—Mahmud II, *Sultan* of Turkey—Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt—The victory of Nezib—The Turkish Fleet—Wellington's policy—The Eastern Question—Wellington's opinion—The London Conference, 1840—The Insurrection in Syria and the Lebanon—An Ultimatum—The Capture of Acre by the British Fleet, 1840—Schemes of annexation.

THE Palmerston period, 1837–52, was a great time in England for the idea of the Restoration of *Israel*. It was a time of stirring events in the East, events which raised some of the most momentous problems that can engage the statesman's mind. The English people watched from day to day with the deepest interest the progress of annexations, of conquest, of negotiations, which they believed would go far to decide the future development and destinies of the greatest nations of the world. The European horizon was so disturbed that a great political authority of the day is said to have declared that "if an angel from heaven were in the Foreign Office he would not preserve peace for three months."

The facts are sufficiently familiar to most readers. But it will be necessary for our purpose to go over the oft-trodden ground, which must be done rapidly.

In 1839 a tremendous crisis broke out between Turkey and Egypt as the result of a series of conflicts and struggles. In the brief space of eight years (1831–39) Mehemet Ali (1769–1849) had contrived to overrun the whole of Syria, having organized a fleet and an army beyond the legitimate necessities of his government, by acts of tyranny and oppression against the very people for whose defence he pretended to have raised them; and he forced these wretched people, whom he was bound to protect, to join him in rebellion, thus fastening more firmly the chains with which he had shackled them. Having concentrated 100,000 men on the Turkish frontier, he at once threw off the mask and intimated to the European consuls his intention of declaring his independence unless his demand for the government of Syria for life and of Egypt *en hérédité* were conceded.

He struck the first blow, and was very successful during the first stage of the war. The victory of Nezib (24 June, 1839) was the last of his triumphs. The new army, which he had taken pains to organize, was only half trained. Still his power was unshaken, and his advantage was not confined to the land. The Turkish admiral, beaten by Mehemet Ali, and fearing for his life if he returned to Constantinople, determined on an act of treachery, which would ingratiate him with the victorious ruler of Egypt. He took the Turkish fleet, with some 20,000 men aboard, to Alexandria, and surrendered it to Mehemet Ali.

The surprise and astonishment which the suddenness of these occurrences caused did not allow English diplomacy much time to consider. It was necessary to intervene at once, unless the Ottoman Empire was to be broken up. Palmerston determined to carry out Wellington's (1769–1852) policy, and to reduce the apparently invincible Pasha to "a state of obedience and subordination to the *Sultan*" (1808–1839), Mahmud II (1785–1839). The difficulties seemed formidable, but Palmerston's conception of the diplomatic situation was unerring. He scouted the idea of actual intervention on Egyptian soil. The lessons of the battle of the Nile and of the earlier siege of Acre had not been thrown away upon a survivor of the struggle with Napoleon Bonaparte. A different strategic plan was adopted: a British squadron was to compel the evacuation of Syria by Mehemet Ali.

The imminent perils and dangers which surrounded this undertaking from the political point of view were evident. A great international problem arose. The solution of those important and complex problems which include what is usually called the "Eastern Question" had long occupied a considerable place in the field of international politics, especially in England. There was scarcely one, perhaps, of the more eminent English diplomatists who had not distinguished himself in this department in a greater or a less degree; and there was scarcely an aspirant to foreign political activity and distinction who had not thought it one of the surest paths to his ambition to come forward as a champion in this arena. It must, however, be borne in mind that this question was continually taking on a new form, and accordingly opinions and interests were always changing. In 1839–40 controversy about this question attained its greatest inten-

sity, and the interested powers were in a position of the darkest perplexity.[1]

After the traitorous defection of the Turkish fleet to the side of Mehemet Ali, five great Powers of Europe officially intimated to the Porte that they had determined to discuss and settle together the embarrassing Eastern question, and ultimately a Conference was called together in London, at which the Ambassadors of these Powers were to meet with full authority from their Governments to bring the matter to a definite issue. It appeared throughout that France was favourable to Mehemet Ali's ambitious projects, whilst England had decided to compel him to evacuate Syria forthwith and to restore the fleet before it would entertain any proposition of his to be allowed to retain Egypt in hereditary possession, or any part of Syria during his lifetime. The negotiations in London dragged on slowly; month after month passed by, and the high contracting parties came to no definite decision. Everybody in England was anxious that Great Britain should play an important rôle in the Eastern Question. The state of the East had become utterly corrupt and hopeless. Great Britain considered that it was in its interest to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. What was meant by this principle? Great Britain as an Asiatic not less than a European Power was interested to see that the Ottoman Empire was made thoroughly independent and enabled to progress by consolidating and developing its provinces. As to Syria, everybody in England was aware that its possession was essential for the security of the richest and most important provinces of Asiatic Turkey, to which it was the military key. This was sufficiently demonstrated by the events which actually took place.

On the 25th May, 1840, an insurrection of an alarming character broke out in Syria and *The Lebanon* among the Druses and Christians against the Emir and the Egyptian Government. On the 15th of July, 1840, an event occurred which brought the affairs of the Levant to a crisis. A conven-

[1] Wellington wrote in 1829 to the Earl of Aberdeen: (1784–1860) ". . . it cannot be doubted that the measures completed by this Treaty of Peace must encourage other nations of Christians to endeavour to attain the same advantages by similar means. The other Powers of Europe and all parties in Europe must view the Treaty of Peace in the same light as we do . . . they must all consider it in the same light as the death-blow to the independence of the Ottoman Porte, and the forerunner of the dissolution and extinction of its power" (*The Eastern Question: Extracted from the Correspondence of the late Duke of Wellington*, London, 1877, *p.* 40).

tion was signed in London between England, Russia, Austria and Prussia, without the concurrence of France, whereby an ultimatum was delivered to Mehemet Ali, calling on him to evacuate Palestine. The four Powers demanded of him, first, a prompt submission to the *Sultan* (1839–1861) Abdul Medjid (1823–1861) as his Sovereign ; secondly, the immediate restoration of the Turkish fleet ; thirdly, a prompt evacuation of Syria, Adana, Candia, Arabia, and the Holy Cities. Moreover the four Powers declared the ports of Syria and Egypt to be in a state of blockade. Consequently Acre, the fortress which had been the great depot and arsenal of Mehemet Ali, and which in 1799 had withstood Bonaparte after the twelfth assault, when he had been defeated by Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith (1764–1840) with a few sailors and marines and a force of undisciplined Turks, was now successfully bombarded by the English Admiral, Sir Robert Stopford (1768–1847), and placed in possession of the *Sultan's* troops. The fortress, which was considered invulnerable, surrendered on the 3rd of November, 1840. *Jaffa* surrendered to the new garrison of Acre, a few days after the fall of the fortress. On the 3rd of November the happy tidings of the fall of Acre were brought to Constantinople, and the Government issued orders for public rejoicings ; on the 19th of that month the Turkish Governor was officially informed that the garrison and inhabitants of *Jerusalem* had given allegiance to the Porte.

The question of the future of Palestine now arose. Was Palestine simply to be left to Turkey or was Great Britain to secure some important places ? The prevalent tendency in English opinion was in favour of the annexation of Acre and Cyprus. Acre, in the hands of England, or of any other nation commanding the sea, could be made really impregnable, and Cyprus seemed also to be of great strategic importance, especially to England. The reasons for such an annexation were palpable. England and her Allies had not merely rescued Syria, they had absolutely saved the whole Ottoman Empire. After the battle of Nezib had given the defiles of Mount Taurus to Mehemet Ali, nothing could have obstructed the rebels' triumphant march to Constantinople. The Allies had thus rendered to the Ottoman Empire the greatest possible service that one State can receive from another. Gratitude alone might have suggested a more valuable acknowledgment of this service than Acre and Cyprus ; but as the service had been rendered at some risk,

and at enormous expense, justice demanded that it should be paid for; and nobody could suggest that it would be paid for too dearly by a strip of territory which was of little value to Turkey, though useful to England, and which in British hands would assuredly supply the Porte with a fortress that could never be established in its own territory. Acre and Cyprus garrisoned by British troops would give Turkey the surest protection. Attention was also called to the fact that no spot in the world was associated with so many proud recollections as Acre, the theatre of British gallantry from the days of Richard *Cœur de Lion* (1157–1199) to those of Admiral Sir W. Sidney Smith and Admiral Sir Robert Stopford. Another consideration had great weight with English opinion. The possession of Acre would open a road for the return of Biblical truth to the land from which that truth had spread to the human race; and Englishmen would feel guilty of sin if they failed to impress upon their Government the need of seizing this glorious and blessed opportunity. To take, however, the more utilitarian view of the matter, Great Britain, occupying the impregnable position of Acre, would not be under the necessity of seeking the freedom of the overland route to India from any other Power. She would command it at all times. Acre in the hands of Great Britain would be a perfect guarantee against revolts in Egypt or in Syria, and would in fact ensure the Turkish Empire against the only danger that could threaten it on the side of Asia.

The effects of an English settlement in Syria on the general interests of mankind presented a more serious question. Syria and the adjacent countries were in a worse state than they had been 2000 years ago. While the deserts of America and Australasia had been regained for the use of man, while India had been brought to peace and unity and its worst superstitions had been modified, if not altogether extirpated, by the influence of European civilization, man had given place to the savage creatures of the wilderness in those countries from which all that he knows of good, was originally derived. An English settlement in Syria would begin the work of regeneration in the most venerable and interesting country in the world. England would be to Syria and to the adjacent countries all that she had been to India—the protector of the weak, the common arbiter, the universal peacemaker. Her laws and her liberties enable her to fulfil that function, her com-

mercial interests fit her to undertake it, while her wealth, her naval supremacy and her colonial power furnish her with the means required for the purpose. Why should any other power oppose her acquiring that region ? That its acquisition would add to her commercial resources and to her defensive strength had to be conceded. But had no nation ever before sought to increase her commercial resources and add to her defensive strength by means in themselves legitimate, which would not in any way infringe upon the rights or interests of others ? The advancement of the world in civilization and happiness must remain for ever at a standstill, if each nation is to be held in check by the jealousy of the others. This was the attitude of public opinion on this question from the point of view of human progress and of British interests.

CHAPTER XX

THE SYRIAN PROBLEM

The conflicting interests of the Powers—Was the conflict irreconcilable?—Public opinion—A new principle—The independence of Syria—A neutral position—The Zionist idea as the only solution—A practical proposition.

PUBLIC opinion had for a long time laboured under the impression that the intricacy of the Eastern question was due much more to the conflicting interests of the Powers engaged in its solution than to any insurmountable barrier between them and the *Sultans* Mahmud II, Abdul Medjid and Mehemet Ali. With France and Mehemet Ali on the one side and the four European Powers on the other, it was evident that war would have the most disastrous effect on the contending parties. The question arose whether the interests of the parties were irreconcilable, and whether it was not possible to devise an arrangement acceptable to both sides and thus to avert war. Some political leaders thought that they could settle the question, and that it would be possible to adopt a policy sufficiently far-reaching and just to satisfy the expectations of the five Powers.

It was common knowledge that the great dilemma in which Turkey and Egypt found themselves had throughout hinged on the question of Syria. Without the possession of Syria the power of Mehemet Ali became insecure; with it he would be in a very strong position, because Turkey could only exist by his sufferance. In fact, the possession of Syria would give a tremendous advantage to either side.

The problem was therefore to enable each of the Governments to prevent Syria from passing into the hands of the enemy. And there was only one possible solution—namely, the establishment of an independent state in Syria. The grounds for this conclusion may be stated in the following series of propositions:

(1) That the *Sultan*, unassisted, was powerless to retain Syria.

(2) That Egypt had no right to Syria, except in so far as lawlessness and violence might make its possession necessary.

(3) That Egypt had a right to independence, if she could achieve it.
(4) That if Syria remained part of Turkey, the independence of Egypt would be constantly menaced.
(5) That if Syria remained part of Egypt, the existence of Turkey would be rendered insecure.
(6) That the insecure position of Turkey would endanger the peace of Europe.
(7) That Syria, being a conquered kingdom, had the right to regain her independence if she could.
(8) That by the existence of Syria as an independent state both Turkey and Egypt would remain intact.
(9) That the neutral position of the new state would keep both Turkey and Egypt in check, and prevent either from becoming too powerful.

Mehemet Ali could not object to a solution on these lines. He would be protected by the *Sultan*, Abdul Medjid, and would be at liberty to extend his influence in other directions. But the *Sultan*, having been paramount lord of Syria, might reasonably claim some consideration for consenting to the independence of Syria. Who was to pay this consideration ?

It is at this point that we have to turn to the old idea of Zionism to find the only just and natural solution. Bishop Newton's commentaries, Witherby's moralisings, Byron's poetry—to these lines of approach to Zionism was now added the tendency of British politics. A hundred times the promoters of the Zionist idea had been disheartened, a hundred times they had taken it up again. Now political developments offered the background for a new propaganda for Zionism. The Restoration of *Israel*, an idea dear not only to the sentimentalist, the essayist and the littérateur, but also to every believer in the Bible and to every friend of liberty, had become an actual question of the day.

If only the five European Powers could agree to settle the Eastern question upon the basis of Syrian independence, the carrying out of the details would be an easy matter. France would no doubt agree to such an arrangement. The amount of the consideration required by Turkey would be raised from the resources of Syria, augmented by a sum to be contributed by the Jews. Their contribution might be looked upon as consideration for their admission into Syria.

An arrangement of this character would satisfy all the parties concerned. Mehemet Ali would become the hereditary

Sovereign of Egypt. France would be contented. The Jews would be virtually restored to their land. The Syrians would gladly agree, as their country would in this way achieve independence, while the Jews would help them to gain this end.

From then onwards, the Jews would begin to immigrate into Syria from every part of the world; they would carry in their train the apparatus of civilization, and would form a nucleus for the creation of European institutions. They would acquire and exercise the rights and duties of citizenship in their own country, and would build up, under the protection and auspices of the five European Powers, the government and independence of the Turco-Syrian State. And from this change other advantages also would accrue. Turkey would be relieved of the pressure that had been destructive of her interests. The consideration that she would receive for her consent would be the means of resuscitating her energies and restoring her strength. It would enable her to push on her reforms and again take her position as a powerful nation.

It must at once be admitted that the condition of Syria presented a host of difficulties, on account of the division of the inhabitants into a number of separate tribes. But this fact only proved the necessity for the introduction of fresh material, with a view to welding together all classes into one harmonious community. The necessity of introducing fresh material into the social fabric of Syria once admitted, it followed as a matter of course that the immigration of the Jews into Syria would provide the most acceptable material. The establishment of European institutions in Asia (so far as they might be suitable) would follow, and in all probability England would in that way find a new ally, whose friendship might eventually prove of advantage to her in dealing with Eastern affairs.

CHAPTER XXI

ENGLAND AND THE JEWS IN THE EAST

Damascus and Rhodes, 1840—The anti-Jewish accusations—Jewish opinion in England and France—Two views—The persecutions and the Zionist idea—The difficulties of a Jewish initiative—Sir W. R. W. Wilde.

At that time an occurrence of a grave character troubled the Jews in the East. The Jews resident at Damascus and Rhodes were subjected in 1840 to cruel persecution on the false and atrocious charge that they used human blood in the celebration of the Passover. On the 7th February a Catholic Priest named Father Thomas suddenly disappeared from the quarter of Damascus where he resided. As he had last been seen near the shop of a Jewish barber, the latter was seized and examined, and finally subjected to torture. In his agony he accused several of the principal Jews of having put Father Thomas to death. Many of the Jews were immediately thrown into prison, and the most revolting barbarities were inflicted upon them to induce them to confess. An appeal was made to Mehemet Ali, the *Pasha* of Egypt, to put a stop to these horrors, and he issued peremptory instructions to that effect, ordering that the matter should be investigated before a tribunal composed of the European consuls specially delegated for that purpose. At a later period of the year, the Jews of Rhodes were accused of having abducted a Greek boy for the purpose of murdering him, and using his blood at the Passover, but after a trial and a long investigation the charge was pronounced to be false. In this case also great barbarities had been inflicted, and the Porte, in order to show its sense of the injustice done to the Jews, deposed the *Pasha* of Rhodes.

These events awakened *Israel* from a long stupor. They stirred up Jewish public opinion all over the world, and especially in England and France. Like all persecutions, they served to accentuate Jewish solidarity. The first thing to do was to save the innocent martyrs ; next to this immediate necessity the question arose how to prevent similar attacks on Jewish life, and on the honour of Judaism. It was necessary to raise a powerful protest against these

abominable accusations, to make representations to the Governments to protect and to assist the oppressed Jews.

Up to this point Jewish leaders of all shades of opinion travelled the same road. It was only at this stage that commonplace charity and political foresight had to part company. To the former it seemed easy to surmount all difficulties and all objections instantly by a few plausible generalities, which to such minds were invested with the force of axiomatic truth, and to question which they would regard as useless. Persecution, it was said, is a temporary phenomenon, and consequently the defence should be temporary. But is the persecution of the Jews really only temporary? Are not all these outrages and accusations links in one chain? Are they not, to a certain extent, the consequences of the precarious and untenable position of a people without a land? Short-sighted philanthropists, harassed by no doubts of this kind, asserted as facts what they knew in reality to be only probabilities. There is no doubt as to their perfect good faith, nor should any wilful misrepresentation be attributed to them. They had seized on one part of the truth, namely, that justice should be applied to the Jews. With regard to questions of nationality and territory they had no experience. They knew little of the conditions of the countries where the Jewish masses lived; the psychology of the non-Jewish masses in those countries was unknown to them.

But history was against their superficial optimism, and in the minds of really thinking people grave doubts arose whether the future of the Jewish people could be secured by haphazard defence and immediate relief. It would be idle for the optimists to treat anxieties of this kind as if they were heresies. They were not reactionary aspirations; nor were they the pretensions of ignorant spirits to be wise beyond the limits of man's wisdom. They were in reality the logical consequences of experience and observation. They reveal a true conception of the Jewish problem, which is belittled and watered down by commonplace optimism.

The Damascus affair, like similar events before and after it, stimulated Zionist aspirations, not because Zionism is merely a reflex of persecution, but because persecution reveals to the Jew his real situation, which, during the short intervals of peace, he does not clearly understand or is inclined to overlook.

Though far from being the real cause—the real cause is the whole of Jewish history—the sufferings of the Jews have always been a stimulus to Jewish national feeling. The Mortara case in 1860 gave rise to the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the persecutions which began in 1882 to the movement of the "Lovers of *Zion*," and the Dreyfus affair in 1894 to Herzl's pamphlet *The Jewish State*, 1896, which heralded modern Zionism. In the same way the Damascus and Rhodes affairs were the immediate cause of Montefiore's journeys, the representations to Mehemet Ali about both the innocent martyrs and the establishment of Jewish colonies in Palestine, and the societies in England for the support of Palestinian colonization. A number of Jews in several countries, and especially in England, began to ask themselves: What will be the end of all these sufferings? The reply was: Two things are necessary:—

(1) The protection of Great Britain for the Jews in the East.
(2) The colonization of Palestine.

Public opinion had now taken a different turn; and, what is more important, the character of the difficulties and objections generally raised had become wholly different. People began to inquire about the Jews themselves: would they or would they not be inclined to form a new society for the colonization of Palestine? A greater disposition to follow up this kind of discussion had developed. The political sense of the day required definition, argument, and proof, where religion had been content to appeal merely to the instinct of reverence, and to put the whole matter on the plane of devotional feeling or exalted imagination.

Would the Jews go to Palestine?

In the nature of things it could not often happen that a nation would undergo rapidly any great, although at the same time peaceful and salutary change. A nation may, indeed, develop almost in a day. Empires have evaporated in fury or exploded in passion. But then such violent changes have usually been vicious and destructive. An utterly demoralized people will abandon itself in a moment to a dream of ambition, turn its ploughshares into swords, and break from its borders to conquer the world. A new field for cupidity or pleasure, the discovery of a continent, the sudden acquisition of a fertile territory or a mine of wealth,

has ere now turned an ancient and noble race into a rabble of adventurers. But it is very rare, almost unparalleled, for a *peaceful* people to find a new opening all at once. There was doubt, then, about the Jewish desire for redemption.

Side by side with their attachment to the land of their birth, the sense of a long-lost home lies deep in the hearts of the Jewish masses, and they are drawn towards it by a longing expressed in heartfelt songs and prayers, in wishes and in hopes, not in rebellious efforts. But could the Jews by themselves, as a whole nation, or as scattered and divided masses, as a defenceless and persecuted minority, take up the realization of their cherished hope? Although it was an international political scheme, leading Jews would have to raise their voices and start the work if they wished to see its accomplishment.

Sir William Robert Wills Wilde (1815–1876) wrote :—[1]

" This extraordinary people, the favoured of the Lord, the descendants of the patriarchs and prophets, and the aristocracy of the earth, are to be seen in *Jerusalem* to greater advantage, and under an aspect and in a character totally different from that which they present in any other place on the face of the globe. In other countries the very name of Jew has associated with it cunning, deceit, usury, traffic and often wealth. But here, in addition to the usual degradation and purchased suffering of a despised, stricken, outcast race, they bend under extreme poverty, and wear the aspect of a weeping and a mourning people ; lamenting over their fallen greatness as a nation, and over the prostrate grandeur of their once proud city. Here the usurer is turned into the pilgrim, the merchant into the priest, and the inexorable creditor into the weeping suppliant. . . ."

" It is curious, . . . to read the indications of fond attachment of the Jew to the very air and soil, scattered about in Jewish writings ; . . . ' The air of the land of *Israel*,' says one, ' makes a man wise ' ; another writes, ' he who walks four cubits in the land of *Israel* is sure of being a son of the life to come.' The great Wise Men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to *embrace its ruins*, and roll themselves in its dust."[2]

[1] Narrative of a Voyage to . . . the Shores of the Mediterranean, including a visit to . . . Palestine, etc. Dublin, 1840, vol. ii., *pp.* 358–363.

[2] The German Jewish weekly, *Der Orient* (Leipzig, 1840, N 16), mentions " a Christian divine, Rev. William Filson Marsh (1775–1864), who wrote to the then Chief *Rabbi* in London, the Rev. Solomon Hershell (1761–1842), about the necessity of a Jewish state in Palestine."

The following extracts are taken from *Der Orient*, a German newspaper. They seem to betoken a movement among continental Jews in relation to the late crisis in Syria :—

" We have a country, the inheritance of our fathers, finer, more fruitful, better situated for commerce, than many of the most celebrated portions of the globe. Environed by the deep-delled Taurus, the lovely shores of the Euphrates, the lofty steppes of Arabia and of rocky *Sinai*, our country extends along the shores of the Mediterranean, crowned by the towering cedars of *The Lebanon*, the source of a hundred rivulets and brooks, which spread fruitfulness over shady dales. . . . A glorious land ! situate at the farthest extremity of the sea which connects threequarters of the globe, over which the Phœnicians . . . sent their numerous fleets to the shores of Albion, near to both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf ; . . . the central country of the commerce between the east and the west. Every country has its peculiarity ; every people their own nature. . . . No people of the earth have lived so true to their calling from the first as we have done.

" The Arab has maintained his language and his original country ; on the Nile, in the deserts, as far as *Sinai*, and beyond *Jordan*, he feeds his flocks. In the elevated plains of Asia Minor the Turkoman has conquered for himself a second country, the birthplace of the Osman ; but Palestine and Syria are populated. For centuries the battlefield between the sons of Altai and of the Arabian wilderness, the inhabitants of the West and the half-nomadic Persians, none have been able to establish themselves and maintain their nationality : no nation can claim the name of Syrian. A chaotic mixture of all tribes and tongues, remnants of migrations from north and south, they disturb one another in the possession of the glorious land where our fathers for so many centuries emptied the cup of joy and woe, and where every clod is drenched with the blood of our heroes when their bodies were buried under the ruins of *Jerusalem*. . . ."[1]

[1] *The Times*, Thursday, December 24, 1840, *p.* 4.

Painted by G. Richmond, R.A.D.C.L. *Engraved by T. L. Atkinson*

Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, *Bart., F.R.S.*

From a mezzotint engraving (proof before all letters)
lent by Israel Solomons.

CHAPTER XXII

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE

The project "for Cultivation of the Land in Palestine"—Abraham Shoshana and Samuel Aboo—Sir Moses and Lord Palmerston—Great Britain's protection of the Jews in the East—Lord Aberdeen—Sir Stratford Canning—Dr. Edward Robinson—Burghas *Bey*—A new journey to the East.

ENGLAND and English Jews deserve indisputably to be placed in the forefront of Zionism. A great pioneer of Anglo-Jewish Zionism during the Palmerston period was Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885). He was a man of great stability and magnanimity of character, and was much admired by Jew and Gentile alike. There have been few Jews in history who have been able to look back on a life of useful and beneficial activity with so much gratification as he, or who were so entitled to feel proud of the fact that throughout their lives they had done their duty not only to the country in which they lived, but to the ancient land of their fathers, to the English people as English patriots and to the Jewish nation as faithful sons of their race.

Sir Moses was an enthusiastic supporter of "The Fund for the cultivation of the land in Palestine by the Jews." This was the harmless name given to Zionism at the beginning of his activity. We read in the *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*[1] :—

"Friday, May 24th (1839, Safed) . . .

"The heads of the Portuguese and German congregations came to pay their respects to Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore (1784–1862). Two of these gentlemen, the Rev. Abraham Shoshana and Samuel Aboo, were landowners in a neighbouring village, and gave their opinion on the subject of agriculture. Sir Moses, referring in his diary to the conversation, says :—

'From all information I have been able to gather, the land in this neighbourhood appears to be particularly favourable for agricultural speculation. There are groves of olive trees, I should think, more than five hundred years old,

[1] Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore . . . Edited by Dr. L. Loewe, . . . In Two Volumes, With Illustrations. Vol. i. London . . . 1890, *p.* 167.

vineyards, much pasture, plenty of wells and abundance of excellent water; also fig-trees, walnuts, almonds, mulberries, etc., and rich fields of wheat, barley, and lentils; in fact it is a land that would produce almost everything in abundance, with very little skill and labour. I am sure if the plan I have in contemplation should succeed, it will be the means of introducing happiness and plenty into the Holy Land. In the first instance, I shall apply to Mohhammad (Mehemet) Ali for a grant of land for fifty years; some one or two hundred villages; giving him an increased rent of from ten to twenty per cent., and paying the whole in money annually in Alexandria, but the land and villages to be free, during the whole term, from every tax or rate either of *Pasha* or Governor of the several districts; and liberty being accorded to dispose of the produce in any quarter of the globe. The grant obtained, I shall, please Heaven, on my return to England, form a company for the cultivation of the land and the encouragement of our brethren in Europe to return to Palestine. Many Jews now emigrate to New South Wales, Canada, *etc.*, but in the Holy Land they would find a greater certainty of success; here they will find wells already dug, olives and vines already planted, and a land so rich as to require little manure. By degrees I hope to induce the return of thousands of our brethren to the Land of *Israel.* I am sure they would be happy in the enjoyment of the observance of our holy religion, in a manner which is impossible in Europe.' "

Political steps were undertaken and representations made. Sir Moses spoke to Lord Palmerston about agriculture for the Jews in Palestine:—

"On April 30th (1840) the Committee proceeded to Downing Street, and were most kindly received by Lord Palmerston. He promised to use his influence with Mohhammad Ali and the Turkish Government to put a stop to such atrocities.[1] Sir Moses mentioned on this occasion, when Lord Palmerston was speaking of his visit to Palestine, Mr. Young's humanity at *Jerusalem,* and also the fact that the Jews were desirous of being employed in agricultural pursuits."[2]

Then arose the question of Great Britain's protection of the Jews in the East:—

"His brethren in the East appealed to Sir Moses to intercede with the English Government to take them under

[1] Damascus. [2] *Ibid., p.* 214.

their protection. They complained of being compelled by local governors to pay heavier taxes than any of the non-Israelite inhabitants. Both Lord Palmerston and his successor Lord Aberdeen listened with great kindness to the statements made to them on that subject by Sir Moses. Lord Palmerston, in reply to his representations, said the Christians had suffered more than the Jews from the Governor being a fanatic, and added that he (Sir Moses) had his authority to write to the Jews in the East that if they had any serious complaints to make, the English Consuls would attend to them, and forward them to the Ambassador at Constantinople, who would represent them to the Ministers of the Porte. . . .

"Lord Aberdeen, with whom he subsequently had an interview on the same subject, said that he saw no objection to the British Consul receiving the statements of grievances made by the Jews, and transmitting such statements to the British Ambassador in Constantinople, who would be directed to confer thereon with the Ministers of the Porte, with a view to the redress of the grievances complained of."

"On Sir Moses pressing the desire of the Jews in the East to be brought under British protection, his Lordship said that he did not see how it could be accomplished. All the European Powers were extremely jealous of any interference on the part of England. His Lordship added, however, that he would consider the best means to afford the Jews protection for the sake of humanity and justice.

"On the 7th November, Sir Stratford Canning (1786–1880),[1] previous to leaving for Constantinople, called on Sir Moses, and afterwards sent him a note, appointing to see him on the following day at twelve o'clock. Sir Moses accordingly went to him. The purpose of this interview was to solicit protection for the *Israelites* in the East. Sir Moses informed him of the directions given by Lord Palmerston, and Sir Stratford said he would be happy to do all that his duty permitted, and to hear from Sir Moses whenever he pleased. They had a long and interesting conversation respecting the Jews and the Holy Land, and Sir Moses was exceedingly satisfied by Sir Stratford's kindness."[2]

It may be pointed out here that the extension of Great Britain's protection to the Jews in the East was at that

[1] The Rt. Hon. Sir Stratford Canning—afterwards Viscount (1852) Stratford *de* Redcliffe, G.C.B.

[2] *Ibid.*, *pp.* 303–304.

time regarded in other countries as something to which the Jews were justly entitled, and the granting of this protection was supposed to be necessitated by English policy.

Dr. Edward Robinson (1797–1863), the eminent American scholar, wrote :—

" France has long been the acknowledged protector of the Roman Catholic religion, in the same Empire ; and the followers of that faith find in her a watchful and efficient patron ; . . . In the members of the Greek Church, still more numerous, . . . the Russians have even warmer partisans. . . . But where are England's partisans in any part of Turkey ? That England, while she has so deep a political interest in all that concerns the Turkish Empire, should remain indifferent to this state of things in Syria, is a matter of surprise."[1]

Notwithstanding the formal difficulties indicated by Lord Aberdeen the scheme grew, and Sir Moses received very sincere promises, for despite the force of Lord Aberdeen's reasoning, it was too subtle to commend itself to the common sense of Sir Moses, who was acting not as a diplomatist, but as an ardent protector of his oppressed people. The two points in Sir Moses' programme were his scheme for the colonization of Palestine and his efforts to obtain British protection.

Sir Moses had started his second voyage to Palestine in 1838. He was then already a friend of Mehemet Ali. Reaching Alexandria on July 13th, he was cordially received by the *Pasha,* who listened attentively as he unfolded his scheme. Mehemet Ali promised every assistance. " You shall have any portion of land open for sale in Syria," he said, " and any other land which by application to the *Sultan* may be procured for you. You may have anyone you would like to appoint as Governor in any of the rural districts of the Holy Land, and I will do everything that lies in my power to support your praiseworthy endeavours." He further gave instructions to the Minister of Finance, Burghas *Bey,* to confirm these assurances in writing.

" A new era seemed dawning for the Jews of the Holy Land. Sir Moses returned to England with a light heart, and prepared to put his plans into execution. . . . He was still conning over the voluminous data he had collected,

[1] Biblical Researches in Palestine, . . . By Edward Robinson, D.D. . . . Vol. iii. London, MDCCCXLI., *pp.* 464–465.

and was constructing in his mind the foundation of a new commonwealth for Palestine, when he was suddenly called upon to proceed again to the East,—this time, not as a peaceful reformer, but as the champion of his people, charged to vindicate their honour in the face of a foul conspiracy. He cheerfully laid aside his agricultural schemes, and girded up his loins for the new enterprise. When he returned home in the following spring, crowned with laurels, and hailed on all sides as the deliverer of *Israel*, his triumph was clouded by one sad thought—the projects to which he had devoted the whole of the previous year were no longer possible. Mehemet Ali had ceased to be lord of Syria, and his improving rule had been replaced by the asphyxiating authority of the Stamboul *Effendis*, under whom questions of social well-being could expect little furtherance."[1]

In these words Mr. Lucien Wolf, in his excellent *Life*, describes the change that took place in the plans of Sir Moses. The change was, however, quite superficial. If we consider all the facts and documents, we cannot doubt that Sir Moses was a great Zionist throughout his whole life. His type stands midway in the evolution of Zionism. He was not unconscious of the exaltedness, the pathos, the revulsion of feeling that the struggle for the revival of a nation awakens in the normal mind of a Jew. His rôle as a "champion of his people" in his Zionist efforts is of far greater importance than his defence of the unfortunate Jewish sufferers in Damascus. The latter was a necessity, and it was indeed a great honour for any man to be entrusted with the perilous mission of defending these innocent martyrs. But unquestionably noble and necessary as it was to struggle against those shamelessly fabricated charges which have unfortunately been brought against the Jews again and again, and to protest against that gross libel upon the honour and humanity of Judaism, a libel that accused the Jews of being murderers and cannibals, can such a struggle be compared for dignity and greatness with the stimulating effort for national regeneration? What was the result of all these pleas of defence? Some individuals were saved from martyrdom; but since then the same terrible accusation has been levelled against the Jews a hundred times over, and it is hurled at them

[1] *The Life of Sir Moses Montefiore*, by Lucien Wolf. London, 1884, *pp.* 78–79.

in our own time with still greater malice and wickedness than in 1840. No one would underrate the great value and the imperative necessity of Jewish self-defence ; but the efforts undertaken by Sir Moses in 1838 were more than merely defensive—they were an attempt to transform the whole situation.

Reviewing the results of the whole period here surveyed, we see that what Sir Moses attempted was in fact Zionism, political Zionism. It was, however, left to a later generation to take up the work afresh, on lines dictated by sound political reasoning. The new generation had already an organization behind it ; Sir Moses acted as an individual. He could not have succeeded even if the political circumstances had been radically different. The first essential to colonization, though one which has been generally overlooked, is a national movement to support it. So many illusions are shattered by the cold touch of reality : the best that the regenerator can do is to close his eyes and to go boldly forward, supported by the strength and the enthusiasm of the masses, for in that way he can overcome the most formidable obstacles. But the practical side has also to be considered. Colonization can never be successfully established without large capital and carefully laid plans. All these conditions were lacking in Sir Moses' day. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that the plan on which Sir Moses had so confidently relied slipped out of his hands.

But Zionism was undoubtedly the greatest and noblest of Sir Moses' aspirations. He made seven journeys to Palestine together with his wife, who shared his devotion and enthusiasm : and many of these journeys were very dangerous. *Jerusalem* was the watchword of his life. One of his last expressions, as quoted by a biographer, was : " I do not expect that all *Israelites* will quit their abodes in those territories in which they feel happy, even as there are Englishmen in Hungary, Germany, America and Japan : *but Palestine must belong to the Jews*, and *Jerusalem* is destined to become the seat of a Jewish Commonwealth."

CHAPTER XXIII

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

Diaries of 1830–40—The first English Vice-Consul for *Jerusalem*—Lord Lindsay's travels in Egypt and the Holy Land—A guarantee of five Powers—Lord Shaftesbury's conception of a spiritual centre for the Jewish nation.

THE Zionist idea not only has a long and unbroken history in England; it links together periods and men of the most widely different convictions and emotions. This truth is illustrated by the fact that at the very time when Sir Moses was endeavouring to found a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, another famous man, one of the greatest Christians in this country, was working in his way and according to his lights, with similar enthusiasm and strength of conviction, for precisely the same cause. This was the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (1801–1885), one of the most interesting personalities of the age, a man of the soundest intellect and the keenest perceptions, sagacious, far-seeing, of great honesty of purpose, modest and averse from notoriety, an ardent Christian and a broad-minded philanthropist.[1]

Lord Shaftesbury writes in his *Diaries*[2] on September 29th, 1838:—

"Took leave this morning of Young, who has just been appointed Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at *Jerusalem!* He will sail in a day or two to the Holy Land. If this is duly considered, what a wonderful event it is! The ancient city

[1] In Lord Shaftesbury, the earnest Christian philanthropist, the world was not slow to recognize the most eminent social reformer of the nineteenth century. The Duke of Argyll (1823–1900) thus described him in a memorable speech in the House of Lords, and the eulogy was endorsed by Lord Salisbury (1830–1903): "The family motto of the Shaftesburys, 'Love, serve,' was well exemplified in the character of his life. His efforts and his influence were interwoven with many of the most humane movements of two generations. Pre-eminently the friend of the poor, the degraded and the outcast, his generous sympathies and his ceaseless labours on behalf of the classes in whom he took so deep an interest, have given him a high place in the illustrious roll of benevolent Englishmen. The epitaph which the Eastern *Rabbi* desired for himself might with perfect truth be applied to Lord Shaftesbury, 'Write me as one who loves his fellow-men.'"

[2] Edwin Hodder: *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, London, 1886.

of the people of God is about to resume a place among the nations, and England is the first of the Gentile Kingdoms that ceases 'to tread her down.' If I had not an aversion to writing, almost insuperable, I would record here, for the benefit of my very weak and treacherous memory, all the steps whereby this good deed has been done, but the arrangement of the narrative, and the execution of it, would cost me too much penmanship; I shall always, at any rate, remember that God put it into my heart to conceive the plan for His honour, gave me influence to prevail with Palmerston, and provided a man for the situation, who 'can remember *Jerusalem* in his mirth'" (vol. i., *p.* 233).

It was, as we see, a sublimely conceived notion of Lord Shaftesbury's that *Jerusalem* was about to resume a place among the nations, and that England was destined to carry out God's designs.

He continues on October 3rd, 1838:—

"Lord Lindsay's[1] 'Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land' are very creditable to him, . . . Egypt will yield largely in confirmation of the Jewish records; and Palestine, when dug and harrowed by enterprising travellers, must exhibit the past with all the vividness of the present. The very violences of Ibrahim *Pasha*[2] (1789–1848) (the Scourge of Syria) have opened the first sources of its political regeneration by offering free access to the stranger in the repression of native lawlessness; hundreds now go in a twelvemonth when one trod the way in a quarter of a century, and the Bible is becoming a common road-book" (*Ibid.*).

The last sentence proves the Biblical character of England's devotion to Palestine. English thinkers and statesmen particularly appreciated the fact that no country has been the scene of the principal drama of human developments for so many centuries as Palestine, and no other bears upon its memory so many of the scars of those great convulsions that have shaped the main features of history.

He writes on July 24th, 1838:—

"It seems as though money were the only thing wanting to regenerate the world. Never was an age so fertile in good plans, or with apparently more and better men to execute them, but where are the means? . . . Why money would almost restore the Jews to the Holy Land. Certainly so far as Mehemet Ali is the arbiter of their destinies. . . .

[1] Afterwards the twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford (1812–1880).
[2] Second son of Mehemet Ali.

"Anxious about the hopes and destinies of the Jewish people. Everything seems ripe for their return to Palestine; 'the way of the kings of the East is prepared.' Could the five Powers of the West be induced to guarantee the security of life and possessions to the *Hebrew* race, they would now flow back in rapidly augmenting numbers. Then by the blessing of God I will prepare a document, fortify it by all the evidence I can accumulate, and, confiding to the wisdom and mercy of the Almighty, lay it before the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs" (*Ibid.*, *p.* 310).

It may be observed that the Zionist formula of the Basle programme, demanding a home for the Jewish people secured by public law, is identical with the "guarantee of the Great Powers" suggested by Lord Shaftesbury.

Not only the questions of nationality involved in the realization of this important programme, but also the question of the creation of a spiritual nucleus for the *Hebrew* genius—one of the cherished aspirations of Zionists—occupied Lord Shaftesbury's mind quite as much as the political proposition:—

The inherent vitality of the *Hebrew* race reasserts itself with amazing persistence; its genius, to tell the truth, adapts itself more or less to all currents of civilization all over the world, nevertheless always emerging with distinctive features and a gallant recovery of vigour. There is an unbroken identity of Jewish race and Jewish mind down to our times: but the great revival can take place only in the Holy Land.

He then proceeds to the practical steps.

"August 1st, 1838.—Dined with Palmerston. After dinner left alone with him. Propounded my scheme, which seemed to strike his fancy; he asked some questions, and readily promised to consider it. How singular is the order of Providence! Singular, that is if estimated by man's ways! Palmerston had already been chosen by God to be an instrument of good to His ancient people, to do homage, as it were, to their inheritance, and to recognise their rights without believing their destiny. And it seems he will yet do more. But though the motive be kind, it is not sound. I am forced to argue politically, financially, commercially; these considerations strike him home; he weeps not like his Master over *Jerusalem*, nor prays that now, at last, she may put on her beautiful garments . . ." (*Ibid.*, *pp.* 310–11).

In these few lines we see the Zionist problem in its two aspects: Lord Shaftesbury dealing with it *sub specie æternitatis*, so thoroughly infused with the sense of its dignity that the reader's imagination is constantly stirred to the same feeling, and Lord Palmerston, the diplomatist, though of opinion that the scheme, constructed in a mist of hazy ideas, aspirations and emotions, required more clearness, yet agreeing in the main and demanding more details regarding the economic and statistical side of the subject. The difference between the two men was this: Lord Palmerston was a great political leader, Lord Shaftesbury was a great Christian.

The Quarterly Review for January, 1839, published a masterly article by Lord Shaftesbury. It is a review and an appreciation of "Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land, by Lord Lindsay, 1838." He writes: "We have alluded, in the commencement of this article, to the growing interest manifested in behalf of the Holy Land. This interest is not confined to the Christians—it is shared and avowed by the whole body of Jews, . . . Doubtless, this is no new sentiment among the children of the dispersion. The novelty of the present day does not lie in the indulgence of such a hope . . . but in their fearless confession of the hope; and in the approximation of spirit between Christians and *Hebrews*, to entertain the same belief of the future glories of *Israel*, . . . In most former periods a development of religious feeling has been followed by a persecution of the ancient people of God; . . . But a mighty change has come over the hearts of the Gentiles; they seek now the . . . peace of the *Hebrew* people. One of them . . . went a journey into Poland . . . informs us that several thousand Jews in that country and of Russia have recently bound themselves by an oath, that, as soon as the way is open for them to go up to *Jerusalem*, they will immediately go thither, . . . Dr. [Joseph] Wolff (1795–1862) (*Journal*, 1833)[1] (*sic*) heard these sentiments from their lips in the remotest countries of Asia; and Buchanan asserts that wherever he went among the Jews of India, he found memorials of their expulsion from Judæa, and of their belief of a return thither. . . . In Poland, the great focus of the *Hebrew* people, the sentiment is most rife that the time is near at hand for the turning of their captivity: . . ." (*pp.* 176–9).

[1] Journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolff for the year 1831. London: : . MDCCCXXXII. (8°. 1 *l.*+70 *pp.* [B. M.])

CHAPTER XXIV

MEMORANDUM OF THE PROTESTANT MONARCHS

The London Convention of 1840—The new Treaty of London for the pacification of the Levant—Viscount Ponsonby—Reschid *Pasha*—Lord Shaftesbury's "Exposé" addressed to Lord Palmerston—The articles in *The Times*—A Memorandum to the European Monarchs—"Enquiries about the Jews"—The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*.

WE have to go back to the political changes which we indicated in connection with Sir Moses' activity.

After the Convention which was signed on the 15th July, 1840, in London for the pacification of the Levant, the terms were duly proposed to Mehemet Ali and were rejected on the 5th September. Then the war intervened, Mehemet Ali was obliged to come to terms, and on July 18th, 1841, the new "Treaty of London for the Pacification of the Levant" was signed. Mehemet Ali abandoned his claim to Syria on condition that the Khedivate of Egypt was made hereditary in his family. This was a turning-point of much significance in the history of Palestine. At that moment the Jews might have been able to regain their ancient land, if only they had had an organization for carrying out the plan.

The only country in the world where this idea found influential expression at the time was England. The events in the East were naturally of intense interest to Lord Shaftesbury, and stimulated him to greater activity.

He writes in his *Diary*, on August 24th, 1840: "The *Times* of 17th August filled me with astonishment. I wish I had put down at the moment what I felt at reading it; half satisfaction, half dismay; pleased to see my opinions and projects so far taken up and approved;—alarmed lest this premature disclosure of them should bring upon us all the charge of fanaticism. Now who could have believed, a few years ago, that this subject could have been treated in a newspaper of wide circulation, gravely, sincerely, and zealously, yet so it is; and who sees not the handwriting of God upon the wall? The very insults, misrepresentations, and persecutions of the Jews at Damascus bring forward the

main question; and Mehemet Ali, 'howbeit he thinketh not so,' is a mighty instrument for the benefit of this people!

"Palmerston told me that he has already written to Lord Ponsonby[1] (1780?–1855) to direct him to open an intercourse with Reschid *Pasha* (1802–1858) at Constaninople respecting protection and encouragement to the Jews. This is a prelude to the Antitype of the decree of Cyrus, but, humanly speaking, we must pray for more caution. Those gentlemen who have now got access to the columns of the *Times* will, by over-zeal, bring a charge of fanaticism on the whole question. O God, from whom *alone* cometh all counsel, wisdom, and understanding, be Thou our Guide, our Instructor, and our Friend" (*Ibid.*, *p.* 311).

On August 29th, 1840, he writes:—

"The newspapers teem with documents about the Jews. Many assail, and many defend them. I have as yet read nothing (except [the Rev. Alexander] M'Caul's (1799–1863) treatise) which exhibits any statement either new or clever. The motion of the *Times* in this matter has stirred up an immense variety of projects and opinions; everyone has a thought, and everyone has an interpretation. What a chaos of schemes and disputes is on the horizon, for the time when the affairs of the Jews shall be really and fully before the world! What violence, what hatred, what combination, what discussion. What a stir of every passion, every feeling in men's hearts!..." (*Ibid.*, *p.* 311).

On September 25th, 1840, he writes:—

"Yesterday began my paper for Palmerston, containing in full the propositions for the recall of the Jews to their ancient land. 'Recall' is too strong; it is simply a 'permission,' should they think fit to avail themselves of it. I wish to prepare a short document, which may refresh his memory, and exist as a record both of the suggestion and the character of it" (*Ibid.*, *p.* 312).

We may confess that at times we find Lord Shaftesbury's ideas somewhat too largely influenced by his religious zeal; yet he did succeed in mastering his emotions and dealing with the problem in a sound and statesmanlike manner. In this document of his we find not only generous ideas but also excellent arguments, simply and convincingly stated (Appendix liii).

On November 4th, 1840, he writes:—

"I hope I have done right in this: I have suppressed all

[1] John Viscount Ponsonby.

party considerations, and have used every effort to persuade the *Times* to take just views of the Syrian question. I have been successful. Lord Palmerston told me this evening that the concurrence of the Tory papers had smoothed ten thousand difficulties . . ." (*Ibid.*, *p.* 315).

The articles in *The Times*, to which Lord Shaftesbury refers, appeared in that newspaper at various periods. On the 9th March, 1840 (*p.* 3), *The Times* published the following notice :—

" *Restoration of the Jews.*—A memorandum has been addressed to the Protestant monarchs of Europe on the subject of the restoration of the Jewish people to the land of Palestine. The document in question, dictated by the peculiar conjuncture of affairs in the East, and the other striking 'signs of the times,' reverts to the original covenant which secures that land to the descendants of *Abraham*, and urges upon the consideration of the powers addressed what may be the probable line of Protestant Christendom to the Jewish people in the present controversy in the East. The memorandum and correspondence which has passed upon the subject have been published."

This Memorandum (Appendix liv) is written entirely from a Christian point of view. Lord Shaftesbury, although himself a staunch believer in Christianity, was more inclined to give the project a practical character.

On the 17th August, 1840, *The Times* (*p.* 3) published the following article :—

" *Syria.—Restoration of the Jews.*

" The proposition to plant the Jewish people in the land of their fathers, under the protection of the five Powers, is no longer a mere matter of speculation, but of serious political consideration. In a ministerial paper of the 31st of July an article appears bearing all the characteristics of a feeler on this deeply interesting subject. However, it has been reserved for a noble Lord opposed to Her Majesty's Ministers to take up the subject in a practical and statesmanlike manner, and he is instituting inquiries, of which the following is a copy :—

" 1. What are the feelings of the Jews you meet with respect to their return to the Holy Land ?

" 2. Would the Jews of station and property be inclined to return to Palestine, carry with them their capital, and invest it in the cultivation of the land, if by the opera-

tion of law and justice life and property were rendered secure ?

" 3. How soon would they be inclined and ready to go back ?

" 4. Would they go back entirely at their own expense, requiring nothing farther than the assurance of safety to person and estate ?

" 5. Would they be content to live under the Government of the country as they should find it, their rights and privileges being secured to them under the protection of the European Powers ?

" Let the answers you procure be as distinct and decided and detailed as possible : in respect as to the inquiries as to property, it will of course be sufficient that you should obtain fair proof of the fact from general report.

" The noble Lord who is instituting these inquiries has given deep attention to the matter, and is well known as the writer of an able article in the *Quarterly* on the subject, in December, 1838."

The adherents of the idea of Jewish assimilation in Germany started a kind of opposition.

The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* dealt with this matter on the 19th September, 1840, and admitted with regard to the articles in the *Globe*, which it described as " a London Ministerial newspaper," that " the plans may all be classed among the things devoutly to be desired." On the other hand, this paper quotes from the *Courier Français* of August 26th, 1840, a comparison between *M.* A. M. L. de P. de Lamartine (1790–1869) (the poet, and at that time Deputy) and Lord Palmerston in the following words :—

" M. de Lamartine intends to form a Christian kingdom at the sources of the *Jordan*, and at the foot of *Mount Lebanon ;* if only *Jerusalem*, the Holy City, came into the power of France, he would gladly leave the rest of the world to England and Russia. But what is odd in the whole affair is that Lord Palmerston has chosen the same spot. Where the celebrated Deputy dreams of a Christian state, Lord Palmerston projects a Jewish Republic."

This jest caused the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* to " protest against the project in question," and " to warn the young people." All we learn from this pronouncement is that the Jewish youth was at the time inclined to listen to the Zionist idea.

CHAPTER XXV

RESTORATION AND PROTECTION

A new Memorandum—The "Balance of Power"—Palestine and "Rights" in other countries—A "Memorial of the Church of Scotland"—Protection for the Jews in the East.

SOME time afterwards a new Memorandum appeared in the press, which may be considered one of the highest eulogies of Zionism ever written (Appendix lv). It combines religious conviction with an appreciation of political realism. The writers—this article being the expression of the opinions of a group of statesmen—deal with political problems which were then of the highest interest and importance, and indicate with sufficient clearness a probable solution, emphasizing the view that "the cause of the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine is one essentially generous and noble." They do not fail to realize the complexity of the problem and the many cross-currents and jealousies, but arrive at the conclusion that there is a remedy for all these conflicts in the colonization of Palestine by the Jews. They even go much further than this, for they point out that "it would be a crowning-point in the glory of England to bring about such an event."

The writer of an article entitled "A Regard for the Jews,"[1] drew the following historical parallel :—

"To afford the Jew an opportunity of returning to Palestine, if he chooses, and of dwelling there in peace and security, will hereafter form one of the brightest gems in the crown of Britain. Cyrus, for permitting the captive Jews to go up to *Jerusalem*, was honoured with an everlasting memorial upon the pages of inspiration. Britain will not miss a recompense of equal worth and honour for an act of the same enlightened benevolence. For this the present time is most happy and opportune—for the stirring and philanthropic portion of the public are alive to the case of the Jews, and would hail with loudest applause that government which would thus lay the top-stone upon all the kind exertions hitherto made in favour of that people."

[1] *Globe*, August 14, 1840.

It is a common notion, particularly among some Jewish opponents of Zionism, to suppose that some non-Jewish supporters of this idea may be jealous of Jewish equality in the countries where they live, and may hope to get rid of the Jews. As a matter of fact, however, the promoters of the idea of Restoration have always been opposed to any sort of persecution or degradation.

Here the writer touched upon one of the most important controversial points: the alleged incompatibility of the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine with their rights of citizenship in other countries. This contention has been made use of by some Jewish opponents of modern Zionism. We have dealt with the point in the Introduction, and shall have to return to it again. Here we only call attention to the broad-minded and lofty manner in which this English writer pointed out the fallacy of this supposed contradiction between Palestine and "rights," which has arisen only through narrowness of judgment and want of logic. It is curious indeed to find that Jewish opponents were always wont to speak on this point in the name of Christians, but in a strain quite opposed to expressed ideas and the attitude of the Christians most competent to decide. The plain fact is, as the writer says, that "the promoters of the idea of Restoration have always been opposed to any sort of persecution and degradation." This theory of a supposed irreconcilability of Palestine and "rights" is logically fallacious from another standpoint. The defenders of the theory refuse to consider sufficiently the question of the nature of rights and freedom. At times they seem to opine that Jews have to renounce their traditions in order to get "rights"; at other times they appear to emphasize that freedom which is obtainable by means of "rights." But in reality rights are not necessarily freedom; a man who aspires to culture but is forced to renounce his aspirations is not free. On the other hand, for a group of persons to abandon their traditions is not freedom. Freedom in the positive sense, the only sense which gives it any value, is the privilege of a wide choice, because the privilege of choice is the primary condition of real development and productiveness. Hence the only logical and liberal formula is that indicated by the writer of the Memorandum; "to afford the Jew an opportunity of returning to Palestine if he chooses." Modern Zionism has expressed the same idea in other words:

Palestine should be for those Jews who cannot amalgamate with others or are not desirous of doing so.

In the meantime, the question of the protection to be granted to the Jews in the East continued to occupy English minds a great deal. *The Times*, December 3, 1840, *p.* 6, has an article on "The Jews" which reads :—

"The following Memorial has lately been presented by the Church of Scotland to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs :—

"'To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. . . .

"'Your memorialists cannot help expressing the thankfulness which they, and all others interested in the welfare of the Jewish people, must feel to your Lordship, for the countenance which you have given to other societies having at heart the same objects with your memorialists at the Porte and with the Pasha of Egypt, and for recommending the Jews to the especial protection of the consul sent to Syria by Her Majesty's Government.

"'Your memorialists look with deep interest on the transactions now going on in Syria, which they trust will result in the more firm and more extensive establishment of British influence in that interesting land : and deeply impressed with the conviction that it is a revealed truth of the word of God, that the blessing of God is promised to those who succour His ancient but now afflicted people, whether nations or individuals, they are most anxious that, in any future settlement of that country, under the auspices of Britain, your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government should take measures as far as possible for protecting the Jews against oppression and injustice. . . .'"

With reference to this Memorial the *Globe* made the following remarks :—

"Great Britain has taught the nations a lesson of charity, as well as faith, by taking God's ancient people under her special protection. Whilst some of the Powers of the earth have wavered, and continue to do homage to the spirit of unjust prejudice and the practice of persecution, to Great Britain belongs the just praise of asserting the claims of justice and mercy by interposing in several periods of her history on behalf of the unhappy victims of national and religious hatred. All that are interested in the cause of suffering humanity turn their eyes towards Great Britain."

The writer continues :—

"Why has England been so watched over and so pre-

served? Has any other country such a history? The histories of many other countries are made up of wars and rumours of wars in defence of their homes from foreign invaders—England, save civil wars, chiefly in the struggle for civil and religious liberty. Why should so small a speck on the earth's surface as England be able to control an enormous and populous-scattered Empire on which the sun never sets? Why should England be the terror of the oppressor and the asylum of the oppressed? It is by the spirit of God, by the great zeal and industry to be profitable and useful to the world, by readiness to take any pains, and give any assistance to the furthering of justice. Therefore England gave special protection to the Jews."

From this we gather that public opinion regarded the protection of the Jews in the East by England as an accomplished fact, though not officially proclaimed.

CHAPTER XXVI

PROTECTION AND RESTORATION

The *Don* Pacifico case—Admiral Sir William Parker—Lord Stanley—Mr. J. A. Roebuck—Lord Palmerston's policy attacked—Peel and the Opposition—Plans for colonization of Palestine—Mordecai Manuel Noah—Warder Cresson—Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth—Colonel George Gawler—" The Final Exodus "—Dr. Thomas Clarke.

A SERIOUS conflict broke out between England and Greece, and consequently in England itself, in 1850. The cause was Lord Palmerston's quarrel with the Greek Government, which had failed to protect *Don* David Pacifico (1784–1854), a Gibraltar Jew and a British subject, from the violence of the Athenian mob. The British fleet, under Admiral Sir William Parker (1817–1866), was ordered to the Piræus and seized a number of Greek ships to enforce compensation. A vote of censure upon this high-handed proceeding was moved and carried by Lord Stanley[1] (1775–1851) in the House of Lords. The majority against the Government was thirty-seven. In the House of Commons Mr. J. A. Roebuck (1801–1879) moved a counter-resolution, expressing confidence in the Government, and Lord Palmerston defended himself in a speech five hours long. He uttered upon that occasion the celebrated phrase " Civis Romanus sum," and declared that, wherever a British subject might be, the watching eye and the strong arm of England would protect him.

Gladstone, on the other side, pointed out the dangers of this policy. " What, sir," he asked, " was a Roman citizen ? He was the member of a privileged class ; he belonged to a conquering race, to a nation that held all others bound down by the strong arm of power. For him there was to be an exceptional system of law, for him principles were to be asserted, and by him rights were to be enjoyed that were denied to the rest of the world. Is such the view of the noble lord as to the relation which is to subsist between England and other countries ? "

Such, at all events, was the view of the House of Com-

[1] Edward (Smith-Stanley), Baron Stanley of Brokestaffe (1832–1851), thirteenth Earl of Derby, K.G. (1834–1851).

mons, for Mr. Roebuck's motion was carried by a majority of forty-six. However, on both sides of the controversy, protection was considered as an obligation involving great and far-reaching responsibilities. This conflict gives us an idea of the difficulties with which the question of the protection of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire was beset.

At the conclusion of this memorable debate, which took place on June 24th, 1850, [Sir Robert] Peel [Bart.] (1788–1850), in a brief speech of singular eloquence and wisdom, expressed his "reluctant dissent" from the motion, and uttered his final caution against perverting diplomacy, "the great engine used by civilized society for the purpose of maintaining peace, into a cause of hostility and war."

Needless to say, the Opposition had no intention whatever of blaming the Government for undertaking the protection of the Jews. There was only a difference of attitude, not one of principle, between the Palmerston Government and the Opposition. The Opposition became alarmed about the dangerous consequences which they thought likely to result from certain steps taken by the Government; the Government, on the other hand, had to consider carefully every new scheme of protection for the Jews, particularly after the conflict with Greece in the *Don* Pacifico case.

Reviewing the whole period and all the petitions, projects and experiments in connection with the colonization of Palestine by Jews, we see that Great Britain's protection was considered a "conditio sine qua non" for their success—at least as far as English Jews were interested in the movement. It is the same idea which modern Zionism expressed half a century later in the Basle Programme (1897) by demanding the consent of the Powers in the form of a legal guarantee or public recognition. The formula was different; but the fundamental idea is the same. It means security. The "Civis Romanus" system of Palmerston, a Government which sends a fleet to demand satisfaction for one protected Jew, was justly considered a sufficiently reliable guarantee of security. It is therefore quite clear that when the opponents of modern Zionism half a century later endeavoured to draw a line between the old schemes and efforts on the one hand, and political Zionism on the other, apparently approving of the former and anathematizing the latter, they were merely playing with words, and had no notion of the real facts.

Why did the plans for the Restoration of the Jews to

Palestine remain unfulfilled? Was it through political changes, for want of preparation, or through the absence of adequate organization on the part of the Jewish people? It is not our business to criticize the past. Let us deal instead with the further development of the idea, which in fact was never dropped, but, on the contrary, continually gained ground.

In 1844 it was proposed to encourage the settlement of the Jews in Palestine by giving them employment on the land. Lady Montefiore writes in her journal:—

"General satisfaction was expressed at the suggestion of a plan which might enable them to obtain an honourable independence. Energy and talent, they said, existed. Nothing was needed but protection and encouragement." In another letter, referring to the same subject, she writes:— "Our high-spirited nationality, under a judiciously exercised protectorate, might be assisted to work out, in due time, its own civilization, and to become a flourishing autonomous community with an extending commerce."[1]

From this it is evident that Sir Moses was continuing his efforts under the new circumstances. His correspondence with the Chief *Rabbi*, Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler (1803–1890) shows that this famous Ecclesiastic was also greatly in sympathy with the idea (Appendix lvi).

At the same time the notion of establishing a Jewish Commonwealth found ardent champions among another section of English-speaking Jews and among Christians of Puritan aspirations in America.

Major Mordecai Manuel Noah was one of the most prominent American Jews. He was Consul of the United States to Morocco from 1813 to 1816. On his return he established the *National Advent* and afterwards the *New York Enquirer*, subsequently also a weekly paper, *The Times*. He was Surveyor of the Port and Sheriff. In 1819 he published a book of his travels in England, France, Spain, and the Barbary States.

His attempt to establish a Jewish city of refuge on Grand Island, near Buffalo, is the one incident in his career that caused some sensation; but there was a great deal more of interest in the Major's life than that famous episode. It would be a great pity indeed were the rest of his career allowed to pass into oblivion. Major Noah

[1] Notes from a private journal of a visit to Egypt and Palestine, by way of Italy and the Mediterranean. [Not Published.] London: . . . 1844. (8°. 2 *ll.* + 410 *pp.* + folded leaf), *p.* 249.

would have deserved to be remembered had he never gone to Buffalo, and there dedicated the City of *Ararat* in the Episcopal Church. It was on the dedication of the *Shearith Israel* Synagogue in New York City in 1818, seven years before the *Ararat* episode, that Noah said: "The Jews will possess themselves once more of Syria, and take their rank among the governments of the earth." Again, in 1844, nineteen years after Ararat, he delivered a public discourse in New York, in which he expressed to an audience of Christians his firm belief in the Restoration of Israel to the Promised Land. The tenacity with which Noah held to his Jewish nationalistic ideas is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that he was so thoroughly American. His great-great-grandfather, he said in one of the addresses referred to, was buried in the Cemetery at Chatham Square. He himself was a great literary and political personality in New York. It was said that he told the best story, rounded the best sentence and wrote the best play of all his contemporaries. He was one of the most prominent editors of the City. He held, at different times, the offices of Consul-General at Tunis, Sheriff of New York County, Surveyor of the Port, and Judge of the Court of Sessions. "No man of his day had a better claim to the title of 'American,' yet all his life he cherished the idea of a Restoration of the Jews to Palestine."[1]

In 1845 he published a *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews*, delivered at the Tabernacle on October 28th and December 2nd, 1844. In the Preface to his book he refers to some Christian supporters of the idea, and says:—

"True, the efforts to evangelize them (the Jews) contrary, as I think, to the manifest predictions of the prophets, continue to be unceasing, yet even in this there is charity and good feeling, which cannot fail to be reciprocally beneficial." He then quotes the letter of the late President of the United States, Mr. Adams, to which we referred above (see Chapter IX.), and draws the attention of the Americans to the idea of Restoration in most forcible and often eloquent language.

Another American, Warder Cresson (1798–1860), United States Consul in *Jerusalem*, was a great Zionist in his time. He wrote a book[2] on the subject, in which he says:—

[1] M. M. Noah. The First American Zionist, by Dr. Abraham Lipsky. The Maccabean, New York, December, 1908, *p.* 231 f.

[2] Jerusalem—the centre and joy of the whole earth. . . . By Warder Cresson, United States Consul at Jerusalem. . . . Second Edition. London. . . . M.DCCC.XLIX., *p.* 3.

" All the different nations have appointed consuls in *Jerusalem*, as in anticipation of some very important and general movement; which is regarded with a jealous eye by the Turks, as well as the other European Powers. ' Britain has had a consul in *Jerusalem* three years before any other nation, except Prussia; but no sooner did she send a bishop, than France, Russia and Austria sent consuls forthwith; and thus in *Jerusalem*—which is, in a commercial point of view, but a paltry inland Eastern town, without trade or importance of any kind—sit the five consuls of the Great European powers (as well as one appointed by the United States of America), looking at one another, and it is difficult to say why and wherefore.' To use the words of Dr. Alexander Keith (1791–1880) : ' A country which for previous centuries, *no man inquired after*, excites anew the liveliest interest among the greatest of earthly potentates.' "[1]

Having devoted some considerable time to Biblical study, Cresson embraced the Jewish faith, and after his conversion was named Michael Boaz Israel. He founded a colony in Palestine which was one of the pioneer enterprises of its kind.

Meanwhile, the propaganda in England made considerable progress. The Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth aroused public opinion and appealed to the British Government for help for the Jews to regain the land of their fathers. He says :—

" Such objects are worthy of the efforts of a great people. These designs are to be brought into maturity by the settlement and the protection of the Jew in Palestine. It is his native climate and home. There he can feel the deathless energies of his race, and the high destinies of his future. He is poor, he is powerless, he is alone; scattered like iron amid the clay of surrounding nations. But let him ask in peace for the common rights of a subject of Turkey, in a country where the very hills have voices to remind him of what he has been and may be; and under the protecting flag of Victoria, he will be able, divinely permitted, to prove himself possessed of heroic virtues in all that makes man great, noble, religious and free."[2]

Another famous Englishman, Colonel George Gawler

[1] The Land of Israel. . . . By Alexander Keith, D.D., Edinburgh : . . . 1843. *p.* 476.

[2] Remarks upon the Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Jews in Palestine. By the Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth, M.A., Rural Dean, and Vicar of Stowmarket and Stowupland. . . . London : . . . MDCCCLII. *p.* 14.

(1796–1869), Governor of South Australia (1838–1841), who devoted his whole life to religious and philanthropic pursuits, was more of a political Zionist, and dealt with the question from the standpoint of British politics. He declared :—

" Divine Providence has placed Syria and Egypt in the very gap between England and the most important regions of her colonial and foreign trade, India, China, the Indian Archipelago and Australia. She does not require or wish for increase of territory—already has she (that dangerous boon) more direct dominion than she can easily maintain ; but she does *most urgently* need the shortest and the safest lines of communication to the territories already possessed. . . . Egypt and Syria stand in intimate connection. A foreign hostile power mighty in either, would soon endanger British trade and communications through the other. Hence the providential call upon her, to exert herself energetically for the amelioration of the condition of both of these Provinces. Egypt has improved greatly by British influence, and it is now for England to set her hand to the renovation of Syria, through the only people whose energies will be extensively and permanently in the work,—the real children of the soil, the sons of *Israel.*"[1]

An anonymous author considers it a sign of the times that extraordinary events are announced to take place in regard to Jews.. He is the writer of some of the most beautiful passages in Zionist literature by a Christian Englishman[2] (Appendix lvii).

Dr. Thomas Clarke, author of *Palestine for the Jews*, wrote : " Any one who has studied the features of the past, and watched intently the signs of the present, can see that a terrible convulsion is coming ; and if, out of the chaos, Poles, Huns, Magyars, Sclaves and Italians— . . . are to be resuscitated, is not also that nation through whom we as Gentiles derive a title to our blessings, and whose ancestor, above four thousand years ago, was the friend of God? And I, as an Englishman, cannot blind myself to the fact that, while it would be an inestimable boon to the house of

[1] Syria, and its near prospects; the substance of an Address delivered . . . on Tuesday, 25th January, 1853 . . . By Colonel George Gawler, K.H., F.R.G.S., Late Governor and Resident Commissioner of the Province of South Australia. London: . . . (*pp.* 48–49).

[2] The Final Exodus; or, the Restoration to Palestine of The Lost Tribes, . . . with a description of the Battle of Armageddon, . . . as deduced wholly from prophecy. London: . . . 1854. . . .

Israel, it would be also of the greatest possible advantage to us; for if it has been a necessity in times past that the kingdom of Turkey shall exist as a neutral power, and that its boundaries should remain intact as a defence and barrier . . . surely, . . . the occupation of Palestine by . . . the Jews, under the protection of England, must be a greater necessity than ever. . . . If England, again, is . . . relying upon its commerce as the corner-stone of its greatness; if one of the nearest and best channels of that commerce is across the axis of the three great continents; and if the Jews are essentially a trading . . . people, what so natural as that they should be planted along that great highway of ancient traffic? Is not the mind struck with astonishment at the contemplation of such a possibility? How the cycles of ages seem to be but the revolutions of the giant wheel of time, and how the past is but the seed . . . of the future, . . . For, in the realisation of what is certainly more than a probability, the now almost forgotten and long buried cities of Palmyra, Babylon, Bagdad and especially of ancient Balsorah (*sic*), at the junction of the two great Eastern rivers—a position scarcely second to Constantinople itself,—must again become emporiums (*sic*) of wealth, and rise to a splendour and importance equal, or superior, to what they were in the acme of their glory.— . . . Syria must be occupied by a trading . . . people—it lies in the great route of ancient commerce; and were the Ottoman Power to be displaced, that old commercial route would immediately re-open. Trade would flow once more in its old channel across Syria and along the valley of the Euphrates . . . and in what more skilful hands could the exchanges betwixt the East and the West be placed? In his harbours would the ships of Europe discharge the fabrics and manufactures of the industrious West, and return laden with the wine and oil, and silks and gems of the East. In fine, Syria would be safe only in the hands of a brave, independent, and spirited people, deeply imbued with the sentiment of nationality, . . . Such people we have in the Jews. . . . Restore them their nationality and their country once more, and there is no power on earth that could ever take it from them."[1]

[1] India and Palestine: or, the Restoration of the Jews, viewed in relation to The Nearest Route to India. . . . By Thomas Clarke, M.D. . . . Manchester: . . . (*pp.* 12–15). *p.* vi., Wilmslow, July, 1861.

CHAPTER XXVII

EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

Christianity and Judaism—Disraeli's character—Jewish features—*Alroy*—*Tancred*—The defence of Jewish rights—Oriental policy.

THE most original combination of an Englishman and a Jew was Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1887), Earl of Beaconsfield (1876), whom Zionists may claim as one of the greatest representatives of their movement. Was Lord Beaconsfield a Christian or a Jew ? For Jews the question is satisfactorily answered by their instinct of sympathy. Lord Beaconsfield felt towards the members of his race as a Jew feels for his fellow-Jews. That being the test, Lord Beaconsfield proved himself a good Jew in that respect. In religious matters, however, Lord Beaconsfield was a Christian—and a Zionist.

He was purely Jewish by descent, and was the eldest son of Isaac *D'*Israeli (1766–1848), the author of *The Curiosities of Literature* (1791), *The Genius of Judaism* (1833), *etc.*, by his wife Miriam (Maria), a daughter of Naphtali (*d.* 1808) *de* Solomon Basevi of Verona, Italy. He was born in London on Friday, 21 December, 1804, and was initiated into the *Abrahamic* covenant on the following Friday, 26 *Tebet*, 5565, by David Abarbanel Lindo (1772–1852). Isaac *D'*Israeli severed his connection finally with the Bevis Marks synagogue in March, 1817, and on the 31 July following, at the instigation it is said of Samuel Rogers (1763–1855), the banker poet, the future Premier was baptised at the parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn. In his public conduct and pronouncements he proved undeniably that an Englishman, by birth a Jew, can be as much an Englishman as any descendant of Saxon, Norman, or Dane living in these islands, and can share with as warm a glow the common sentiment of patriotism that unites Englishmen round their ancient throne and institutions.

Disraeli was a living monument of the greatness of the Jewish race, of its capacity to produce individuals equal in mental stature to the loftiest among mankind. What he thought of his ancestral and of his adopted faith respectively may be gathered from the well-known words in one

of his earlier writings: "Christianity is Judaism for the multitude," a sentence which to his brethren in race is equivalent to saying: "Ye are the salt of the earth." The perseverance and zeal which acknowledged no defeat and produced such extraordinary successes were essentially Jewish. The most superficial acquaintance with Jews is sufficient to reveal the fact that there is no Jewish trait more distinctive than this unconquerable determination. It is a heritage bequeathed to them by their ancestors. With the many different experiences of a race dispersed in every corner of the globe, without a home for nearly twenty centuries, hunted from country to country, carrying their lives in their hands, and bound to be on the alert for every emergency, it is not strange that the Jews display great resourcefulness.

The Disraeli family had been expelled by the persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition, in the fifteenth century, and found an asylum in Italy. Two centuries and a half later, Benjamin (1730–1816) [*de* Isaac] Israeli of Cento, in Ferrara, Italy, grandfather of the Earl of Beaconsfield, settled in England. Thus the experience stored in the mind of a typical Jew like Beaconsfield represents more than a single trait of heredity; it is a combination of such traits. But what was most Jewish in him was his affection for the Holy Land. This pious feeling, which he shared with his race, became with him a tremendous power; it influenced his policy and caused him to consolidate England's power in the East. He also constantly supported every movement towards Jewish emancipation.

As a historic figure he possesses a charm of his own, and romanticism pervades his whole career. Neither his birth nor the religion of his ancestors nor his own antecedents prevented him from conquering the prejudices which the aristocracy is wont to show towards a self-made man; for the English aristocracy possesses the wonderful quality that ensures the preservation of its strength—that if once it recognizes genius, far from opposing or avoiding it, it defends it, attracts it, and completely absorbs it. And so Disraeli, instead of becoming a fiery tribune of the masses, developed into an able and successful leader of the aristocracy. This man, whom his opponents had abused as a foreigner, so conducted himself as finally to become one of England's most famous champions.

It was no common energy and perseverance that Benjamin Disraeli needed to climb to fame as he did. It was a con-

tinuous struggle for him, from the time when, hooted by the Whig majority in Parliament, he retorted that the day would come when they would hear him, to the time when the great Conservative Party chose him as its leader and he was acclaimed by all his countrymen. Without inheriting a fortune in this country—where wealth and birth had always been, if not altogether indispensable, at least a most important qualification for admission to public life—he was yet able to overcome obstacles that were then deemed insurmountable and to attain by sheer force of his own unconquerable will to a position that powers unfathomable seemed joined to prevent him from gaining. By race a Jew, he was at bottom a clear-sighted sceptic. With remarkable foresight he had been able to weigh the advantage which, from the point of view of a Cabinet Minister, he could gain from the position offered him by the Conservative party. No one foresaw more clearly than he the future in store for it. As a Jew he also knew well that it was impossible to prevent the Liberal evolution from being slowly accomplished in England. Instead of declaring war upon Liberalism he compromised with it, and, by means of concessions cleverly granted at the right moment, he contrived to concede only a portion of what public opinion demanded. His tendencies, however, were democratic, and in an age in which greed for material advancement was levelling all things to the lowest plane, he was able to rescue England from a grovelling servility to blatant commercialism, uplift her soul and rouse her to a recognition of the fact that ephemeral interests are not everything to a great people.

As Premier he showed Europe that " England was something more than a counting-house." He obtained possession of the Suez Canal by the purchase of shares—a transaction in which he was assisted by the late Lord Rothschild (Appendix lviii).

He placed the Imperial Crown of India on his Sovereign's head. Without firing a shot, he took possession of Cyprus (Appendix lix), and caused the might of British arms to be felt in every continent.

His genius, with its many interesting characteristics, was perceived long before his abilities in international statesmanship and diplomacy became known. But as a man of letters, no less than as a statesman, he was first of all a son of his race (Appendix lx) and a Zionist. His speeches and writings were never those of a renegade anxious to

vilify the faith he had forsaken, or to condemn the ancestry from which he had sprung. There never was a Jew who wrote in more glowing terms of the greatness of the Jewish race. No Jew has borne more fervid testimony to the sublimity of the religion by which the Jewish people has been sustained through all persecutions. No one could have used more persuasive arguments, or adopted wiser measures to remove restrictions from which the Jews were suffering. He had a deeply-rooted respect and love for his ancient people and for its ancient land.

To restore the Jews to their rightful place in the esteem of the world, he wrote and spoke and toiled (Appendix lxi). For this he imperilled the prospects of his own career. For this he was content to expose himself to the scoffs and gibes of opponents who almost to his last hour never forgave him the "crime" of being a Jew. He held the firm belief that "the Lord still fights for *Israel*." Unlike those degenerate sons of *Israel*, who are ever eager to conceal what should be a source of honour to them, he was never ashamed of his origin: and when taunted with being of common extraction he would maintain that his ancestors were already noble when those of the proudest aristocracy in the world were still barbarians, roaming helplessly about the woods.

Although he was educated in the bosom of the Christian Church, his heart never ceased to beat for the greatness and to feel for the sufferings of the Jewish nation, to which he belonged by the blood in his veins and the honoured name he bore. Wherever there was a struggle for the rights of Jews in matters that concerned their honour and well-being, wherever there was a fight for truth and uprightness, there we see him stand—a conqueror. While so many authors made it their business to depict the dark side of the Jewish character or history, he used his gifted pen to show the worthier traits of the Jewish character and the influence of the Jews in the world.

As a writer Lord Beaconsfield was essentially an Oriental. Even the tales in which he describes the clubs and drawing-rooms of London are like an Arabian Nights' entertainment transplanted to St. James'. Over persons and scenes he casts an Oriental magnificence. His Oriental tales are, to our mind, the most natural that he wrote.

The wonderful tale of Alroy (1833)[1] is an Oriental romance

(1) חמר מגזע ישי או אל-דאי מאת . . . בנימין דיזראעלי . . . ונעתק לשפת עברית צחה ע"י אברהם אבא ראקאווסקי . . . ווראשא . . . שנת תרמ"ג לפ"ק . . . 1883.

founded on a *Hebrew* tradition concerning the Princes of the Captivity—rulers whom the Jews continued to elect from among the descendants of the House of *David* (2854–2924 *a.m.*) even after their dispersion. Alroy is one of them,[1] who after a long interregnum possesses himself, by supernatural assistance, of a part of the sceptre of *Solomon* (*ob.* 2964), and establishes the *Hebrew* monarchy on the ruins of the new Caliphate of Bagdad. His life is short, and his reign much shorter. The tale is full of enthusiasm for the hopes of *Israel*. One little passage may be cited : " All was silent : alone the *Hebrew* prince stood, amid the regal creation of the Macedonian captains. Empires and dynasties flourish and pass away ; the proud metropolis becomes a solitude, the conquering kingdom even a desert : but *Israel* still remains, still a descendant of the most ancient kings."

A biographer of Disraeli remarks on this passage : " This (with its after-irony of ' Alroy's seizure by the Kourdish bandits ') may be compared with the satire in which Disraeli encountered Mr. [Charles Newdigate] Newdegate's [M.P.] (1816–1887) appeals to ' prophecy ' : . . . They have survived the Pharaohs, they have survived the Cæsars, they have survived the Antonines and Seleucidæ, and I think they will survive the arguments of the right honourable member. . . ." Mr. Morley tells that (1838–1918)[2] Mr. Gladstone said that Disraeli asserted that only those nations that behaved well to the Jews prospered. . . .[3]

Disraeli loved the East, and particularly Palestine. Its picturesqueness, both in scenery and in history, fascinated him.

" Say what they like," says Herbert in *Venetia*, " there is a spell in the shores of the Mediterranean Sea which no others can rival. Never was such a union of natural loveliness and magical associations ! On these shores have risen all that interests us in the past—Egypt and Palestine, Greece, Rome and Carthage, Moorish Spain and feudal Italy. These shores have yielded us our religion, our arts, our literature and our laws. If all that we have gained from the shores of the Mediterranean was erased from the memory of man, we should be savages."[4]

[1] David Alroy, or Alrui (El David : Menahem *ben* Suleiman ibn Alruhi), born at Amadia in Kurdistan. A pseudo-messiah flourished about 1160.

[2] Afterwards Viscount (1908–1918) Morley of Blackburn.

[3] Disraeli: A Study in Personality and Ideas, by Walter Sichel . . . London, 1904, *p.* 223.

[4] *Ibid.* Note 1.

The great merit of *Tancred* (1847)[1] lies in the description of Syria, and of life in the mountain and desert, in which it abounds. Tancred is a high-born youth dissatisfied with modern society, yearning for the restoration of true faith, and resolving to visit the land in which the Creator had conversed with man, as the only spot in which it is at all likely that enlightenment or inspiration will be vouchsafed to him. The story of his adventures is told with wonderful spiritual beauty. The author leads his reader to the desert, the cradle of the Arabs, from which they spread East and West, and come to be known as Moors in Spain, as Jews in Palestine. Nothing can be more interesting than his account of the manners and the men, neither of which are much changed since the days of the Patriarchs; nothing finer than the pictures of the rocks and towers of *Jerusalem*, or the grey forests of *The Lebanon*.

It was quite natural that the East should engage his attention. He believed in the glory of Great Britain's imperial mission, and was interested to the bottom of his heart in the past history and future welfare of her venerable and still vigorous institutions. He was anxious to see the influence of Great Britain strong and decisive in the East. His policy on the Eastern question was constantly ascribed by his enemies to his "Semitic instincts," which were supposed to taint his views of the relations between Turkey and all her Christian subjects. But they could know little of Beaconsfield who supposed that his Semitic instincts led him to any partiality. What guided him was his deep conception of Great Britain's policy and highest interests, working in conjunction and in harmony with his feeling for the real East, for the Jews, the Semites, for Judaism in its idealism and Oriental beauty. The conditions were not yet ripe for practical progress in Zionism, but he was throughout an enthusiastic supporter of the Zionist idea, and he worked for the future.

(1) נס לגוים או טאנקרעד מאת בנימין דיזראעלי . . נעתק
עברית מאת יחל"ל . . . [יחודח לב לוין]
ווארשא . . . שנת תרמ"ג לפ"ק . . . 1883.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Russia and Turkey—A protectorate over the Greek Christians—The question of the "Holy Places"—The Greek Church—*Sultan* Mahmud II. and the *Tsar* Nicholas I.—Jurisdiction in Turkey—*Prince* Menschikoff—The Alliance between France, Great Britain and Turkey—Sardinia—Alexander II.—The fall of Sebastopol—The conclusion of peace in Paris—The question of reforms—The Jewish point of view—The Crimean War and Palestine—Dr. Benisch in the *Jewish Chronicle*—The Christian Zionist propaganda—Rev. W. H. Johnstone—Mr. Robert Young.

In 1853 a great struggle broke out between Russia and Turkey, the immediate cause of which was the desire of Russia to force a protectorate upon the Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions. This was accompanied by a dispute between Russia and other European powers, especially France, which had arisen over the guardianship of the "Holy Places." The fate of Palestine was involved in the issue of this struggle.

The pretension of the Greek Church to exercise the right of possession of the "Holy Places" dates back to the early days of Christianity. The Greek Church has always posed as the genuine representative of the Eastern Church, professing to have inherited its claim to the allegiance of the orthodox when the cleavage came, in the second century, concerning the proper season for the celebration of Easter, and divided its community into two distinct sections.

The alleged and proved purpose of the Church was to obtain complete and undisturbed possession of the "Holy Places," where the Greek Church deems it of vital importance that certain religious ceremonies shall be observed, to which pilgrimages are to be made by its devout members. Some of these members furnished the Russian Government with reasons for its claims, presumably based on facts. At that period the greater part of the Christian Communities in the whole of Syria and Palestine adhered to the Greek Orthodox faith. In the whole Ottoman Empire their number was very considerable; the estimate in 1852–53 reached as high a total as 11,000,000 members of the Greek Church. In Greece it was the established religion, while

throughout the Greek islands its members outnumbered those of any other Christian denomination. North of the Danube, Wallachia and Moldavia were under its sway and were considered to be under the protection of Russia.

The Greek monasteries of the Holy Land were not only under the protection and control of Russia, but were chiefly supported by loans from that country. Under this influence these communities continued to make the greatest progress possible, and put forth every effort to advance themselves step by step, leaving no stone unturned in their endeavour to raise themselves above the other Churches.

Rumours gained currency that a strong Russian propaganda was on foot. It was even said that the late *Sultan* Mahmud II gave an assurance to the effect, that at the death of Mehemet Ali, the Holy Land should be given up to Russian dominion on certain stipulated conditions. Imagination had, of course, free scope in inventing myths of this kind. But at any rate there was a general impression abroad that Russia was anxious to conquer and annex the Holy Land.

The unhappy empire for which England and France had shed so much blood and made so many sacrifices continued to give anxiety and trouble to Europe. Turkey had gained much by the war in the way of security from invasion and extension of the central authority to provinces which previously had been partly independent. The Western Powers, and particularly England, waited anxiously for the reforms and progress which were promised by the sanguine friends of the Turkish cause. But Turkey did nothing. Her finances were in confusion. The schemes which English enterprise had kept going were delayed. While the Porte was borrowing at enormous interest the money required for current expenditure, it could hardly be expected to guarantee dividends on many millions sterling, and it would have inspired little confidence if it had done so. This, then, was the time for statesmen to study the question and to elaborate their plans.

Of all the evils with which the Turkish State was afflicted, corruption—in the sense of the denial of justice—seems to have been the worst. Each of the non-Mohammedan nations was permitted to appear before tribunals of its own bishops in matters of litigation in which only its members were concerned. The civil law was administered in the Greek courts ; the Armenians were subject to many

regulations brought from the interior of Asia. The Turkish courts were presided over by functionaries who had much of the character of priests, and the law founded on the Koran was what might have been expected from a text-book interpreted by such commentators. The literal sense meant one thing, the metaphorical sense another, and the best chance of getting justice was when the judge could find nothing to fit the case and decided according to his own common sense. Both his Scriptural authorities and his private opinions were, however, continually influenced by arguments more persuasive than any pleadings. The corruption of this sort of court was notorious, and the Christian bishops were not considered much better than the believers. As for the *Frank*[1] jurisdiction, it was chaos, being void of all system. Each man came under the representative of his own nation ; through this official or his deputy he had to be sued, and by him he had to be tried for any offence. If a French officer and a German shoemaker had differences concerning a pair of boots, one had to make his application through the Austrian Internunciate, the other had to respond through the French Embassy. The matter was in the first instance referred to the Consuls, who knew little of law, and the appeal came before the Ambassadors, who knew less. Commercial courts existed in some of the chief cities, and exercised a good influence ; but as the country was opened more and more to commercial enterprise, and this increased with the progress of the non-Mohammedan populations, these courts became inadequate.

The country was, no doubt, very badly in need of material improvements : roads and canals are generally the initial work of a renewed civilization. But the real basis of improvement is confidence in the Government, and the guarantee of undisturbed ownership of property. Such confidence cannot exist without impartial courts and sensible laws. The most capable judge could not do justice according to the *Koran*, while the codes of Justinian and Napoleon were unavailing so long as the longest purse was the best argument.

It was therefore the duty of the Western Powers to consider how justice might be administered so as to encourage both the native and the settler to join in the work of amelioration. Few thinking men had visited the East without formulating some plan for supplying this first and greatest

[1] European.

want. The general conclusion was based on the supposition of the necessity for continuing the " Capitulations." It was supposed to be impossible for strangers to submit themselves to the authority of the monarch who ruled the land ; and indeed the experience of the native courts, and the fact that no man ventured to undertake any commercial business without security, naturally suggested foreign protection. More than one traveller, therefore, recommended that a code of laws should be agreed to by the Great Powers, and that in every seaport French, English, *etc.*, judges should decide such cases as involved the liberty or property of Europeans. Such a system was regarded as being superior to the earlier ineffective regulations. But, on the other hand, it was held that such an expedient should only be resorted to temporarily.

Turkey had already suffered greatly through the power of European Embassies and their enmity towards one another. The Western Powers did not forget that they had gone to war for the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. They knew that a mixed court sitting in its capital to try foreigners was a thing that no high-spirited nation would permit, and that, if circumstances made it necessary to demand jurisdiction for foreigners in the capital of the Sultan, that could only be until the elements of a better state of things came into being. The Powers had, therefore, to look forward to a time when Turkey would stand alone, and all protection and jurisdiction in the way of Capitulations would cease to exist. A well-framed code of laws suited to all races and religions, administered by well-educated men, and obeyed by native and foreigner alike, was the ideal object for which the supporters of Turkey had to work. The sovereign of the country must be at the head of this system and supreme in his own dominions. Although such a scheme was deemed visionary at that time, and the gap had to be filled by " mixed " courts, yet public opinion in England thought that nothing should be done that could prevent the subsequent establishment of the better system. It was also believed that if a suitable legal system were set up, men might be found in England, France and other countries to administer it successfully. But it was admitted on all hands that the judicial system of Turkey deserved the immediate attention of thinking politicians ; that questions of taxation and the tenure of land were especially interesting in view of the increasing

commerce with the East and of possible developments in the matter of immigration; that nothing that could throw light on the causes of Turkish decay should be neglected; and that the absence of good laws and security was the first obstacle to improvement, and should therefore be the first thought of the statesman and philanthropist.

Here we see all the elements of the political Zionist problem. All this development prepared the way for the idea of the protection of the Jews in the East, and gave a powerful stimulus to projects for the colonization of Palestine by the Jews.

In the spring of 1853 the Russian Government submitted to the Porte, through *Prince* A. S. Menschikoff (1787–1869), an ultimatum in regard to the Greek Christians and other matters. England and France prepared to support *Sultan* Abdul Medjid against Russia, and stationed their fleets in Bezika Bay. In July the Russian forces advanced into the Danubian principalities. On October 4th, 1853, Turkey declared war. The English and French fleets thereupon passed through the Dardanelles. On March 12th, 1854, France and Great Britain concluded an alliance with Turkey, and two weeks later they declared war against Russia. At the beginning of October the Allies began the regular siege of Sebastopol. Sardinia joined the Allies in January, 1855. Meanwhile the *Emperor* Nicholas I died,[1] and Alexander II acceded to the throne. On November 8th Sebastopol fell into the hands of the Allies.

The Western Powers completed the occupation of Turkey within two years; but the reforms, of which they spoke so much, were still to come. Turkey remained what it was in internal rule and mismanagement. Fear may have controlled the abuses of fanaticism, despair may have destroyed whatever remained of national pride; but the abuses which ages had fostered still prevailed. Now the social regeneration of the Ottoman State was part of the legitimate policy of the Western Powers. The presence of large foreign armies had broken down the pride of the Mussulmans, or enforced its concealment; the Sultan, though less exposed to the vagaries of diplomatists, had become more responsible to the European States and the brotherhood of sovereigns among whom he now held a place; the Turk himself, in spite of courage and a certain

[1] Feb. 18, 1855 [*o.s.*].

amount of dignity, was degenerating day by day, through want of modern culture; the Christian tribes were increasing in numbers and power; the merchants of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria were growing rich with British gold, while British enterprise seemed to be surely, though gradually, adding the Sultan's empire to the area of its wide activities.

Justice, humanity, England's promises, the arguments with which she had opposed her enemies, demanded that her tutelage should not suddenly cease. She and France were now the protectors of the Ottoman territory and its outlying provinces; they were the masters of every military position; every sea was traversed by their fleets; every port was full of the merchandize required for their vast armies. Nor was their supremacy one of force alone. Whatever may have been the feelings aroused by their policy, each class and creed had learned to respect their motives and to acquiesce in their presence. Whatever may have been thought on racial and religious grounds, certainly material interests in the end prevailed over every other. Every business man saw clearly that his own prosperity was enhanced by the presence of two wealthy nations, in need of large and constant supplies, and willing to pay liberally and at once. In their hearts they had no wish to be again reduced to a miserable traffic with their own bankrupt Government, or with the poverty-stricken towns of the Turkish and Persian interior. The peasants who tilled the ground had gained wherever local tyranny did not rob them of the just rewards of their labour. The landed proprietor had also become wealthy, and had no reason to regret the Western crusade, which gave his possessions a fourfold value. So tangible was the advantage, and so soon did the Turks acquiesce in what affected only their patriotism and self-esteem, that it was doubtful whether even the most bigoted Mussulman wanted the evacuation of the country by the Allied armies. Englishmen, of course, looked upon the advancement of Turkey in a different light from that in which it was seen by its own people. Still, even Englishmen could not fail to realize that if they withdrew there was no doubt that the old stagnation would immediately return, and that it would even become worse than before, for old fame and the habit of command kept the Mussulman in his pre-eminence, while the "*Rajah*" was accustomed to obey, and the foreigner was a mere sojourner, who cared for nothing but his own peace and prosperity. Now all was changed: the Turk was

still master, without the authority to rule; the Christian was without rights, but had felt his power; while every country had its adventurers or capitalists in the land, each with his own scheme launched or prospective, and all agreeing in the demand that this rich land should no longer be the heritage of sloth and fatuity.

Peace was signed at Paris—where a Congress of the Powers had been in session—on March 30th, 1856. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the Powers; reforms were promised by the Sultan; Russia renounced her protectorate over the Danubian principalities, and ceded a strip of Bessarabia to Moldavia; the Black Sea was neutralized. The Congress united in the "Declaration of Paris," which laid down some principles of international law.

The question in which the Jews were interested was first of all that of their position in Palestine, as well as in the whole of the Turkish Empire. According to the wording of the treaty the Jews were excluded from the general guarantee and the immunities of the "*Rajahs*" under the protection of the contracting powers. But, on the other hand, all the rights hitherto granted by the *Sultan* to his Christian subjects had been extended to the Jews as well; and it was clear that, if Turkey understood her position rightly, this would also be her future policy, seeing that it was in her interest not to create dissatisfaction among a large and loyal body by refusing to one section of non-Mohammedans what had been conceded to another, and thus alienating the only non-Mohammedan section of the population which did not entertain sentiments of revenge, and the only section which was capable of neutralizing any possible machinations on the part of other sections.

The war having on the one hand raised very considerably the prices of provisions, and on the other hand cut off the supplies obtained by the Palestinian Jews in times of peace from those countries in which the masses of Jews reside, an awful famine broke out in the Holy Land, and affected most severely all those who had hitherto depended for their livelihood upon the small pittances doled out to them by the Jews in foreign countries. A pitiable cry of distress was raised in the East and resounded throughout the Western world. Now the right time had arrived. We find, wrote Dr. Abraham Benisch[1] (1811–1878), no other

[1] *Jewish Chronicle*, March 21, 1856, *p.* 524.

parallel in Jewish history to it save that offered by some of the events narrated in the books of *Ezra* (*fl.* 3413 *a.m.*) and *Nehemiah* (*fl.* 3426 *a.m.*). The generous Abdul-Medjed has his prototype in the God-fearing *Cyrus* (*ob.* 529 *b.c.e.*) ; and the pious affection for brethren and country, the devotion and patriotism then kindling in the bosoms of patriots on the shores of the Euphrates have transferred their seat to the banks of the Thames. So far God's blessing had rested upon the work. But Rome was not built in a day, nor is a nation regenerated within a few years."

Needless to say, the reference here was to the regeneration of the Jewish nation in Palestine. But for this purpose safety and full security were wanted—the very problem with which modern Zionism was confronted, and which was answered by the Basle programme of 1897. " The Jew, it is true, may now sow and plant. But will he also be permitted to reap ? Will not the wild son of the desert trample down and carry off the crop even before it is ripe for the sickle ? The *Sultan* may emancipate his Jewish subjects in the Holy Land, but, in order to be enabled to reap any benefit from the boon conceded, he must give them a government strong enough to protect life and property. The mighty arm of justice must repress lawlessness and strike down the wrong-doer. . . . Will the Porte as easily be able to establish in Palestine a strong government as it was to bless her with liberal institutions ? This is another question which time, and time alone, can answer, and yet upon the reply thereto the success of the agricultural scheme for the Palestinian Jews must depend entirely."

No doubt 1856 offered a great opportunity, had the legal guarantees been available and the Jews prepared. Unfortunately these essential conditions did not yet obtain at that time, and no practical result was achieved.

The Rev. William Henry Johnstone, Chaplain of Addiscombe, and an author of several theological works, preached the Restoration of *Israel* to the Holy Land :—

" If political events are hastening a crisis, when it may be desirable to consider what is to be done with Palestine, it behoves the Jews to take earnest heed to their duty. . . . It is not an extravagant supposition that Palestine may be placed within the grasp of its ancient owners. . . ."

" In one matter I feel that the Jews have just reason to complain of many Christians. The Divine Law, of which they have been the guardians, has never been repealed.

Jehovah gave it, and Jehovah has never taken it away." "For the present I waive all consideration of Scriptural predictions. But, without any reference to the Bible, it must be clear to all that the residence of *Israel* in the Holy Land would be fraught with the greatest blessings to mankind. The Jews, though now scattered over the entire habitable globe, are united by every national tie, . . . They have connections with all large towns; they possess the moving spring of modern industry and enterprise; and they are renowned for vigour and intelligence. They have that gift, also, which no other nation had since the dispersion of Babel,—they can converse with all people in their own languages. They have naturally, what the apostolic Christians received by miraculous interposition, the gift of tongues. They may, therefore, not only undo the work of Babel, but may carry on the work of the apostles."[1]

Another religious writer gave poetical expression to this idea.

Arise, great God! and let thy grace
Shed its glad beams on Jacob's race;
Restore the long-lost scatter'd band,
And call them to their native land.

Their mis'ry let thy mercy heal,
Their trespass hide, their pardon seal:
O God of Israel! hear our prayer,
And grant them still thy love to share.[2]

[1] Israel in the World: or, The Mission of the Hebrews to the great military monarchies. By William Henry Johnstone, M.A., . . . Illustrated with a map. London: . . . 1844. (*pp.* viii., 193–195.)

[2] *Hebrew Melodies, p.* 74. Published by Robert Young (1822–1888), Edinburgh [1855].

CHAPTER XXIX

BRITAIN'S MISSION IN THE EAST

Colonel Charles Henry Churchill—Sir Austen Henry Layard—"The Key to the East"—European Consuls in Palestine—The *Hatti Sheerif* of Gulharch—Lord Palmerston's Circular of April, 1841—Mr. James Finn.

THE theory of Great Britain's mission in the East has been put forward by representatives of different classes of English people in different epochs and from various points of view. The idea existed in greater or less degree wherever Englishmen thought seriously about the Eastern problem; it was a flame which was never extinguished.

Colonel Charles Henry Churchill (1814–1877), a grandson of the fifth Duke of Marlborough (1766–1840), was a staff officer in the British Expedition to Syria, and wrote one of the best works in English about *The Lebanon* and its inhabitants. In the "Preface" to which he writes:—

"The genius of England, which seems so peculiarly fitted to lead and govern the populations of the East, has, by the happily-combined influence of arms, commerce, and legislation, established in that quarter of the globe, a dominion which no purely military conqueror could ever have consolidated, much less upheld and sustained."

"The development of the capabilities and resources of that unparalleled empire in the East, over which England presides—and that without a rival or compeer—has thus become essentially necessary to her national prosperity, it may be to her national existence, and must ever possess imperative, though not exclusive claims upon her national feelings and sympathies."

"I say not exclusive and advisedly; for the East, to an important portion of which I now invite public attention,—the East, whose shores are washed by the Mediterranean Sea,—the East of rock-hewn cities and colossal tombs, of heavenly poesy and gigantic art, of Jacob's (2108–2255 *a.m.*) might and Ishmael's (*b.* 2034 *a.m.*) wandering power, of David's lyre and of Isaiah's (*fl.* 3140 *a.m.*) strain, of Abraham's faith and Immanuel's love,—where God's mysterious ways with man begun, and where in the fulness of time they

are to be accomplished,—this East, which may yet become the seat and centre of the Universal Reign !—it also has claims on England's watchful vigilance and sympathizing care. . . ."

After having so forcibly expounded the sentimental side, the author strikes another note, in addition to that so eloquently struck by Disraeli and others :—

"Whatever part England may take in the temporary complication of affairs which will probably ensue on that mighty consummation, which the timid dictates of diplomacy would defer, but which the urgent demands of humanity and civilization would fain accelerate, it must, for obvious reasons, be clear to every English mind, that if England's Oriental supremacy is to be upheld, Syria and Egypt must be made to fall more or less under her sway or influence."

He argues then as a military expert :—

"Napoleon declared Acre to be the key to the East, and most correctly did his military genius appreciate the importance of that land into which he vainly sought to enter, as a basis of operations against our Indian Empire. . . . I call upon my countrymen, therefore, to adopt this political doctrine, and nail it to the National Colours :—That when Palestine ceases to be Turkish, it must either become English, or else form part of a new independent State, which without the incentives to territorial aggrandizement, or the means of military aggression, shall yet be able to maintain its own honour and dignity, and more especially to promote the great object for which it will be called into existence, for which indeed, by its geographical position it will be so eminently qualified ; that of creating, developing and upholding a commercial intercourse in the East, which shall draw together and unite the hitherto divergent races of mankind in the humanizing relations of fraternity and peace. . . ."

". . . the time is probably fast approaching when Syria, instead of being merely the land of dreamy and luxurious travel,—of exhilarating emotions, and fascinating though transient delights, will have to become one of sound practical legislation, of resuscitating institutions, of vigorous and comprehensive government ; . . ."[1]

At the back of an analysis of the historical and geogra-

[1] Mount Lebanon, a ten years' residence, from 1842 to 1852. . . . By Colonel Churchill. . . . London, 1853 (vol. i., *pp.* v–x).

phical conditions of the country offered by the author is his conviction that Palestine must become and will become the seat of a great, peaceful and prosperous settlement, which must be ruled by England or under English influence, or must have its independence and normal development secured by England. He holds that this position will strengthen England's power; and he feels subconsciously that England ought to be wherever the greatest interests of humanity are at stake. Similarly he contends that with this object in view England must adopt a very active policy in the East.

Another authority on Oriental politics, Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894), whose discoveries and investigations in the East are the pride of English Oriental science, expressed his opinion, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, in very similar words :—

"We should not forget that, although Egypt is *a* high road to India, Syria and the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates form *the* high road, and any power holding those countries would command India."[1]

British diplomacy seems to have been influenced by all these considerations.

Mr. W. Young was the first British Consul in *Jerusalem*, 1838. As we know from Lord Shaftesbury's Diaries, this appointment had been made in consequence of his own representations and efforts. France and Prussia followed suit in 1843, and Austria in 1849. A Sardinian Consulate had been founded in 1843, but it was abolished in the year in which the Austrian was established. A Spanish Consulate was founded in 1854.

The two Protestant Consulates, those of England and Prussia, had no share in the altercation about the Holy Places. Their relations with the local government were restricted to protection of the property and persons of their nationals. The Prussian Consulate had at that time but few subjects and small affairs to look after; while the English had its own subjects, both residents and travellers, besides Maltese, Indians, Canadians and other British Colonists, with the Ionians as a protected people, and also a number of protected Jews, together with considerable property, including a church hospital, various schools, and a cemetery, to watch over.

[1] The Turkish Question. Speeches delivered in the House of Commons, on Aug. 16, 1853, and Feb. 17, 1854, by Austin Henry Layard, Esq., M.P. for Aylesbury. London: . . . 1854 (*p.* 10).

It is interesting to note how British protection for Palestinian Jews, though not formally confirmed, was practically developing. This is the only case in history of Jews enjoying the protection of a great Power without being subjects of that Power. Let us see how this remarkable development took place. In 1838 Lord Palmerston's directions to his first Consul in *Jerusalem* were to "*afford protection to the Jews generally.*"[1] The words were simply these, broad and liberal as under the circumstances they had to be, leaving after events to work out their own modification. The instruction, however, seemed to bear on its face a recognition that the Jews there are a nation by themselves, and that contingencies might possibly arise which might alter their relations with the Mohammedans, though it was impossible to foresee the shape that future negotiations would assume after the impending expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria.

Then came the atrocities of the Passover of 1840 in Damascus, inflicted on the Jews there during the Egyptian régime. A few months later the bombardment of Acre and the restoration of Syria to the Turks took place. The episode of the Egyptian hold upon Syria from 1832 to 1840 came to an end. The Turks were restored at the end of 1840, being then rather more liberal in disposition than they had been before leaving the country, and in the following year the *Sultan* promulgated the *Hatti Shereef* of Gulgarch, which conceded equality in theory (but by no means in practice) to all classes of subjects.

The British Government at once brought before the consideration of the Porte the condition of the Jews "already settled, or who might afterwards settle themselves in Palestine." This was evidently a direct encouragement towards the colonization of Palestine by the Jews, made officially by the British Government. In April, 1841, Lord Palmerston forwarded a circular to his agents in the Levant and Syria, which began by stating that, as far as documents could avail, the law of Turkey had by that time become as favourable as might reasonably be expected to the Jews, but that there remained the difficulty of enforcing an honest administration of that law. The Porte, however, being at that time entirely under the beneficial influence of British diplomacy, had declared its determination that the law

[1] Stirring Times, or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles, of 1853 to 1856. By the late James Finn, M.R.A.S. . . . Vol. i. . . . London, 1878, *pp.* 106 *ff.*

should be righteously administered, and had even promised Her Majesty's Ambassador that "it will attend to any representations which may be made to it by the Embassy of any act of oppression practised against Jews." The Consul was therefore to investigate diligently all cases of oppression of the Jews that might come to his knowledge, and report to the Embassy, and although he might only act officially on behalf of persons actually by right under British protection, he was on every suitable occasion to make it known to the local authorities that "the British Government felt an interest in the welfare of Jews in general, and was anxious that they should be protected from oppression." He was also to make known the offer of the Porte to attend to cases of persecution that might be reported to the Embassy.

In 1842 a bad case was represented as occurring at *Hebron* through acts of violence on the part of Shaiki Baddo and others. In 1847 again it seemed probable that Christian fanatics were about to reproduce the horrors which occurred at Rhodes and Damascus in 1840. The British Consul, James Finn (1806–1872), then interfered and protected the Jews. In the same year he was again obliged to interfere on behalf of the Jews. In consequence of various occurrences of this kind in *Jerusalem*, another instruction was issued by the Foreign Office, to the effect that whenever any Austrian, French, or other European Jew was suffering from persecution or injustice, and was repudiated by his own Consul, the English Consul might take up the case, unless the repudiating Consul, when applied to, should assign some strong and sufficient reason for his objection. The spirit underlying this instruction, notwithstanding the establishment, since 1839, of other European Consulates, was in conformity with the rule laid down in that year, "to afford protection to Jews generally."[1]

One out of many tokens of gratitude from the people so benefited will be found in an address in *Hebrew* to Her Majesty Queen Victoria (1819–1901), received from *Jerusalem* in July, 1849 (Appendix lxii).

There were, as usual, many cases in which the Palestinian Jews needed the official aid of the British Consulate, and numerous documents refer to the instances in which active official intervention with the Turkish Government was exercised on their behalf. Notwithstanding the just jealousy

[1] *Ibid.*, *p.* 112.

of the Turkish Government, says Finn,[1] there were many individual ways of ameliorating the condition of Jewish Ottoman subjects, as well as of the Jews under British protection.

During the first case mentioned above no other Consul took part in the business, except that the Sardinian Consul assured Finn in private conversation that there could be no doubt about Jews using Christian blood in the Passover rites whenever they could get it, or, at any rate, they did in the Middle Ages.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., *pp.* 55–56.

CHAPTER XXX

BRITISH INTEREST AND WORK IN PALESTINE

Mr. Rogers—Mr. Finzi—Agricultural work in Palestine under the auspices of the British Consul—W. Holman Hunt—Thomas Seddon—A New Appeal—Prof. D. Brown—Rev. John Fry—Rev. Capel Molyneux—Prof. C. A. Auberlen—Dr. W. Urwick—Dr. E. Henderson—Prof. Joseph A. Alexander—Dr. Patrick Fairbairn—Dr. Thomas Arnold.

"THE greatest advantages had resulted to the Jews from this indirect protection, and as a natural consequence Jews of all kinds continually resorted to the British Consulate at all times for advice when in distress, and they received every kind of help which could be properly afforded them. They were no longer outwardly persecuted, being well known to be under British protection. . . . The Russian Jews, now since 1850 British protégés, enjoyed, especially in *Safed* and *Tiberias*, a tranquillity to which they had long been strangers, and the Consulate was well seconded in regard to them by Mr. [Edward Thomas] Rogers (1830(1)–1884), the new Vice-Consul at *Haifa*, besides whom we had had from long previous years, as British Consular Agent, at Acre, Mr. Finzi, who was a Jew."[1]

The British Consul also started works of philanthropy which seemed to be the beginning of an experiment in Jewish agriculture.

"A plot of ground of about eight to twelve English acres had been purchased in 1852, on which as soon as money could be obtained for supplying wages some of the poor had been set to work. That land was set apart for ever under the name of 'the Industrial Plantation for employment of Jews of *Jerusalem*,' and it was in due time placed under the security of three trustees.

"The design was not so much to constitute a rural colony of farmers on this spot, as to afford daily employment *to residents of the city*, returning from work every evening to their families.

"It was always designed that other branches of Jewish agricultural employment, that might be carried on in other

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., *pp.* 56–57.

places in the vicinity, should be associated with this institution under the general name of ' Industrial Plantation.'

" We were not so sanguine as to expect pallid creatures, weakened by hunger and disease, to perform the labours of healthy robust peasants of the villages, but at least they could clear off the loose stones from the land in baskets, they could assist in building up dry walls of enclosure with the guidance of a few peasants; they could carry water from the cistern, and they could learn to do other things.

" These tasks would be profitable and preparatory. Upon such tasks we had already in 1850 to 1853 employed as many poor Jews as the small funds at our disposal had permitted. Now in 1854 we applied to friends in England, and elsewhere, to send us the means of relieving some of the vast amount of misery around us, by means of employment in the open air. The appeal was responded to and funds were sent from England, from India, and also one or two contributions from America. By the month of April money had arrived, and we were able to set the people to work. . . . Notice was given to the Jews that employment on the land might be obtained for wages on the ground above-mentioned; the Arabic name which it bore among the peasants, of its former owners, was *Ker'm el Khaleel*—the vineyard of the Friend—*i.e. Abraham* (1948–2123 *a.m.*), by which epithet *Abraham* is always known. The very name of the ground was attractive, and the effect of the announcement fulfilled our best expectations."

" The foreman in charge of the work was a Polish Jew who had been in the Russian Army."[1] " The idea of labouring in the open air for daily bread had taken root among the Jews in *Jerusalem*—the hope of cultivating the desolate soil of their own Promised Land was kindled. These objects were never again lost sight of. The Jews themselves took them up."[2]

Sir Moses Montefiore was one of the first Jews who took up these objects. On his second visit to *Jerusalem* he was received by Colonel Gawler, the ardent Christian Zionist. After this visit the impression was left upon the public mind that the Jews, hitherto so despised, had, in England at least, powerful representatives, through whom their grievances might make themselves heard in Europe.

At the same time England's interest in Palestine was growing in all directions. In 1849 an English Literary

[1] *Ibid., pp.* 64–66. [2] *Ibid., p.* 76.

Society was founded by the Consul, for the investigation of all subjects of literary and scientific interest in the Holy Land. English artists were also the first European artists who started serious work in Palestine. Two English artists of note, William Holman Hunt, O.M. (1827–1910) and Thomas Seddon (1821–1856), came to reside in the Holy City in 1852, in order to study Bible scenes and Eastern customs. Hunt was the first painter who attempted to depict the true colours of the mountains of *Moab*. He began in *Jerusalem* his great picture of "The Scapegoat in the Wilderness." Seddon pitched a tent among the pomegranate trees in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, and his picture of "*Olivet and Siloam*," now in the South Kensington Museum Gallery, was taken from that spot.

In English literature we find another appeal made by an anonymous political writer in 1856 in a lofty moral tone, which is at the same time a high appreciation of Judaism.

"To do justice at once to a people approved of God as 'His Inheritance,' . . . a simple course is open to us—to the nations. Let us prevail upon the Porte to allow the Jews facilities to return to their own land; to appoint Palestine as a place of refuge for them, from the anarchy and confusion from which they suffer, but in which they have no share. . . .

"If the allies are sincere in their professions towards the Porte, and its eyes are open to its own interests and safety; if Christians really believe in a Just and Holy God, and that the Bible is His Word; if Mohammedans feel that God is great, who hath appointed them the keepers of his holy place against this time, while their elder brother has been in exile; . . . If then, we say, integrity in belief or duty has any place at all with the parties concerned; this matter of a refuge for the Jews—has only to be mentioned to be accomplished. . . .

"Britons, let us at least be true to the position which the integrity and foresight of our fathers have, in the providence of God, earned for us; true to the mission of our faith, . . . seek at once to wash our hands of this monstrous rebellion against Judgment and Righteousness—the peace of the world and the progress of the human race—and do an act of tardy justice to a people to whom mankind owe all their higher privileges and better civilization."[1]

The Christian propaganda for the Restoration of *Israel*

[1] The Crisis, and Way of Escape. An Appeal for the Oldest of the Oppressed, . . . London: . . . 1856. . . . (*pp.* 5–6).

made further progress. Even those who felt disinclined to connect the events of the time with any particular prediction were ready to admit that these events were coming as something more decisive in history than anything that had happened since the Reformation. " With such impressions abroad, the multitude of treatises on prophetic subjects soon exceeded all precedent ; . . ."[1]

" What most surprises us is, that a ritual of worship, so like the Mosaic ceremonial, should again be restored by divine appointment, . . . For we read of all the various offerings of the Levitical economy; . . . We can only reply :—Such is the divine pleasure."[2] But this one Divine is not the only precursor of *Rabbi* Hirsch Kalischer in this idea ; there were others who believed in it. The Rev. Capel Molyneux (1804–1877) announced the restoration of the Mosaic sacrifices, and explained its necessity from a Christian point of view.[3] The most curious and interesting opinion is that of a Swiss Protestant divine, Carl August Auberlen (1824–1864) of Basle :— " *Israel* is again to be at the head of all humanity. . . . In the Old Testament the whole Jewish national life was religious ; but only in an external legal manner . . . in the millennial kingdom, all spheres of life will be truly Christianized outwardly from within. From this point of view it will not be offensive to say that the Mosaic ceremonial law corresponds to the priestly office of *Israel*—the civil law to its kingly office. The Gentile Church could only adopt the moral law ; in like manner her sole influence is by the word working inwardly, by exercising the prophetic office. But when the royal and priestly office shall be revived, then . . . the ceremonial and civil law of *Moses* also will develop its spiritual depths in the Divine worship and in the constitution of the millennial kingdom," *etc.*[4] In a word, the Jews have to be restored, and to live according to their Law, which, as the learned professor believes, will " develop spiritual depths," an idea which the most orthodox Jew would accept, and which is even more conservative than

[1] The Restoration of the Jews: . . . By David Brown, D.D., . . . Edinburgh. . . . London. 1861 (*p.* 60).

[2] The Second Advent ; . . . The Restoration of Israel— . . . By the Rev. John Fry, B.A. . . . In Two Volumes. . . . London : . . . 1822 (vol. i., *p.* 583).

[3] Israel's Future. . . . By the Rev. Capel Molyneux, B.A.— London : . . . (*pp.* 257–258).

p. vi, 68, *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, July* 17, 1852.

[4] The Prophecies of Daniel . . . with an exposition on the principal passages. By Carl August Auberlen, . . . Translated by the Rev. Adolph Saphir. Edinburgh : . . . MDCCCLVI.

that of some of the *Talmudists*, who maintain that the ritual prescriptions *Mizvoth* will be abolished in the Messianic age.

Exaggerations of this kind may have stimulated the opposition which was represented by the Rev. Dr. William Urwick (1791–1868) (the elder),[1] the Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Henderson[2] (1784–1858), Professor Joseph Addison Alexander[3] (1809–1860), the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn[4] (1805–1874), Dr. Thomas Arnold[5] (1795–1842), Head Master of Rugby, and many representatives of the so-called Spiritual school, who were strongly opposed to these Judaizing tendencies. They endeavoured to transform the plain statements of the Bible into airy visions, and explained all the names (*Israel, Jerusalem, etc.*) in a peculiar way. Thus it is to the "spiritual" Christian and not to the natural Jew that the name of Israel belongs, as it is the Roman and the Greek to whom alone the promises of Restoration to the Holy Land were made, and not the "seed of *Abraham.*" In fact, the Spiritualists are far from being consistent. They would, for instance, spiritualize the Israel which is blessed, and accept in a literal sense the Israel that is cursed. A departure from the literal meaning of words has always proved a source of error and confusion, as words are often taken literally when they agree with certain theories, allegorically when they do not—a process by which the Bible may be made to say something to please everybody. Spiritualistic interpreters, as a rule, go to the Bible to find support for their own views, rather than to be guided by the standard of the Word as to whether they be correct or not. Where they find what they want, the Bible is plain, where they do not, it is difficult; and they have to have recourse to the expedient of what is called "spiritualizing" the Word, a term imposing enough, but most inapplicable—carnalizing would be a far more suitable designation of the process.

[1] The Second Advent. . . . By William Urwick, D.D. Dublin: . . . MDCCCXXXIX.

[2] The Book of the Prophet Isaiah . . . with a commentary, critical, philological, and exegetical: . . . By the Rev. E. Henderson, D.PH. . . . London: . . . MDCCCXL.

[3] The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah. By Joseph Addison Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, New York & London: . . . 1846.

The Later Prophecies of Isaiah. By Joseph Addison Alexander . . . New York & London: . . . 1847.

The Typology of Scripture, . . . With an Appendix on the Restoration of the Jews. By Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Edinburgh: . . . MDCCCXLV.

[5] Two Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy, . . . By Thomas Arnold, D.D. . . . Oxford, . . . MDCCCXXXIX.

In Jewish exegetical literature there is an excellent rule: no Biblical verse should be explained differently from its literal meaning. To this may be added what the learned Joseph Mede (1586–1638) said on the same subject from the Christian point of view: "I cannot be persuaded to forsake the proper and usual import of Scripture language, where neither the instruction of the text itself, nor manifest tokens of allegory, nor the necessity and the nature of the things spoken of do warrant it. For to do so were to lose all footing of Divine testimony, and instead of Scripture to believe mine own imaginations."

CHAPTER XXXI

THE LEBANON QUESTION

Selim I.—The *Emir* Beshir of *The Lebanon*—A Conference of five Powers—Druses and Maronites—Massacres in Damascus—A Military Expedition—The Protocol of August 3rd, 1860—*General* Beaufort *d'*Hautpoul—Achmet *Pasha*—David *Pasha*—Joseph Karan—The Constitution of *The Lebanon*—The boundaries—The alterations from 1861 to 1902—The Earl of Carnarvon's views—Jewish charity—Anti-Jewish accusations and riots—M. E. A. Thouvenal—Lord John Russell—George Gawler's letter.

AFTER the conquest of Syria in 1516 by *Sultan* Selim I. (1467–1520), *The Lebanon* was ruled by a succession of Mussulman *Emirs*, the most famous of whom, Beshir Shehaab,[1] governed benevolently from 1789 to 1840, in the later years of his reign by the help of Mehemet Ali. The withdrawal of the Egyptian troops from Syria in 1841 was followed by anarchy in the mountains. Lord Palmerston accordingly wrote, on 15th June of that year: "Her Majesty's Government feel especially called upon to address the Turkish Government on this matter on the account of the oppression which Haji Nejib is said to practise upon the Christians. For England having, in conjunction with other Christian Powers, succeeded in restoring Syria to the *Sultan*, she is entitled to expect that the *Sultan*, in return for such assistance, should secure his Christian subjects from oppression." A conference of representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia met at Constantinople on 27th May, 1842, with the ultimate result that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs announced on 7th December that the Porte would act upon the advice of the five Powers, and appoint separate *Kaimakams* for the Druses and Maronites respectively. This arrangement was in vogue with but slight success for nearly twenty years.

In 1860 the lasting feuds of the tribes in *The Lebanon* suddenly burst into a furious attack, on the part of the

[1] Emir Bechir Shehaab (late), Prince of The Lebanon.
Fra[s] Halpen, Lith. M. & N. Hanhart, Imp.
Saunders & Otley, 1853.
This portrait is the frontispiece of Mount Lebanon. . . . Colonel Churchill, vol. i. . . . 1853.

Druses, on their Maronite neighbours. The Turkish authorities connived at the massacres which were committed. On the 9th of July, 1860, riots broke out in Damascus in consequence of the punishment inflicted upon a few Mussulmans who had insulted the Christians. These Mussulmans rushed, armed to the teeth, to the Christian quarter, and began slaying, burning and pillaging. The Turkish soldiers came to their assistance on the pretence of quelling the disturbance, made common cause with the rioters, and joined in the killing, robbing and plundering. A few old Mussulmans attempted to stop the massacres, but the Turkish officers had no desire for peace; on the contrary, they spurred on their soldiers to further aggression against the unfortunate Christians, and the soldiers were assisted by hordes of looters of every sect. This state of things lasted two days, during which the rioters did not cease to massacre the Christians, to whom the Governor did not afford any help. The number of the victims was estimated at 3300. The places where their houses had stood were not recognizable, all their dwellings having been reduced to ashes.

The *Sultan* sent Faud Pasha (1815–1869) as an Extraordinary Commissioner with a military force. Faud *Pasha* issued a Proclamation to the inhabitants of Syria, in which, after alluding to the grief felt by the *Sultan* on hearing of the outrages, he said :—

" According to the Imperial commands, invested with a special and extraordinary mission, and possessing full powers, I have arrived, accompanied by a military force, to punish the guilty authors of so many crimes.

" The Imperial *firman* will inform you what is my mission, and enable everyone to judge of the extent of the Imperial justice, which accords refuge to the oppressed and punishes the oppressor.

" All may remain here in safety; the condition of the families driven from their homes will be taken into consideration, and I undertake to reassure them, and to extend to them the protection of the Imperial justice.

" I command, above all, that from this day forth dissensions cease; whichever nation dares to use violence against the other shall be attacked by the military force which accompanies me, and every person who forgets his duty will undergo immediate punishment."

But Faud did not succeed in removing the difficulties, and each new account added to the horrors of the massacre. It

appeared that the country had almost been swept clean of its Christian inhabitants. In *The Lebanon* not a Christian village had been spared; all the commerce of the region was interrupted; a journey from one village to another was no longer safe.

To put an end to these excesses and to restore peace and safety to the province, the "Protocol of the 3rd of August" was signed. In August the first French troops were landed on the Syrian Coast. It was a gratifying sign of the unanimity prevailing among all civilized Powers that although the state of Europe was at that time far from tranquil, the European nations were yet capable of unison in the cause of justice. It was certainly in the cause of justice that the forces of the Western world were brought to the Syrian coast, though political intrigue was busy circulating rumours such as are bound to be spread abroad when an expedition of this kind is undertaken by European Powers. That France should send troops to a country which, according to popular belief, she had coveted for years was, indeed, enough to excite world-wide attention. But opinion that mattered was inclined to assert that France had acted generously and loyally. It was, indeed, too absurd to profess the belief that intrigues in the East had given rise to these disturbances, and that the Christians themselves had caused the massacre so that France should achieve glory and influence. Undoubtedly there was in every Levantine town a host of Catholic emissaries, Jesuits, Lazarists, and the like, and it was only natural for Roman Catholics to use the name and invoke the protection of the Power which had once been the only Catholic Power known in the East.

The expedition of 1860 was made at the instance of France, but according to an international convention all the Powers had to participate in it. A contingent of European troops, which was to be increased to 12,000 men, was to be despatched for the purpose of restoring peace. France engaged to furnish half of these troops at once. If it became necessary to increase the force beyond the stipulated number, a further understanding was to be arrived at among the contracting Powers. The Commander-in-Chief of the expedition was to enter into communication with the special Commissions of the Porte. All the Powers were to keep sufficient naval forces on the Syrian coast to assist in the maintenance or re-establishment of tranquillity there. The contracting parties fixed the term of the occupation at six months, being

convinced that this period would be sufficient to ensure the pacification of the populace. These were the principal terms of this important Convention, as laid down in the Protocol by the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia and Turkey at Paris on the 3rd August.

"The Plenipotentiaries of, *etc.*, desirous of establishing, in conformity with the intention of their respective Courts, the true character of the assistance afforded to the Sublime Porte, by the provisions of the Protocol signed this day, the feelings which have dictated the clauses of this act, and their perfect disinterestedness, declare in the most formal manner that the contracting Powers do not intend to seek for, and will not seek for, in the execution of their engagements, any territorial advantage, and exclusive influence, or any concession with regard to the commerce of their subjects, such as could not be granted to the subjects of other nations."

Troops were landed on the 16th of August under *General* C. M. N. Beaufort *d'*Hautpoul (*b.* 1804). Subsequently a Commission representative of the Powers was appointed to investigate the facts. The Druses escaped into the Hauran Desert, and it was found that Turks and Damascene fanatics were really responsible for stirring up the strife, in which the Maronites had acted with a vindictiveness equal to that of the Druses. Punishment was meted out to the Mohammedans who were principally responsible, and among others Achmet *Pasha*, the Governor of Damascus, was shot. The French occupation continued till the 5th June, 1861, and the French and English squadron patrolled the coast for several months after. In June, 1861, the troops returned to France, and the Commissions drew up a scheme of government for *The Lebanon*. It provided for the appointment of a Christian Governor, to be chosen by the Porte, and for dividing the region into seven districts, each of which was to be controlled by a chief professing the religion held by its inhabitants. David *Pasha*, an Armenian Christian, was the first Governor. He was installed on the 4th of July, 1861. In spite of many difficulties, he succeeded in restoring order ; and by raising a military force from the inhabitants of *The Lebanon* he made the presence of the Turkish soldiery unnecessary. The district Council included four Maronites, one Druse, one Orthodox Greek, and one Separatist Greek. The constitution did not satisfy the Maronites, whose revolt, under Joseph Karan, kept *The Lebanon* in a very unsettled state for several years. The

privileged province of *The Lebanon* was finally constituted by the Organic Statute of the 6th of September, 1864.

The Lebanon was constituted a *sanjak* or *mutessariflik*, dependent directly on the Porte, which was to act in this case in consultation with the six great Powers. The province extended about 93 miles from north to south (from the boundary of the *sanjak* of Tripoli to that of the *caza* of Sidon), and had a mean breadth of about 28 miles from one fort of the chain to the other, beginning at the edge of the littoral plain behind Beyrout and ending at the western edge of the Beka'a: but the boundaries were ill-defined, especially on the east, where the original line drawn along the crest of the ridge had not been adhered to, and the mountains had encroached on the Beka'a. *The Lebanon* was under a military Governor (*mashir*), who had been a Christian in the service of the *Sultan* (1861–1876), Abdul Aziz (1830–1876), approved by the Powers, and who had, so far, been chosen from the Roman Catholics, owing to the great preponderance of Latin Christians in the province. He resided at Deir-al-Kamar, an old seat of the Druse *Emirs*. At first appointed for three years, then for ten, his term has been fixed since 1892 at five years, the Porte fearing that the longer term might lead to a personal domination. Under the Governor were seven *Kaimakams*, all Christians except a Druse in Shuf, and forty-seven *mudirs*, who all depended on the *Kaimakams*, except one, in the home district of Dier-al-Kamar. A central *mejliss* or Council of twelve members was composed of four Maronites, three Druses, one Turk, two Greeks (orthodox), one Greek Uniate and one *Metawel*. This was the original proportion, and it has not been altered, in spite of the decline of the Druses and the increase of the Maronites. The members are elected by the seven *cazas*. In each *mudirich* there is also a local *mejliss*. Judges are appointed by the Governor, but *Sheikhs* by the villagers. Commercial cases, and law-suits in which strangers are concerned, are carried to Beyrout. The police is recruited locally, and no regular troops appear in the province except on special requisition. The taxes are collected directly, and must meet the needs of the province before any sum is remitted to the Imperial treasury. The latter has to make deficits good.

This constitution has worked well on the whole. The only serious hitch that occurred was caused by the attempts of the Governor-General and the *Kaimakam* to supersede the

mejliss by autocratic action, and to impair the freedom of the elections. The attention of the Porte was called to these tendencies in 1892, and again in 1902, on the appointment of new Governors. The railway is French, and a precedence in ecclesiastical functions is accorded by the Maronites to the official representatives of France.

Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert (1831–1890), the fourth Earl of Carnarvon, wrote : " In estimating the past, and in taking security for the future, it must never be forgotten that for generations the policy of the Turkish Government has been eminently hostile to the maintenance of Druse nationality. As charity obliges us to believe that no state in Christendom would deliberately instigate the massacre of several thousand Christians, so the common instincts of humanity, and even self-interest, oblige us to acquit the Imperial Government of Constantinople from planning, or recommending to the execution of others, a policy of such detestable iniquity towards the subjects for whose protection they are responsible. Both suppositions are too monstrous to be entertained. But as it would not be the first time that Christian rulers have fostered the disputes or exasperated the irritation of other nations, and have set the rock in motion, unforeseeing and to a great extent reckless of the course which it will take, or the misery which it will inflict ; so the local authorities in Syria might not unreasonably count upon a favourable interpretation in Constantinople of conduct, which might result either in some moderate spoliation of the Christian population, or in a humiliation of the Druse mountaineers, or in a convenient opportunity for intervening in the affairs of *The Lebanon.* It is a natural expedient, it is doubtless the wish of the Turkish Government, to divide and rule the tribes of *The Lebanon;* . . . The desire to break down Druse independence enters at least equally into these schemes. . . . It is equally clear that it is not for the advantage of England, as far as she has an interest in these questions, to consent to the annihilation of Druse nationality. . . . . Again whilst convents and schools, . . . have long laboured to create a French party among the Maronites, and to establish a French influence in *The Lebanon,* a strong connection of gratitude on the one hand, and of good offices on the other, has existed between the Druses and England ; at all events, *The Lebanon* has to be relieved of Turkish administration, because it would be indifferent statesmanship to stimulate

still further the centralizing policy that threatens Turkey equally with every other nation in Europe, and to allow the independent strength of local institutions and a peculiar race to be confounded in the ruin of an empire now tottering to its fall."

This was a sound political opinion, clear, logical, based upon justice. It is to be regretted that the same policy was not applied to other provinces and other distinct races. As regards British interests, we find again the old and indisputable truth expressed as follows :—

" Territorial extension, indeed, need never enter into the dreams of English statesmanship ; but it would be an act of infatuation to overlook the vast importance of Syria in any present or future distribution of European Power, which either the weakness or the crimes of other nations may necessitate. The country which now, not less than in the reigns of the *Ptolemies* and the *Mamelukes*, guards and therefore governs the northern frontier of Egypt—which now, as in the days of Alexander [(III) the Great] (356–323 *b.c.e.*), commands one at least of the great approaches to India—is no petty principality, to be surrendered to the love of ease or the importunities of allies."[1]

The calamity that had befallen the Christians of Syria had aroused the deepest commiseration among the Jews all over the world. Sir Moses Montefiore led the way with a letter in the *Times*, July 12, 1860 (*p.* 9), and M. Crémieux in France followed his lead. Several *Rabbis* and Presidents of Jewish communities addressed appeals to the Jewish population, and handsome contributions were collected.

But unfortunately false accusations were again brought against the Jews in Damascus. Some of the fanatics were envious of the Jews, especially because they had escaped the slaughter. The accusations commenced whilst Faud *Pasha* was still there and was conducting the inquiries in person. The Maronites accused the Jews of being in league with the Druses, the orthodox Greeks charged them with being on terms of reciprocity with the Maronites, and after all these slanders the blood accusation was circulated. Faud, who knew perfectly well that the Jews had nothing in common with the Druses or the Maronites, and that they were a peaceful and law-abiding people, would not listen to these calumnies. But after the *Pasha* had left, Christian and

[1] Recollections of the Druses of the Lebanon, and Notes on their Religion. By the Earl of Carnarvon. London : . . . 1860. (*pp.* 117–120.)

Mohammedan fanatics, by means of bribery, conspired against the unfortunate Jews, and had some prominent members of their community arrested, bringing forward false witnesses to testify that they saw such and such a Jew committing murder. Happily, most of them were at once released by Faud *Pasha* on his return to the city. This act of justice was performed by the Turkish functionary spontaneously, before any remonstrance from Europe could have reached him. Nevertheless, the two European Powers acted with promptness and used their influence in the matter.

M. E. A. Thouvenal (1818–1866), Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, had on September 23rd, 1860, given the most stringent orders to his agents in Syria to protect the Jews, and to prevent any injury being done to them ; and so had Lord John Russell (1792–1878), who had also generously joined the defenders of the Jewish population in the East. This united action on the part of the two Governments prevented misfortunes and the perpetration of crimes against the Jews, and as a consequence 1860 bore no analogy to 1840.

But if the Jews were saved from massacre and riot, this did not solve their problem. Dr. Abraham Benisch, in an editorial,[1] pointed out that " In permitting this terrible outbreak of fanaticism in Syria, Providence has once more prominently directed the attention of the world to the country forming the inalienable inheritance of the descendants of the patriarchs, and the cradle of the institutions that have regenerated and reinvigorated a decrepit and decaying civilisation, and has once more forcibly reminded the world that ever since the ruthless Romans exterminated the Jew from the land of his ancestors, no race has found there rest for the sole of its feet, and no population has been permitted to enjoy in peace, for any length of time, the blessings of a ground due to the wandering tribe of the sore foot."

With reference to these remarks, the following letter was received from the Christian Zionist, Colonel Gawler :—

" Dear Sir,

" I cannot refrain from giving expression to my sincere gratification at your valuable leading article of the 27th inst. I need scarcely mention that your views are

[1] *Jewish Chronicle*, July 27, 1860.

met by my very warmest reciprocity on the point that, 'in permitting this terrible outbreak of fanaticism in Syria, Providence has once more prominently directed the attention of the world to the country forming the inalienable inheritance of the descendants of the Patriarchs.'

"You may remember a plan to which I gave publication on the occasion of the war between the Druses and Maronites in 1845, upon the 'tranquillisation of the East by planting Jewish (agricultural) settlements in Palestine.' I entertain strongly the anticipation that something of this kind may arise from the present disturbances.

"To give Jews in Palestine the means of maintaining themselves and their families by honest and healthy industry would be the best preparation of the way for better things, to the Jewish nation and to the whole human race, that could be desired.

"In maintaining such projects I am not at all proposing faithlessness to 'our allies' the Turks. So long as the empire stands, Jewish civilised settlement in Syria would be a strength and a blessing to it. It is only in the event of its ever falling that I should be glad to see the claim boldly enforced in reference to Palestine, 'This portion belongs to the God of *Israel*, and to his national people.'

"I should be truly rejoiced to see in Palestine a strong guard of Jews established in flourishing agricultural settlements, and ready to hold their own upon the mountains of Israel against all aggressors. I can wish for nothing more glorious in this life than to have my share in helping them to do so.

"May your anticipation be richly realised, that great good will come out of the existing Syrian evils.

"GEORGE GAWLER.[1]

". . . July 30, 1860."

All these developments stirred up Jewish public opinion in England and in France. Great possibilities threw their light into the future like a beacon of hope. The new *Lebanon* Constitution was, indeed, an indication of the future of Palestine: but the time was not yet ripe for the realization of these hopes.

[1] *Ibid.*, August 10, *p.* 6.

CHAPTER XXXII

ZIONISM IN FRANCE

Joseph Salvador—Lazar Lévy-Bing—Maurice [Moses] Hess—D. Nathan—Benoît Levy—Dr. A.-F. Petavel—Ernest Laharanne—Crémieux—The "Alliance Israélite Universelle—Albert Cohn—Charles Netter.

In France the Zionist idea found a supporter in one of the most prominent French Jews of the last century, Joseph Salvador (1796–1873). He was the first French Jew after the emancipation of the Jews in France to express the great ideas of ancient Judaism. From 1789 to 1822, when the first edition of his *Essay on Mosaism* made its appearance, a period of thirty-three years had elapsed—approximately the span of a generation, and generally the time it takes for a new epoch to develop. Salvador, as the intellectual leader of his epoch, was inspired by those fine moral instincts and that devotion to humanity which are fostered by the influence of the Bible.

When in 1840 the Eastern question presented itself in all its disquieting developments, Salvador seemed already to anticipate the stress and strife that were destined to break forth in those regions where the cradle of the Jewish nation had stood; and these anticipations were strengthened when fifteen years later the Christian nations of the Western world came to wage a sanguinary war for the Holy Places. According to Salvador, Palestine was destined to become the economic centre of Jewry, just as much as it was the centre of Jewish national aspirations. "A new life will be infused into the mountains of *Judah*, into that platform of the *Moriah* which to-day is in the hands of the Turks, and of which it was figuratively said of old that, sooner or later, it would rise above all hills, all mountains. The Oriental question, for a while put off or veiled by other public affairs, will exhaust all the present generation. It will extend into the next century. To-day, in 1853, its character is above all a political one: it is a question of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. To-morrow, perhaps, the discussion will be a commercial one in regard to Egypt, the Red Sea, Suez. The unity of Europe, so much desired, so much praised, and

Joseph Salvador

Benjamin Disraeli, M.P.

Samuel David Luzzatto

Bernard Lazare

never obtained, is already a question of secondary importance. The centre of the affairs of the world is changed. The Jew of the new era must rise upon the very soil where the Jew of the old era was built."

"Asia Minor has but two elements of life, two races capable of civilization and progress, the Greeks and the Jews. Notwithstanding the deep degradation of the Jews of the East, on the day when new life (which, by the way, is drawn from the Occident) shall have reanimated this population, the Jew, by the force of his name, by the promises of his future, will again become a centre of irresistible attraction to all the Jewish forces of the Orient, and even of a part of Europe. A new State will be formed upon the coasts of *Galilee* and in old Canaan, where the Jewish claim will dominate under the combined pressure of historic remembrances, of persecution in some countries, and of the Puritan sympathy of Biblical England." These words of Salvador sounded like the cry of a forgotten generation. It must be borne in mind that they were written at a time when French Jews cherished only one hope and one ideal: absorption and assimilation by their surroundings. It is indeed remarkable that this venerable man, who was a staunch Jew as well as a French patriot, and is one of the most eminent figures in Franco-Jewish literature, defended the Jewish national idea and the restoration of the Jews to Palestine with such clearness and force.[1]

To state that he wrote this passage just before the outbreak of the Crimean War, which seemed a suitable moment for considering the possibilities in the East more thoroughly than had previously been done, suffices to indicate the immediate cause. But the mere opportunity could not by itself awaken such thoughts without the strong foundation and support of deeper convictions. As he justly says, "the Jew of the new era must rise upon the very soil where the Jew of the old era was established." It is clear that he did not think of the half-united Jews who do not feel the existence of their spiritual nationality, and wish to eradicate every trace of it. He was eager to insist that "the Jewish forces of the Orient and even of a part of Europe" should create this new Jew.

Joseph Salvador was, like all progressive thinkers of his

[1] J. Salvador, sa vie, ses œuvres et ses critiques, par le Colonel Gabriel Salvador [1812–1889]. Paris . . . 1881 . . . (1 *l.*+539 *pp.*) *p.* 231. Joseph Salvador, par James Darmesteter [1849–1894], Versailles, 1882.

age, inspired by the great Revolution, the emancipation of the Jews, and the brotherhood of all nations. The main thesis of his books about the Laws of *Moses* was the "universal mission of Judaism." No Jewish thinker of the Assimilation school has defended this theory more consistently and more powerfully, in language more eloquent and magnificent. He was therefore generally regarded as the father of modern progressive Judaism in France. But he did not see any contradiction between his idea of a spiritual achievement and the idea of a terrestrial centre, which was suggested by the political thinking of his day. This fact, in our judgment, proves that the first idea of a Jewish mission, as conceived by the great Jews of the last century, was far from negating the desirability of a Jewish national future.

We find a reference to this subject in a long controversy which was published in the Franco-Jewish fortnightly *Archives Israélites* in 1864. One of the contributors to this magazine, *M.* Lazar Lévy-Bing, in a letter entitled "Rétablissement de la Nationalité Juive," dated from Nancy 21 Mars,[1] and in another, "Suite d'une polémique," Nancy, 2 Mai,[2] tells us in clear, straightforward terms, that he firmly believes in a Jewish national future, and considers it the only solution of the Jewish problem. He had strong religious convictions, and his most earnest hope was to reconcile the spirit of the age with the eternal truths of Judaism; for he held that a nation which repudiated its faith in God would abandon the very foundation of morality He regarded union between Jews and the friends of liberty as an indispensable condition of human progress. He maintained that the Jews would best serve the universal cause of civilization by working mainly for their own commonwealth, by preparing for their own future. Obviously, he says, the minority of Jews in free countries will be chiefly concerned about the present, and their energies will be consumed in their own environments, but the majority of Jews will work in a Jewish direction. There is no incompatibility between the Restoration of Palestine promised by the prophets, and Jewish patriotism which strives for the welfare of different states.

He was strongly supported by a series of articles entitled:

[1] XXVe Année.— . . . 15 Avril, 1864.
Archives Israélites . . . sous la direction de Isidore Cahen . . . (1826–1902). Paris, 1864, *pp.* 330–335.
[2] *Ibid.*, 15 Mai, *pp.* 427–432.

Lettres sur la mission d'Israël dans l'histoire de l'humanité, signed "Maurice Hess"[1] (1812–1875), a well-known author and distinguished Jewish nationalist. On the other hand, *M.* D. Nathan, Chef d'escadron d'artillerie, in a letter, "Une Question Soulevée," dated from Toulon 21 Avril,[2] and M. Benoit Levy, in "Tentative de Conciliation," 15 Juin,[3] denounced the idea of the restoration as a sublime and unrealizable dream. The heated controversy arose through the intervention of a Christian theologian, Dr. Abram-François Pétavel of Neuchatel, who appealed to Jews in favour of their restoration to Palestine.[4] He published two books,[5] in which he dealt with the question from a theological point of view. His letters to the Jews, however, lacked clearness. He attempted to bring about a sort of compromise, but created a bad impression. His action spurred the opposition afresh, with the result that instead of arguing *ad rem* it took to arguing *ad hominem*.

At the same time another French writer, Ernest Laharanne, private secretary to Napoleon III., although a Roman Catholic, wrote a pamphlet in favour of the reconstitution of the Jews as a nation.[6] He was inspired with the idea of "progress in human civilization and the rights of nations." There is a certain amount of sentimentality in his pamphlet; but his enthusiasm, although too emotional and rhetorical, is very dignified. It remains to be said that all the French writers of that epoch dealt with the question

[1] *Ibid.* 1er Janvier, *pp.* 14–17: 1er Fevrier, *pp.* 102–106: 15 Fevrier, *pp.* 145–149: 1er Mars, *pp.* 198–202: 15 Mars, *pp.* 240–244: 1er Avril, *pp.* 287–292: 15 Avril, *pp.* 336–340: 1er Mai, *pp.* 377–382: 15 Mai, *pp.* 432–436: 1er Juin, *pp.* 472–477.

His *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862) is one of the masterpieces of modern Zionist literature. Hess insists that despite all attempts on the part of the Jews the Jewish national instinct cannot be eradicated. The only solution of the Jewish question, according to him, was the colonization of Palestine; and he looked to France to make it possible. The historian Graetz was influenced by Hess' book in the direction of Jewish nationalism.

[2] *Ibid.* 1er Mai, *pp.* 372–377.

[3] *Ibid.* 15 Juin, *pp.* 507–510.

[4] *Ibid.* 15 Mars, *pp.* 234–235. "Une brochure publiée à Genève et la reconstitution de la nationalité juive."—Isidore Cahen.

Ibid. 1er Avril, *pp.* 273–274. "De quelques observations en réponse aux nôtres une brochure publiée à Genève": M. Lévy-Bing, M. Petavel.—Isidore Cahen.

Ibid. 15 Mai, *p.* 416.—Isid. Cahen.

[5] Israel Peuple de l'Avenir . . . Par A.-F. Pétavel . . . Paris . . . 1861. La Fille de Sion ou le rétablissement de Israël . . . Par Abram-François Pétavel . . . Paris . . . 1868.

[6] La Nouvelle Question d'Orient. . . . Reconstitution de la Nationalité Juive. Paris . . . 1860 . . . (8°. 47 *pp.* in printed wrapper) *p.* 46. Ernest Laharanne, *p.* 47. E. L. 9 Septembre 1860.

in the abstract. Instead of giving definite indications of what was to be done, they were content to express empty hopes and formulate vague suggestions and appeals (Appendix lxiii).

One of the greatest French Jews, Crémieux, deserves special mention here. Isaac Moses Adolphe Crémieux was born at Nîmes in 1796. Having studied law for some time, he was called to the Bar of his native town in 1817, and immediately began to practise. He gained a reputation for eloquence and moral courage. In 1827 he removed to Paris, where his name was well known. His splendid oratory soon gained him high esteem in the Law Courts. He gradually rose to fame on account of his political sagacity and integrity of purpose. In 1840 he came over to England as the accredited representative of the French Jews to take part in the deliberations held on the initiative of Sir Moses Montefiore concerning the Damascus massacres. He was at that time Vice-President of the "Consistoire Central" of the French Jews. Soon after his arrival in England he became, with the exception of Sir Moses Montefiore, the most prominent figure in the agitation which was inaugurated in this country to obtain reparation from Mehemet Ali for the anti-Jewish outrages which had been perpetrated within his jurisdiction. Crémieux then accompanied Sir Moses on his mission to the East, and by his sound advice and diplomacy helped to surmount many difficulties. When the success of the mission had been ensured he proceeded with Sir Moses to Constantinople, where he assisted him in obtaining from Abdul Medjid the *Firman* of the 12th *Ramadan* in favour of the Jews. Two years after this brilliant achievement he made his début in the political arena. He took his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, and rose to a position of considerable influence. He identified himself prominently with the extreme left, and not only exercised great influence among the members of his own party, but associated himself more actively than anyone else with the efforts that paved the way for the Revolution of 1848. From that time he became one of the political leaders of his country, being always in power though not always in office. He was several times member of the French Cabinet, and in 1870 he was one of the members of the Government of National Defence.

The emancipation of the Jews in Algeria was due to his

ALBERT COHN

CHARLES NETTER

ISAAC M. A. CRÉMIEUX

Rabbi ZADOK KAHN

SALOMON MUNK

initiative and exertions. In 1860 he co-operated with Sir Moses Montefiore in raising a fund for the Christians in Syria. During the same year he assisted in founding the "Alliance Israélite Universelle." He was its first President, and remained at its helm till his death (1880), taking a prominent part in all its affairs. He was the central figure of a great and glorious struggle not only for "Jewish rights," but also for the honour, the greatness and the real significance of Jewish brotherhood and of the ideas of Judaism. From the defence of the Jewish martyrs of Damascus down to the Berlin Congress (1878) his career was one long record of strenuous and enthusiastic effort on behalf of the Jewish people all over the world. He typified and personified all that is sublime in the Jewish cause. His whole life proved the consistency of his Jewish convictions. His attitude and tone were those of a Jewish Victor Hugo. There was no more inspiring orator and no greater intellect. He was the creator of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" in the highest sense. He raised it from insignificance to the importance it had achieved before he died. His last official act as the President of the "Alliance" was to sign an appeal on behalf of Jewish schools in *Jerusalem*.

A ruthless agitation was raised against the "Alliance," and Crémieux was personally attacked owing to his advocacy of the emancipation of the Jews in Algeria, and the international character of the "Alliance." The wildest rumours were circulated with regard to the intentions and activities of the "Alliance," which were condemned as anti-patriotic, anti-Christian, and even anti-humanitarian. The greatest absurdities found their way into the sensational anti-Jewish Press of several countries, attributing to this humanitarian and charitable institution innumerable crimes and wickednesses. Had Crémieux been one of those weak-minded Jewish assimilants who are so easily frightened by accusations and perturbed by anti-Jewish prejudice, he would have made concessions or have entirely abandoned this sphere of activity. But he had sufficient moral strength to disregard senseless accusations.

Crémieux was not a Zionist in the modern sense of the term. But one may say, without exaggeration, that his Jewish enthusiasm, his conception of the greatness of *Israel*, and his love for Palestine were Zionistic. He was a happy combination of a great Jew and a great French patriot.

Visions of the future of *Israel* elevated his intellectual outlook. The resurrection of the Holy Land was for him a question of first-rate importance. "This is," he said, "the comfort, the sunshine of our life." On another occasion he said: "It must be admitted that heretofore insufficient attention has been paid to the Eastern aspect." Speaking of the agricultural school "*Mikveh Israel*," near *Jaffa*, he said: "This will become the very bulwark of the future. When once the Jews set foot on their own native soil they will never leave it again." In all his speeches he laid emphasis upon the need for knowledge of the *Hebrew* Bible. The Jewish ideal, to use his own term, "is quite distinct," and those who trample upon justice will have to come back to us, the progeny and successors of those who first received "the Divine Word." This is the spirit which animated the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," particularly during the earlier stages of its existence.

One of the most active members of the "Alliance," and a devoted friend, pupil and admirer of Crémieux, was Albert Cohn (1814–1877). He filled numerous communal and other offices with distinction. He was a member of the Central Consistory of France, President of the Paris Benevolent Society, a prominent member of the "Alliance," and President of the Society of the Promised Land. He sympathized with all who were in distress, and participated in their grief; he expended a great part of his wealth in mitigating their sufferings; his time was always at the command of the poor. He combined the characteristics of an idealistic and a practical Jew. He was an ardent communal worker in the Jewish community in Paris, but at the same time was engaged throughout his life in Palestinian work. He had a remarkable gift of intuition, and foretold great future developments in Palestine.[1]

Another French Jew of special note, as one of the first pioneers of the colonization of Palestine, was Charles Netter (1826–1887). As early as 1858 he was the chief promoter of the "Société de Patronage des Ouvriers Juifs de Paris." In 1859 (after the Mortara case) he conceived,

[1] Albert Cohn wrote in a letter, in French, from *Jérusalem*, ce 15 juillet (in a moment of extraordinary clairvoyance):—

"MONSIEUR LE REDACTEUR,

"... when we succeed to make this patriarchal City a centre of religious studies, a sort of a Jewish University for the Orient and the adjacent countries ... we shall have erected a worthy monument to the spirit of the age" (Archives Israélites, N°. 16—15 Août, 1864, *p.* 715).

together with Crémieux and others, the idea of a "Universal Jewish Alliance." The "Alliance" was definitely formed in 1861. Netter was a member of a Committee of six charged with drawing up the rules and the general work of organization. A few schools having been established by the "Alliance" in Turkey and Morocco, Netter began to direct his attention to the condition of the Jews in Palestine. He undertook a journey to Jerusalem and made very exhaustive inquiries. On his return he laid before his colleagues a plan for the establishment of an agricultural school in the Holy Land, which was immediately adopted. Returning to Palestine, he selected a large and convenient site in the vicinity of *Jaffa*, and personally superintended the erection of the school *Mikveh Israel*, the construction of the various buildings, the boring of the wells and the laying out of the grounds and gardens. That Crémieux could not be silent or idle while the work for *Mikveh Israel* proceeded, goes without saying. The school became the favourite institution of all the original leaders of the "Alliance." It is a curious coincidence that the title of Manasseh Ben-Israel's most famous book, *Mikveh Israel* (1650),[1] became, two hundred and twenty years after its appearance, the name of the first Jewish agricultural school in Palestine. Netter visited Palestine very often in subsequent years. In 1882 he left Paris for his last visit to *Jaffa*, paying a visit to London on his way in order to consult the Jewish organizations of England on some pressing questions connected with the Jews in Palestine. He died at *Jaffa* whilst on a visit to *Mikveh Israel*.

[1] The Hope of Israel.

CHAPTER XXXIII

JEWISH COLONIZATION

New developments—Two tendencies—Societies in London for supporting Jewish colonization of Palestine—*Rabbi* Chayyim Zebi Sneersohn—Sir Moses Montefiore's further journey to Palestine.

THE various projects and suggestions discussed above fell far short of real Zionism, although some of them were permeated with Zionist ideals. Between the Restoration of *Israel* preached by Christians and that advocated by national Jews, between theological combinations and rational organized work, lie innumerable intermediate phases. And each phase may be said to furnish a certain kind of evidence of the changes undergone by public opinion towards the Zionist idea. Often enough, indeed, the attitude of the public mind is one that eludes rigid classification. Yet, while the currents of ideas and imaginations crossed and recrossed, joined and interlinked one with another, two alternating tendencies were plainly apparent even to the least practical observer: the *philanthropic* and the *national*.

The philanthropic tendency had undoubtedly as its *raison d'être* the plan of settling small groups of Jewish agriculturists in Palestine. A succession of experiments in this kind of work was necessary. Just as, for instance, vegetable products have been introduced into a country by a single individual, the recognition of their utility being sufficient to induce the inhabitants to take advantage of the novelty, so the establishment of small settlements in Palestine might be expected to lead to imitation and consequent further development. But at the same time, even if the results of these experiments remained for years much less extensive than might be desired, and instead of thousands of Jews only hundreds settled on the land, it would still be too much to assert that the first societies had failed to fulfil their legitimate purpose. It was not unimportant to have made a beginning, and to have sown even a few scattered seeds, which during a fruitful season, aided by the dew of God's blessing, might yield an abundant harvest. If public activity to promote such plans had been as energetic as

the intrinsic merits of the cause deserved, an objection on account of the insignificance of the work would have mattered but little, because a comparatively small measure of success would have been deemed of sufficient importance to counterbalance many cases of failure. It was not surprising, however, that where scepticism prevailed the results of Palestinian colonisation were not such as to silence the objections of practical people who were insufficiently inspired by the Zionist idea. The breadth of Zionist premises seemed to them out of proportion to the results which Zionists succeeded in obtaining. They ridiculed the apparent poverty of the achievement as compared with the powerful machinery which had been set in operation, the strewing of abundant seeds for the sake of reaping a few mature plants. But to the sincere supporter even a comparatively small measure of success appeared highly important, for he measured the value of that success by his eager desire for the boon of a new future.

Three Societies for the support of Jewish Colonization in Palestine were founded in London at the beginning of the sixties of the last century. One, managed by Jews and Christians together, was mainly "for promoting Jewish settlements in Palestine" through the encouragement of agricultural pursuits.[1] Another, also under the management of Christians and Jews, comprised several separate undertakings in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. A third was founded by the American Consul in *Jerusalem*, with the idea that the direction should be placed in the hands of the Jews only. Its first efforts were to be centred on *Jerusalem* and its neighbourhood.

Whether it was possible to frame a workable scheme of colonization on an extensive scale, and whether any such scheme could be carried into practice with any chance of success, were questions difficult to answer. It was a fact that beyond the walls of the old (Jewish) *Jerusalem* there was no safety for life or limb, and still less for property. But, on the other hand, it was known that this evil was not ineradicable, for during the few years when Syria was under the control of Mehemet Ali the energetic government of that Prince effectually curbed the lawlessness of the wandering tribes, and so thoroughly established

[1] Dr. Abraham Benisch—William Henry Black (1808–1872), founder of the Palestine Archæological Association (1853) and pastor of the seventh day Baptists—Alfred Hall—Montague Leverson—Rev. John Mills (1812–1873)—Hugh Owen—Solomon Sequerra were among its members.

security that a person might have travelled from one frontier town of Syria to the other with a bag of money in his hands, without fearing any attempt at robbery. Moreover, before the evacuation of Syria by the Egyptian troops, Sir Moses Montefiore had been seriously engaged in the plan of establishing a Jewish centre of settlement in the Holy Land, and had entered into negotiations with Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, when the surrender of Syria to the Porte frustrated his great design. Those who have had the opportunity of referring to the second private journal of Lady Montefiore will find in the Addenda (Appendix lxiv) full particulars of this project. This experienced philanthropist had not therefore considered such a scheme impracticable twenty-three years earlier. The question was : Had circumstances so altered since the accession of the *Sultan* Abdul Aziz to the throne that any plan of this kind would have as good a chance of success as it had offered under Mehemet Ali ? " Difficulties," said a great statesman, " are made to be overcome " : and after all, why should those presented by such a scheme prove insuperable ? The proposition of itself was, unquestionably, worthy of the attention of a generation so enterprising and so eminently practical in its philanthropic exertions as that of the sixties of the last century.

It was at this time that *Rabbi* Chayyim Zebi Sneersohn, of *Jerusalem,* addressed to the Jews of England an open letter (Appendix lxv) advocating the promotion of Jewish colonization. One of the replies was the announcement of Sir Moses Montefiore's new journey to Palestine. Possibly this visit had no further object than the gratification of a natural desire to see again the places so holy and so closely connected with *Israel's* most sacred associations, which had been especially endeared to him as the centre of his repeated pilgrimages in past years.

Nevertheless, public opinion inclined to the view that there was a connection between this journey and the Jewish Commonwealth projected many years before, which would indeed have been established had not Syria unfortunately passed from the power of Mehemet Ali, under whom life and property were well protected, into the weak hands of the *Sultan,* under whom the land had soon relapsed into its former state of lawlessness. A whole generation had passed away since then, and during this interval much had changed for the better in Syria.

Foreigners were now enabled to hold landed property in

the dominions of the Porte. The Government of the country had become much more settled. Roads had been made: the fierce Bedouins were held in check. Travelling in the country was much safer than in former years. An incessant stream of pilgrims from all directions had begun to pour into the land. The bounds of *Jerusalem* had been considerably extended, and the approaching completion of the Suez Canal had given a new impetus to the cultivation of the soil and trade in general.

Was it not now possible to take up the project contemplated in 1839, but abandoned after a time, under more favourable auspices? Such an undertaking was not to be carried out by one section of the Jewish people: it required the united forces of the Jews of the civilized world. And the magic spell which should weld all these scattered forces into one united whole had not yet been spoken. A publicist wrote at that time in the *Jewish Chronicle*:—

"Can it be doubted that the name of Montefiore would prove the magic spell, were only authority given to utter it? It is likely that in the first instance not all standard-bearers of *Jerusalem* would join the movement. The Continent might for a time hang back. It might at first be found impracticable to enlist for such a project the phlegmatic Germans. But practical England and her dependencies, as well as the acute Americans, would hail such a project: and after a while all other sections of *Israel* would join."

We may appropriately pause at this point to consider the attitude of English Jews to the conflicting ideas of Zionism and assimilation.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ZIONISM *VERSUS* ASSIMILATION

The first difficulties—The traditions of Anglo-Jewry—The influence of the English people on the Jews—Assimilation and the Jewish National idea—The Zionist conception of the Jewish problem—The tragedy of a minority.

In order that Zionism might be prevented from becoming a metaphysical theory instead of a practical principle, and might achieve concreteness and real life, it was most advisable that its development should proceed by steady and slow degrees, that it should meet with opposition at every step and be challenged to produce logical proof of its soundness. For it is only after antagonism has been overcome that truth reigns triumphant in the human mind. There is consequently no cause to regret that Zionism met with opposition among the Jews themselves.

At the time with which we are dealing—the sixties of last century—a number of Jews in some countries of Western Europe already showed a desire to assimilate with their fellow-countrymen in every possible way. This desire arises merely from a confusion of aspirations and ideas. It is of course natural for a Jew born in England to be proud of being an English citizen, for a Jew born in France, Italy or elsewhere to be proud of the greatness and progress of his native land. Everybody thoroughly understands and appreciates this sentiment. There are few feelings more noble than patriotism, and few have been responsible for greater deeds and more heroic achievements. It is a good thing when the "*amour sacre de la patrie*" fills one's breast. But a Jew may be a good and loyal citizen and yet a thoroughly national Jew. The two things are in no way incompatible, and have been made to appear so only by inaccuracy in definition, and failure to understand the difference between ethnological and religious nationality on the one hand, and political nationality on the other.

The Jews are a nation, although they have not retained their full national status. Most non-Jews, whether they are anti- or pro-Jews, regard Judaism as a national tie, and if well-wishers hesitate to express this opinion it is only for fear of hurting the feelings of those Jews who wish to be

thought merely a religious community. Delicate natures shrink from incurring the suspicion of anti-Semitism, and comply from conscious or unconscious kindliness with this singular wish of a few Jews. So this minority has contrived to suggest to many Christians a view which, in reality, they do not share at all, and which will not stand careful scrutiny. The best proof of the national quality of a given community is the conviction of the outside world that it is a nation. Whether the Jews are an absolutely pure race or not (absolute purity does not exist, but relatively the Jews are doubtless the purest race among civilized nations), they have a specific past, a peculiar temperament, a special mentality, which persist even when the Jewish religion has long ceased to be a living force, and make the most assimilated Jews a nation. And so it will remain, for, on the whole, the Jews are a tenacious people, and withstand extreme tendencies to assimilation. When some assimilated Jews, who really believe in nothing, call themselves genuine Teutons, Latins, *etc.*, of the Jewish faith, it may be psychologically interesting to close observers, but it is in reality only an unconscious impulse on the part of self-despairing Judaism to survive in any shape whatsoever. And these assimilationists have never been—though the Jews have gone through greater and more extensive periods of assimilation than the present—more than a handful.

Of course the national force of present-day Judaism is in a latent state, and it can only become manifest when Judaism resumes its history. The Jewish nation has the cultural power to attain that goal, to form a national community, to maintain it and to make it prosper. Its intellectual and ethical aptitudes are denied by none but the malevolent and the envious. One cannot glance into the history of civilized nations, and of civilization itself, without meeting at every point with men of Jewish race who have achieved great things in poetry and science, in economics and politics.

"Yours is a mighty genius," the French statesman Ernest Laharanne wrote in 1860, "and we bow before you. You were strong in the days of antiquity, and strong in the Middle Ages. You have preserved your existence throughout the dispersion, of course not without paying the heavy tax of eighteen centuries of persecution. But the remainder is still strong enough to erect anew the gates of *Jerusalem*. This is your task."[1]

Orientals through their inherited aptitudes of intellect

[1] *La Nouvelle Question d'Orient, ibid.*

and mind, Occidentals through eighteen centuries of education, the Jews are the only qualified intermediaries for the great work which is to begin with the civilizing of the peoples of Asia and to end with the conciliation of the races.

What is *nationally* Jewish? The word *national* implies racial unity not merely in the sense of a common origin, but as a present fact and an abiding influence, with a particular fervour and strength of its own. This racial unity has its psychological counterpart in a certain intense racial spirit, by virtue of which the whole nation is animated by a definite aspiration towards a common ideal, and becomes merged with it into a *living unit*. This characteristic spirit permeates the whole people "like a salve, and causes it to glow as with one flame." Or in the words of the *Zohar*:—

"*Israel* and its *Torah* are one."[1] This *Torah* is precisely the ethos of the fundamental racial unity of the Jews.

To the singular and exceptional nature of the Jewish nationality is due the fact that it is frequently difficult to determine with any degree of exactitude in how far certain terms and assertions which are applied to other nations may properly be applied to the Jews. Hence, while it is a matter of the greatest importance for the preservation of the full and precise significance of Judaism to use the most definite and unequivocal expressions in speaking of Jewish nationality, it inevitably happens that certain terms as used by the upholders of assimilation have to be characterized as inaccurate because their ordinary connotation is misleading, though they may in themselves be legitimate. An examination of the whole series of phrases which occur in the polemics of nationalism and assimilation would take us too far; but it will be worth while to draw attention to certain fundamental principles in the discussion of which misunderstandings frequently arise.

In any attempt to define Jewish nationality, it is necessary first of all to bear in mind that the only elements of nationality that enter into consideration are the historical and the ethnographical. The predicates of the conception of nationality as applied to all other nations fall under the headings:

(1) Origin, historical solidarity, racial characteristics.
(2) State organization, political functions and civic interests.

(1) ג' דרגין אינון מתקשרן דא בדא ק"בה אורייתא וישראל
ספר הזהר חלק ג אחרי מות דף עג

The predicates of the first category alone are germane to our subject. Those of the second category are partly inapplicable (political union, political functions), and partly limited in their application, for example, to the sphere of local interests. In this connection attention may be drawn to the fact that the local organization of the Jews is strong and well-marked wherever the state or society drives the Jews, by means of exceptional laws, ostracism or prejudice, to an instinctive or organized self-defence, and is absent only where the Jews enjoy complete emancipation not only in the eyes of the law, but also in the view of public opinion as a whole, and not merely in that of certain of the upper classes which are everywhere more or less privileged.[1]

Exceptional laws tend to isolate the Jews; the attacks and accusations directed against them collectively, the differential treatment meted out to them, the anti-Semitic policy, all necessarily contribute to strengthen the walls of the *Ghetto*. Every discrimination made against the Jews, be it only the merest *chicane*, is a stone added to the walls of the *Ghetto*. It is not to the Jews that the erection of a "State within a State" is to be credited; it is the anti-Semitic movement which is responsible for this anomaly. As soon as the Jews are subjected to differential treatment, they must likewise alter their attitude. Whether they will or no, there arises out of these conditions a complex of problems in consequence of the instinct for self-preservation, which acts with the force of an iron law. These problems, which in their origin have nothing to do with the national life and character of the Jews, invest them with the character of a politico-economic nationality, artificially isolated within the State. That is a kind of nationality to which the Jews do not aspire; it is forced on them from without. And it is in such conditions that the majority of the Jews live. It is a superficial method of computation which estimates the condition of the Jews according to the majority of the countries in which they live; the right method is to consider the condition of the majority of the people. That is the decisive factor. A well-known Jewish author has taken the trouble to collect in a book all the laws promulgated against the Jews in Russia under the old régime. These laws numbered more than a thousand, and subsequently they were increased by many hundreds. This code of laws—a

[1] The desire to remove this sort of separatism was the fundamental idea of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*.

kind of anti-Bible—affects half of the Jewish race. The originators of these special laws have consciously or unconsciously bestowed upon the Jews the predicates of a nationality within the domain of the State, but in a negative sense and with (as it were) *inverted* political rights. A group of men may thus be converted into a nation isolated within the State, not only by granting them special privileges, but also, and perhaps more thoroughly, by subjecting them to special restrictions.

As an inevitable result of this treatment, the thoughts, feelings and aspirations, the daily interests, the public opinion, the collective will of the Jewish masses have been driven to assume a tendency necessarily peculiar to themselves even in economic and general questions, in which they would otherwise have no special concern as Jews. In spite of the exceptional conditions artificially created for them they yet contrive on the whole to maintain their loyalty to the State, and make supreme sacrifices for it.

It stands to reason that when, in the course of one generation, a certain class of men has been called upon to suffer the martyrdom of violent persecutions and is constantly threatened by this gruesome spectre, the consequence is that whether they will or no, the members of the group become welded and cemented together into one body. It is also self-evident that given a certain class of men confined within a *Ghetto* or debarred from many professions—only a few in fact remaining open to them—the members of the community are bound to become a people of entirely exceptional character, with cares and problems of their own. In our day, as on innumerable previous occasions in Jewish history, malice makes use of this fact to bring forward fresh accusations against the Jew. The Jews are driven into certain positions, and are then held responsible for them. It is of no avail to give serious consideration to these charges. They are so numerous and so obstinate that it would be impossible to dispose of them all in an apology. Impartial observers will understand that the exceptional status of the Jews within the States, and the separate interests resulting therefrom, were not a consummation desired by the Jews, but a necessity imposed upon them against their will and of which they are compelled to bear the consequences. They are obliged to combine in many countries, just as any people taken collectively usually combine, when their interests as a collective body are at

stake. This is a necessity even in the most ordinary matters of daily life, and it results in a national combination for economic interests, as, for instance, in the case of boycott or of social ostracism. But for these aggravations, it would not occur to the most zealous of Jewish nationalists to make attempts at organization in this direction. The distinctive Jewish national concept is not embodied in these organizations, nor dependent upon them. But the demand that these special organizations shall cease, is first of all a chimera: and secondly an injustice: a chimera because it transgresses the law of the instinct of self-preservation, and an injustice because one must not forbid a man who has been attacked to defend himself. One can only demand that the grievances shall be removed. Whether they will ever vanish, and when, is another question. The Russian revolution, with its boon of freedom to oppressed nationalities, will mark, we hope, an epoch in the struggle of the Jewish masses for the right to live freely in the political and economic sense. But history and experience warn us against believing too readily that salvation has come.

However that may be, Jewish nationality, as we said above, in no way depends on the political status and the position of the Jews in various countries. This question may be left entirely out of consideration. In dealing with Jewish nationality, we are concerned only with those predicates which are based upon the *natio*, that is the origin and the spirit or type of the race in question.

The Jewish national idea is not merely an historical tradition, it is a programme for outward as well as inward use. Outwardly it manifests itself in an energetic struggle for its own existence, in the development of its self-consciousness, in an active regard for its own interests; inwardly as a union of the Jews of all countries, rites, grades of culture and political parties on all questions which affect Jews and Judaism (though it is and must be set on one side in all non-Jewish questions relating to the State). As in the *natio* the fact of being at one with the race is the really characteristic feature, it is necessary to regard all Jews as members of the Jewish nationality without reference to their religious opinions or points of view. This is the meaning of the *Talmudic* dictum:—

אף על פי שחטוה ישראל הוא

סנהדרין דף מד ע'א : (1)

[1] Although he sinned he is an Israelite.—Sanhedrin 44*a*.

Nationality has nothing to do with the differences of theological opinion between the various sections of Jewry ; it is based simply upon oneness with the race. The endeavour to form this union is the foundation of the national idea.

By those who do not understand it the Jewish national idea is reproached with constituting an antithesis to the idea of the State and of citizenship on the one hand, and to the spiritual and the *Torah* on the other. This reproach has no foundation : Jewish nationality cannot find expression in political citizenship in the Diaspora, simply because it lies outside that sphere. On the other hand, from the point of view of the inner, spiritual strength of Jewry, the sense of nationality is a source of vitality, and produces a fusion which transcends all parties. It is folly to regard it as a degradation of the spiritual character of Judaism.

Those who were unable to comprehend this distinction, and could not or would not recognize the true nobility of their Jewish nationality, were impelled by a desire to destroy the distinctive characteristics which recalled their origin. They wished to submerge their nationality, glorious in tradition and history, illustrious in its record of heroism, venerable in its antiquity, holy by the inspiration of religion. They failed to see that their people's history abounded in events and incidents sufficient not only to stamp a nation as glorious, but to confer upon themselves, as men and as citizens in the countries of their birth, greater dignity, more native worth and integrity of purpose. They forgot that assimilation involved the sacrifice of a glorious historical tradition, of a living national sentiment, and, worst of all, of their national genius. However, the pursuit of assimilation did not always extend to a desire for total absorption ; its effect was to weaken rather than to destroy.

The attitude of assimilation was not adopted in its fulness by the Jews in England. This was due to the influence of the English nation. Jews in England could not fail to see the attachment of Englishmen to time-honoured political observances, sometimes meaningless in themselves, yet full of significance through their symbolism or associations ; that strong under-current of traditional feeling which, though held in check by the swifter stream of progress, manifests its presence and power in a dignified reverence for the past. With such fellow-countrymen as the British people, in a land whose greatness is built on the past, on tradition,

on the Bible, the Jews had no need to be ashamed of pointing to their own traditions, of dwelling upon their own history and the glory of their own past. The Jews, whose history is an epic, had no need to slur over that chapter of the poem whose scenes are laid in the Holy Land. They knew that the ancient glory of their annals shone brightly on those sacred shores. They knew that that holy soil had been trodden by the prophets, the poets, and the warriors of their race, and that there they had first impressed themselves on their age and on the ages which were to follow. They knew that amid the most splendid states of antiquity or of the modern world no land had produced such brilliant examples of valour, wisdom and virtue; that no land had ever rendered more wonderful services to the world than this Holy Land of theirs; that no land had ever had so great a past. And though the future is wrapped in darkness, national hope sees a glimmer of promise even through the veil of mist.

English Jews understood, then, that the relationship of the Jewish people to the Holy Land was a tie of a peculiar character. They understood that in ordinary circumstances the connection between an exiled people and its land would probably have been severed long ago. It could hardly have resisted the influences that had been at work to bring about its dissolution. Everybody knows of numerous instances of such dissolution recorded in history. When a people, or a section of a people, leaves the country which was the cradle of its nationality to live in a distant clime, under the ægis of new institutions, the link that bound it to the ancient soil loosens and gives way in course of time and by force of events. At first old associations assert themselves. Familiar names are resumed on the unfamiliar shore. The followers of Cadmus (*fl.* 1493 *b.c.e.*) planted a new Thebes in the land to which they migrated. The Pilgrim Fathers raised a new Plymouth on the shore which the *Mayflower* touched at the end of its outward voyage from the Plymouth of the motherland. For long years the American exile called the old country his home. But even this feeling scarcely survives the changes of which we are witnesses. Generations pass by. New institutions take root: new feelings prevail, they ripen and burst into fruit. There is no revolution more complete and more enduring than that caused by the transplanting of a nation. But with the Jews and the land of their lost glory the case is wholly different. Elements of a higher

character than those of an ordinary historical nature enter into consideration. The Holy Land is the country of their past greatness, present longings and future hopes. It is a bridge which links the past with the future through the span of the present. It is still a land of dreams, but it is to become a land of wakeful activity, it is to be stirred to new life and progress. To carry out such objects combined, sustained and intelligent action is required. How could English Jews, living amongst the greatest colonizing nation in the world, overlook this great necessity?

No other country under the sun can unite all the advantages which the restored home of the *Hebrews* will present, can attract the Jewish people, with the knowledge which it has gained of the ways of the world and its pre-eminence in commerce, can become the home of a Commonwealth which will restore its national greatness.

From a purely practical point of view, again, there is no reason why property in the land of *Israel* should not offer as safe an investment as any other. Surely it is within the realm of probability that those who regard the idea as the ridiculous notion of a mad enthusiast, or at least their children after them, may find it to their interest to labour for the restoration of Palestine as the surest method of placing their worldly possessions in safety, even without taking into consideration the benefits which would accrue to the Jews as a religious community, through their obtaining once more a home for the practice of their laws, a spot where the ark of the covenant may rest without being exposed to malevolence and prejudice.

These ideas, in fact, were prevalent among English Jews. There were some adherents of Assimilation, but they were insignificant both in numbers and in influence. It is noteworthy that the idea preached by modern Zionism in the first years of the movement, namely, that the Jewish tragedy is due to the fact that the Jews are everywhere in a minority, and that therefore the only solution of the problem is to make them a majority in their own country, was expressed in England by a Jewish publicist in 1863 (Appendix lxvi).

CHAPTER XXXV

COLONIZATION AND RESTORATION

Henry Wentworth Monk—Zionism in France—Jean Henri Dunant's "Le Renouvellement de l'Orient"—Napoleon III.—Bishop Stephen Watson—"L'Orient" in Brussels.

PHILANTHROPY, not nationalism, was the basis of the "London *Hebrew* Society for the Colonization of the Holy Land" (Appendix lxvii), founded by Jews in 1861. This experiment, generous as it was, could not succeed, even as a philanthropic scheme, because it lacked the great national idea, which is the soul and essence of Zionism, and without which no revival can possibly succeed. It is worthy of note that an English Christian who was one of the promoters of Palestine colonization grasped this truth; and addressed the following letter from *Jerusalem* to the Jewish press in England :—

November 6, 1863. *The Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer* (*p.* 3).

"Projected Agricultural Colonies in the Holy Land."

"To the Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle.*

"SIR,

"Yesterday my attention was called to your editorial of the 4th *ult.* by *Rabbi* Sneersohn, who at the same time requested me to try and explain why the poor Jews in this country have not yet succeeded in earning an independence by the cultivation of the soil, as poor people in other countries generally do to some extent. He supposes that I ought to know something about it, as I have been brought up to farming in Canada, where poor people generally do succeed in earning a good living by agriculture; and for about two years (in 1854 and 1855) I also had some experience in reference to agriculture in this country, where it must be admitted that lately it has been far otherwise. . . . The cause of the great want of success hitherto, it appears to me, is, because people have not fairly considered the great magnitude and importance of the object to be accomplished, and seriously gone to work to accomplish that object with that kind of earnestness with which men go to work to

build a railroad, or engage in any other great undertaking, which they have decided would conduce greatly to the advantage of the public, and for their own profit also. . . . When the Greeks are making efforts to become a people again, and the Italians or Romans trying to restore something of their former greatness, shall *Israel* alone be totally indifferent as to whether they are a nation or not? The poor of Israel have done their part—they have come here in thousands to live or die, as God or man shall permit. Let the rich and enterprising do their part, and then let us see whether we shall eventually succeed even better than did the remnants of the Greeks or Romans.

"Very truly yours,

"HENRY WENTWORTH MONK.

"*Jerusalem*, Palestine, *Oct.* 1, 1863."

At the same time the political idea was taken up in France by Jean Henri Dunant (1828–1910), the author of *Un Souvenir de Solferino*. Technically a Swiss citizen, having been born in Geneva, nevertheless in all his ideas he was French. In 1859 he launched the idea of a permanent organization of voluntary groups of humanitarian workers, and also of an international treaty agreement concerning the wounded in war. He then presented himself to Napoleon III., who became interested in his project and immediately gave orders to his army to cease making prisoners of the physicians and nurses of the enemy. Soon Dunant organized an "Aid Committee" in Geneva, and shortly afterwards published his *Souvenir de Solferino* (1859), which was enthusiastically received and greatly applauded. The philanthropic ideas of his book were received with interest by many European sovereigns, with whom he was on friendly terms, through correspondence or conversation. He interested the Governments so much in his project that various nations sent delegates to the International Conference, which was held in Geneva in 1863, when it was decided to establish a National Committee. A diplomatic International Congress on the subject was held in 1869 at Geneva, by invitation of the Swiss Government. The treaty there drafted accepted Dunant's project, and the formation of the Red Cross Societies was decided upon. Thus a single individual, inspired by the sentiment of kindness and compassion for his fellow-creatures, had by his own untiring efforts achieved the realization of his ideas, and

thus aided the progress of mankind. Dunant was a statesman, and might have been a saint. His most earnest desire was to carry the message of sympathy, faith and knowledge to the hearts of poor men and oppressed nations. During his zealous propaganda, in the course of which he edited pamphlets and articles in many languages, and travelled continually through the whole of Europe, he spent all he possessed, and for many years nothing more was heard of this modest and good man. In 1897 he was discovered in the Swiss village of Heiden,[1] where he was living in poverty in a "Home of Rest" for old men. In 1901, when the A. B. Nobel (1833–1896) Peace Prize was awarded for the first time, it was granted to the founder of the Red Cross Society.

These biographical details are interesting in so far as they enhance our appreciation of the activity of this great man, who advocated also the idea of the regeneration of the East, and the resurrection of Palestine by the Jewish people. Dunant was inspired more by political convictions than by religious emotion. He was a champion of humanitarian ideas in the political life of Europe, and he dealt with the problem of the East and the Jews from this point of view. He addressed to the public an "Open Letter," which, far from repeating the older ideas and suggestions which had been put forth on several occasions in England and France, gave the impression of a fascinating spontaneity and originality (Appendix lxviii).

A peculiar feature of so many Zionist writings is the writer's unfamiliarity with what has been written repeatedly before. There is no reference to earlier suggestions and attempts, no allusion or reminiscence whatever. Every writer begins *ab ovo ;* everyone makes new discoveries. Is this due to the fact that there was no literary concentration, no history of Zionist literature, no bibliography ? Partly so : but the true reason was, in our opinion, the independence of the idea in all these writings. Every writer was impressed not by what he had read—most of them had not read anything about Zionism—but by the appearance of the problem as it presented itself to him. Everybody discovered the truth in his own way, and all came to the same conclusion quite independently. Henri Dunant planned out and calculated for himself all the details of his great scheme. He had, as we see, a clear political con-

[1] Died there October 31, 1910.

ception of Zionism; his style, too, was lucid and pleasant. He had a wonderful faculty for disposing of difficulties. Moreover, he started political activity, and was in this respect a forerunner of Herzl.

He started his work in France. Different rumours were current at that time (1866) in England about a great Zionist propaganda in France. "A curious and interesting movement has been in progress for a considerable time affecting the state and prospects of the Jewish race in all quarters of the world," we read in an editorial in *The Morning Herald*, London (6th Feb., 1866). " It is of national rather than of a religious character. As is well known, the generous exertions of Sir Moses Montefiore in Morocco, Persia and elsewhere have greatly tended to ameliorate the conditions of the Jews locally, although they are still in many regions persecuted and oppressed: but the most remarkable fact of all, has been the interview between the French Emperor and the leading members of the community in Paris. The object of this informal proceeding was, on the part of Napoleon III., to ascertain how far there yet lingered in the Jewish mind a belief and desire, that they might become repossessed of their native country; and certainly no idea, since that of the Crusaders, could be more romantic or bold, than one which should promise them through any means the fulfilment of this ancient wish. . . ." The author of this article concludes: " Whatever our creeds, we cannot forget the good words of Bishop Weston[1] when he said that, upon seeing a Jew, his best thoughts were always carried back to the beginning and earliest blessing of the world. Therefore it is with more than a mere antiquarian spirit that we observe with sympathy the refusal of this race to raise, whenever challenged to resume their lost position in the world, the cry *Hierosolyma est perdita*. . . ." This rumour concerning an interview which the French Emperor had granted to the leading members of the community in Paris was undoubtedly due to the propaganda of Henri Dunant, who was a *persona gratissima* at the French Court.

The appeal was afterwards re-echoed in a political paper started in Brussels under the title of *L'Orient*, which devoted much attention to Eastern affairs.

" Palestine," we read in one of the articles, " situated at the point of junction of the three continents, is the key of Asia: it occupies a central position in reference to the East

[1] Stephen Weston (1665–1742), Bishop of Exeter, 1724.

as well as the West : its situation is the same between the countries of the North and South : no other on earth can in this respect be compared with it. What European power could take possession of it without bringing upon itself, on the part of the others, the most protracted and sanguinary wars ? However, one solution would still be possible for which, despite the rivalries and revolutions which keep the people of Europe on the alert, the way might be paved. The final solution of the Eastern question might be accomplished if Palestine were reopened to the *Israelitish* people. We have, further, to take into consideration the principles of nationality which in our days play such a prominent part : to bear in mind the isolated position of the Jewish people in the world, which has been dispersed among the nations of the earth for thousands of years without being absorbed by them ; and to study the condition of the Israelites within the last seventy years, their wealth, the influence acquired by them in the commercial world, in industrial pursuits and on Governments. The inference from all this will be that something grand is in store for the Jewish people. The return of the Jewish people to the Holy Land may be considered from two different points of view : the religious and the political. There exist several Scriptural passages which predict the return of the Jews. . . . The *Israelitish* people and the Arabic or Ishmaelitic tribes, which with justice may be called the oldest nations on the earth, have been preserved by Providence, while the others among which they lived in captivity have disappeared from the stage of the world. We may depend upon it, the destinies of the Israelites, so unique and mysterious in their kind, will in the future be still grander than they were in the past : and they must be counted upon if we wish eventually to arrive at the solution of the Eastern question, which appears so complicated."

CHAPTER XXXVI

APPEALS FOR COLONIZATION

A *Rabbinical* appeal—*Rabbi* Elias Gutmacher—*Rabbi* Hirsch Kalischer —Correspondence with Sir Moses Montefiore—Servian Jews ready for Palestine—*Rabbi* Sneersohn—Another appeal of Henri Dunant—A committee in Paris under the patronage of the Empress of the French —Zionism in French fiction.

In 1867 an appeal in favour of the colonization of Palestine was addressed to English Jews by two well-known *Rabbis*, Elias Gutmacher (1796–1874) of Grätz, and Zebi Hirsch Kalischer (1795–1874) of Thorn. This appeal contains interesting references to a letter of Sir Moses Montefiore dealing with the same subject, to Servian Jews who were ready to go to Palestine, and to the activity of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" in Paris in the same direction (Appendix lxix). Conceived in an orthodox Jewish spirit, it seems to have produced a favourable impression on some portions of the Jewish population in England; but it elicited few contributions. This is evidenced in another letter addressed to England by *Rabbi* Sneersohn of *Jerusalem* in 1866 (*Ab.* 8, 5626). "And now, my brethren in England, it is for you to be among the foremost in accomplishing the divine will. Hasten to buy fields and vineyards on the Holy Ground without looking for any immediate advantage. Do you not see that all nations around lay out large sums in buying up land here? Why should we not follow this good example, when thereby great benefits would be conferred on our brethren here: for they would till the ground and thereby maintain themselves, and no longer depend upon charity from abroad? By this means also would hatred and sorrow be removed from their midst, for being engaged in their work they would have no time for prying into the affairs of others. The time is most favourable for such an undertaking. About eighty heads of families, both *Sephardim* and *Ashkenazim*, lately bought fields along the road to *Jaffa*, and some of them have commenced to till the ground. Who knows how soon the ground will be worth double the price for which it can now be had?

Rabbi Zebi Hirsch Kalischer

Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines

Rabbi Mordecai Eliasberg

Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer

Rabbi Dr. Israel Hildesheimer

Rabbi Isaac J. Rülf

There is now a large and most eligible piece of ground at a very reasonable price to be had, etc. . . ."

At the same time Dunant continued his propaganda, and addressed the following letter from Paris to the Jewish press in England :—

Jewish Chronicle, Dec. 13, 1867 (*p.* 6).

" Palestine Colonisation "

" To the Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

" SIR,

" Permit me to recall to your mind the remembrance of me. At that time you were pleased to take a truly humane interest in the work in favour of wounded soldiers, of which I am the founder, for which I then laboured, and which still occupies my attention. You are no doubt aware that this work has been as successful as such a work of philanthropy can be. It has obtained the adhesion not only of all the Sovereigns of Europe, and even those of the Sultan of Turkey and Emperor of Brazil (1831–1891),[1] but also the unanimous suffrage of all benevolent persons in all civilized countries.

" In the whole European and American Continents—both of them liable to the chances of war—committees and societies for the relief of wounded soldiers have been formed, and are in activity, and it may be said, without exaggeration, that the service rendered by this institution during the late war surpassed all expectation. Official reports from this society, as well as from military authorities published more than once, have sufficiently shown it. At present, sir, I am engaged in another work, for which I hope you will not feel less interest than for that to which I have just referred, the more so as it concerns Palestine, the country made over by God to the glorious people of which you have the honour of being a member.

" You will find enclosed two copies of a notice which a committee formed in Paris for the Colonisation of Palestine—a committee of which I am a member, and which Her Majesty the Empress of the French[2] has deigned to honour with her patronage—have just published. The notice will explain to you the object and tendency of our foundation. The labours of your whole life, and the great merits acquired by you in serving the cause, rights, and interests of your

[1] Dom Pedro de Alcantara (1825–1891).
[2] The Empress Eugénie, *b.* 1826.

co-religionists, inspire me with the lively desire to obtain your valuable advice on the work on which we are engaged. I hope that if you find our publication conformable to your ideas, you will have the goodness to cause a translation thereof inserted in the estimable journal which you edit, the *Jewish Chronicle.*

"I also hope that you will likewise acquaint me with the names and addresses of persons in England, whom you may believe inclined to sympathise with the moral and economical re-constitution of the ancient patrimony of the Hebrews; for our work, supported by the greatest and most aristocratic names among Christians, sympathises not the less, nay, before all, with the Israelites, whose rights to Palestine are superior to all others.

"I do not doubt but that the international sentiments which animate you will call forth in old England, and among the readers of the *Jewish Chronicle,* a sympathetic echo.

"Receive the assurance of my high consideration.

"(*Signed*) HENRI DUNANT,

"Founder and promoter of the international undertaking in behalf of the wounded soldier, on land and at sea.

"Paris, 24, Rue de la Paix, *Dec.* 3, 1867."

Evidently Dunant expected more from England and English Jews than from any other country in the world. The liberties and rights of citizenship of the Jews have been more respected, and their social and political standing made more secure in this country than in any other. Here, at all events, the days of Jewish persecution have long since passed away.

In France, where a favourable atmosphere for Jewish national aspirations had scarcely been created, *M.* Dunant's scheme does not appear to have made much headway in a practical direction; but there is no doubt that his efforts were watched with sympathetic interest. We quote again *M.* L. Lévy-Bing, who advocated the Zionist idea in several articles from 1864 onwards.[1] In French fiction *M.* Alexandre Dumas (*fils*) (1824–1895) had made one of the heroes of his play *La Femme de Claude* a Zionist character (Appendix lxx).

[1] In one of his last letters *M.* L. Lévy-Bing wrote: "Quant aux destinées du peuple Juif, la restauration de ce peuple est l'une des conditions essentielles du système divin. Il n'est pas un de nos écrivains sacres, depuis Moïse jusqu'à Malachi, qui ne parle du retour infaillible."

Many more such quotations could be traced, but we mention this only as an example. Further, there was, at all events, the idea of Jewish brotherhood in the creation of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle": as we pointed out above, the activities of the "Alliance" were directed chiefly to the East, where it found a vast sphere of labour. All this was consciously or unconsciously Zionist work.

CHAPTER XXXVII

CHRISTIAN PROPAGANDA IN ENGLAND

A new appeal—Earl of Shaftesbury in 1876—Edward Cazalet—Laurence Oliphant—Zionism in English fiction—George Eliot—"Daniel Deronda"—The Jewish nationalism of Mordecai Cohen—A quotation from Dr. Joseph Jacobs.

In Palestine the Jews continued to cherish the hope of colonization, though they had a hard struggle for existence. In a new appeal addressed to the Jews in England, *Rabbi* Sneersohn describes the situation in Palestine, and gives a clear idea of the efforts previously made in the direction of colonization. This appeal is very instructive as to the history of the colonization efforts in the earlier stages (Appendix lxxi).

At the same time, while the Jewish organizations grappled with the problem from the standpoint of charity, the great Zionist idea was again put forth by English Christians. In the first place, Lord Shaftesbury wrote in 1876 a most remarkable Zionist article, from which we quote a few sentences :—

"Is there no other destiny for Palestine but to remain desolate or to become the appendage of an ambitious foreign power? Syria and Palestine will ere long become most important. On the Euphrates and along the coast old cities will revive and new ones will be built: the old time will come back on a scale of greater vastness and grandeur: and bridging the districts the stream will run in the track of the caravans. Syria then will be a place of trade pre-eminence. And who are pre-eminently the traders of the world? Will there, when the coming change has taken place, be any more congenial field for the energies of the Jew? The country wants capital and population. The Jews can give it both. And has not England a special interest in promoting such a restoration? It would be a blow to England if either of her rivals should get hold of Syria. Her Empire reaching from Canada in the West to Calcutta and Australia in the South-East would be cut in two. England does not covet any such territories, but she must see that they do not get in the hands of rival Powers.

She must preserve Syria to herself. Does not policy then—if that were all—exhort England to foster the nationality of the Jews and aid them, as opportunity may offer, to return as a leavening power to their old country? England is the great trading and maritime power of the world. To England, then, naturally belongs the rôle of favouring the settlement of the Jews in Palestine. The nationality of the Jews exists: the spirit is there and has been there for 3000 years, but the external form, the crowning bond of union is still wanting. A nation must have a country. The old land, the old people. This is not an artificial experiment: it is nature, it is history." Needless to say, the political idea, as expounded in these sentences, could not have been put more convincingly by the staunchest Jewish political Zionist.

A few years later, two distinguished Englishmen started propaganda work on the same lines as Lord Shaftesbury: Edward Cazalet and Laurence Oliphant.

Edward Cazalet (1827–1883) was a man of great political ability. He was a staunch friend of the Jews, and he knew the East. His idea was that "wrong should be righted and freedom allowed a place in the world." He had a very high conception of Great Britain's duty in the East. His appreciation of a centre for "Jewish culture" is especially remarkable. Hardly a single point seems to have escaped him; he covers the ground thoroughly, from criticism of the old English policy to discussion of the new Eastern problem, taking the question of the Palestinian population, the jealousies of the sects, and a hundred other things by the way. There are naturally a few debatable points in this comprehensive treatise (Appendix lxxii). But as a whole it shows remarkable insight.

A place of honour in the realm of England's Zionism belongs to another remarkable personality: Laurence Oliphant (1829–1888). He was a friend of Lord Shaftesbury, and had been a high official in connection with Indian affairs, secretary to the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine (1811–1863), traveller, journalist, diplomatist and member of Parliament. He took up a scheme for colonizing Palestine with Jews, and early in 1879 went to the East to examine the country and endeavour to obtain a concession from the Turkish Government. In consequence of jealousies this attempt to influence the Turkish Government failed, and the scheme broke down, as did many others that were launched

about this time. He again took up the Palestine colonization scheme in 1882. He travelled to Constantinople in the summer of that year, and settled for a time in Therapia. At the end of the year he moved with his wife to *Haifa*.

He reports thus on his efforts in his book[1] :—

". . . Prior to starting, however, it seemed to be my first duty to lay the matter before the Government, with the view of obtaining their support and approval, and I therefore communicated to the then Prime Minister and Lord Salisbury the outline of the project. From both Ministers I received the kindest encouragements and assurances of support, as far as it was possible to afford it without officially committing the Government. And I was instructed to obtain, if possible, the unofficial approval of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs of the scheme. I therefore proceeded to Paris, and submitted it to *M*. W. H. Waddington (1826–1894), who was sufficiently favourably impressed with the idea to give me a circular letter to the French Ambassador at Constantinople and other diplomatic and consular representatives in Turkey. I was also similarly provided with letters of recommendation from our own Foreign Office.

" I would venture to express most respectfully my gratitude and thanks to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales[2] and to their Royal Highnesses the Prince (1831–1917) and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein for the warm interest and cordial sympathy with which they regarded the project and which encouraged me to prosecute it."

" It appeared to me that this object might be attained by means of a Colonisation Company, and that one of those rich and unoccupied districts which abound in Turkey might be obtained and developed through the agency of a commercial enterprise which should be formed under the auspices of His Majesty, and have its seat at Constantinople, though, as in the case of the Ottoman Bank and other Turkish companies, the capital would be found abroad, provided the charter contained guarantees adequate for the protection of the interests of the shareholders."[3] " It is

[1] The Land of Gilead with Excursions in the Lebanon. By Laurence Oliphant. . . . Edinburgh and London, MDCCCLXXX. Introduction, *pp.* xxxv–xxxvi.

[2] Afterwards King Edward VII (1841–1910).

[3] *Ibid.*, *p.* xv : " In his endeavours to obtain a concession for an autonomous Jewish state in Palestine from the Porte, Oliphant had the support of both Lord Salisbury and Lord Beaconsfield."

Rt. Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

London Stereoscopic Co.

EARL *of* SHAFTESBURY

GEORGE ELIOT

London Stereoscopic Co.

JAMES FINN

LAURENCE OLIPHANT

somewhat unfortunate that so important a political and strategical question as the future of Palestine should be inseparably connected in the public mind with a favourite religious theory. The restoration of the Jews to Palestine has been so often urged upon sentimental or Scriptural grounds, that now, when it may possibly become the practical and common-sense solution of a great future difficulty, a prejudice against it exists in the minds of those who have always regarded it as a theological chimera, which it is not easy to remove. The mere accident of a measure involving most important international consequences, having been advocated by a large section of the Christian community, from a purely Biblical point of view, does not necessarily impair its political value. On the contrary, its political value once estimated on its own merits and admitted, the fact that it will carry with it the sympathy and support of those who are not usually particularly well versed in foreign politics is decidedly in its favour. I would avail myself of this opportunity of observing that, so far as my own efforts are concerned, they are based upon considerations which have no connection whatever with any popular religious theory upon the subject."[1]

These last remarks are particularly worthy of the attention of those who, ignorant of the actual facts, are inclined to represent Zionism merely as a theological or sectarian idea. There is undoubedly a strong religious feeling underlying it, but the idea has been dealt with, defended and propagated in England from all points of view.

Laurence Oliphant continued to take an interest in the question until his death on December 23rd, 1888.

Among English writers who have understood the idea in all its depth and breadth, the place of honour belongs unquestionably to George Eliot (1819–1880).[2] She chose the Zionist idea for the theme of an imaginative creation, wherein she displayed unequalled depth of comprehension and breadth of conception. In "Daniel Deronda"[3] (1874–

[1] *Ibid.*, *pp.* xxxii–xxxiii.

[2] Mary Ann (Marian) Cross, *née* Evans.

(3) דָּנִיֵּאל הרוֹנְדָה ספור כתוב אנגלית ביד "גארג" עליוט
ונעתק לעברית על ידי דוד פרישמאנן . . .
ווארשא . . . שנת תרנ"ג לפ"ק . . . 1893.
(8°. 1 *l.*+774 *pp.*, in printed wrapper as issued. ([B. M.])
דזארזש עליאט דניאל דיראנדה ראמאן . . . ווארשא, תרע"ד
(8°. 308 *pp.* [B. M.])

1876) the Jew demands the rights pertaining to his race, and claims admittance into the community of nations as one of its legitimate members. He demands real emancipation, real equality. The blood of the prophets surges in his veins, the voice of God calls to him, and he becomes conscious, and emphatically declares that he has a distinct nationality; the days of levelling are over. Where calumny and obtuseness see nothing but *disjecta membra*, the eye of the English poetess perceives a complete national entity destined to begin life afresh, full of strength and vigour.

It is a memorable book, written by an author devoted to humanity and to the deeper realities of English national life. Its atmosphere is far removed from the conception of a materialistic world. Yet it is practical in a higher sense. It preaches a great idea. The Jewish nationality is represented as it actually is: not as an artificial combination, but as an ethnological group which possessed the glory of independence in the happier past and has been kept alive to hope for the future by a deep historical consciousness and a lofty devotion to humanity. This is a Zionist message indeed.

The wonderful completeness and accuracy with which George Eliot represented the Jewish character is particularly remarkable. The sketches of Klesmer and Alcharisi are triumphs of artistic skill. Ezra Cohen is the embodiment of the successful commercial faculty. The influence of the mother and the home on the inner life of the Jew, as described in the novel, must impress every reader. Pusti, the "Jew who is no Jew," typifies excellently the despised class of which he is a specimen. The more temperate Gideon represents a large section of the Jews who are neither ashamed of their race nor proud of it, but are prepared to let the racial and religious distinctions for which the Jewish nation has fought so valiantly perish unexpressed. But the great character of the book is Mordecai Cohen.

Mordecai Cohen is a lineal descendant of three great spiritual houses which, in past ages, have waged a moral warfare in defiance of the whole world against terrible odds; and the fact that those noble souls are descendants of the Jewish race affords ample proof of the physical, intellectual, and moral stamina which Judaism has always preserved. Mordecai is the leader of a party which refuses to believe that Israel's part in history is accomplished, and maintains that

Israel's future policy should be to join the nations as soon as possible.

George Eliot explains the traditions, habits and characteristics of the Jews with the affectionate accuracy of a delighted scientific observer and with the fine enthusiasm of a humanitarian spirit. The abundance of detail and the sensitiveness of the fine shades are marvellous. With subtlety, restraint and delicacy, without the excitements of sensationalism, she succeeds in throwing into relief the real Jewish problem. Something is passing away that once possessed a life and value of its own. The labour of thousands of years is lost; a flame has burnt in vain, a fire is extinguished without having fostered life. There is a terrible sadness in it. The human soul turns to what has been the highest aspiration of its life. Mordecai has a profound contempt for the arts of emulation; he wants creative originality. His idea is to be wholly what he is partly, his own self, his own self restored. He wants to live entirely at home, to live by the work of his hands, to bring to maturity the ideas which he feels developing in his mind. Where would this be possible? Only within an organization of his own people in their ancient home, in the mother-country of his own kin and ancestry, in a commonwealth which should focus and embody the whole of Jewish life as it should be, not ossified, dried, cut up, preserved in the form of saintly relics and adapted by interpretations and compromises to different zones, cultures and customs. He has, it is true, a great reverence for these saintly relics, and—*faute de mieux*—in the Diaspora he feels it a sacred duty to preserve them. But he feels that this is not the ideal, he sees that it is going to vanish, and therefore he longs for his home, for a cultural entity working independently in harmony with similar entities. This and only this would bring the Jews nearer to the world, nearer to humanity. Is this "nationalism"? In the absence of a happier name, let us accept this term. "What's in a name?" In reality, it is human liberty; it involves no secession from the stream of common humanity. There is no aspiration more in harmony with the spirit and deeper tendencies of our age, more in accordance with liberty and justice, for nations as well as for individuals. This is Zionist "nationalism." No writer defends it more enthusiastically than George Eliot.[1]

[1] The late Dr. Joseph Jacobs (1854–1916) was more Zionist than the Zionists themselves when he wrote: "Unless some such project as

In the Valhalla of the Jewish people, among the tokens of homage offered by the genius of centuries, "Daniel Deronda" will take its place as the proudest testimony to English recognition of the Zionist idea.

Mordecai has in view be carried out in the next three generations, it is much to be feared that both the national life of the Jews and the religious life of Judaism will perish utterly from the face of the earth" (*Macmillan's Magazine*, June, 1877, *p.* 110). This opinion is rather too gloomy, and he took a different view in later years. But his first opinion is significant.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE RUSSIAN POGROMS OF 1881 AND 1882

The new period of Jewish martyrdom—Public opinion in England—Mass meetings, questions in Parliament and collections—Protests from France, Holland, America and other countries—An instructive lesson—Emigration of Jewish masses—The problem—The "Lovers of *Zion*."

THE year 1882 was a turning-point in the history of the colonization of Palestine by the Jews.

The anti-Jewish riots and massacres which broke out in Russia in the spring of 1881 had attracted attention to the position of the Jewish people, but not to a degree commensurate with the importance of the subject. Just when it seemed probable that the martyrs of 1881 would leave no record behind them, new massacres occurred in 1882 and again drew attention to the subject. All the English newspapers dealt sympathetically with the position of the persecuted Jews, and gave full accounts of the atrocities. These articles caused an outburst of pity and sympathy throughout England. Several mass meetings were held and funds were started. Questions were addressed in both Houses to the Secretary and Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. This spontaneous outcry in England soon spread to all the countries of Europe. In Paris the veteran poet Victor Hugo (1802–1885) headed the appeal for justice and pity. In Holland the University of Utrecht rivalled that of Oxford in its protests. Across the Atlantic the Government of the United States went further than any other Government, and entered a powerful protest in the President's Message to Congress. All these movements took their origin from the first emphatic outburst of pity in England.

The racial and national instincts which in times of prosperity often lie dormant in the hearts of the Jews were thoroughly aroused and stimulated by the cruel persecutions to which their brethren were subjected. It was a terribly instructive lesson for those Jews who believed in the progress of humanity as a solution of the problem of the Jewish tragedy. They had a sudden and rude awakening.

'More and more the conviction gained ground among the people that the helplessness of the Jew in his trials, his utter inability to stem the tide of abuse and oppression, was chiefly due to the fact that he had no land which he could call a Jewish land *par excellence*.' The best treatment that he received in free countries was only toleration. He was always supposed to have the right of existence and of equality with those among whom he lived, but in no case could he enforce it by stronger measures than an appeal to the goodwill and kindness of those who could either give or withhold it. Appeals to the sacred principles of humanity and justice, beautiful and inspiring as they were, were practically futile. Renewed persecution brought these facts once again to the cognizance of the Jews.

Besides, there was the visible fact of an enormous number of homeless Jews who had no place of refuge anywhere in the wide world. For the great exodus had begun. The necessity of providing the homeless wanderers with shelter was most pressing, the more so as it had to be done without much delay. The persecutions grew in intensity, and emigration increased by leaps and bounds. The sufferers attempted to settle in almost every part of the world. Every country objected to the influx of so many immigrants, and more than one country prohibited their entry altogether.

While most of the poor wanderers themselves struggled manfully to brave the tide of poverty and of exile, the bulk of their brethren who dwelt under more favourable conditions in other countries made it their business to devise plans for the succour of the exiled. Fortunately for the immigrants, and to the credit of human nature, there were noble-minded men in America who saw that there was work to be done, and undertook it without hesitation, sparing neither expense nor trouble in devising measures for the alleviation of the misery of the immigrants and for safeguarding them against the temptations and evils of a new country.

The immediate help which America gave was very important, but the question of the future still remained unsolved. The problem created by Jewish emigration presents many difficulties. The tie that binds the heart of the emigrant to the soil of his birth is gradually weakened. The attachment of the parents to the traditions of their native land slowly weakens. The children find new ties. The new surroundings claim their attention. The distant land of their infancy appears to them only dimly on the horizon. A few years

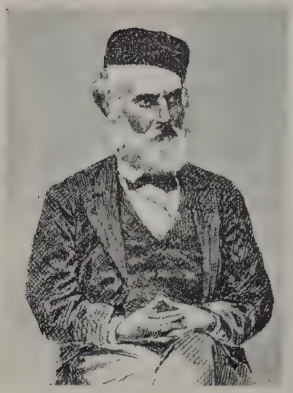
pass, and the old *Ghetto* has become to them a mythical vision. Nothing, indeed, is so remarkable as the rapid absorption of English, Irish, Scotch, German, and even French immigrants, not to speak of some half a dozen smaller nationalities, by the ordinary American type. One would have expected to see citizens of the States learning to regard this continual fusion as a natural political condition, to reckon with it, to encourage it, to remove all difficulties out of the way of those who devoted themselves to the task of bringing new immigrants into the "land of unlimited possibilities," and of reconciling and harmonizing the numerous heterogeneous elements. But there are men who do their best to hinder this great work, and thanks to their efforts, legislation is engaged in placing various restrictions upon free immigration. Jewish immigrants in particular are still looked upon in some quarters as intruders. They are received with frigid looks not only by non-Jews, but also by some of their own brethren, who have had the good fortune to settle in the country earlier, and have learnt to feel quite at home. And it is not only the economic question which makes Jewish immigration *en masse* difficult: it is still more the question of the national culture, religion and traditions of the Jews, which are endangered by assimilation. The question of bread, important as it is, is not the whole of the Jewish problem. The old Roman "panem et circenses" could never become a Jewish principle. The Jewish principle is expressed in the words:—

". . . man doth not live by bread only, but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live" (Deuteronomy viii. 3).

Now members of other nations can find a home in America while their nation remains and develops its own life in the mother-country. But where is the mother-country of the Jews, of Judaism?

Various schemes of Jewish colonisation were planned and partly carried out in America at the time of which we speak. Some of them met with some success, others proved utter failures. On the other hand, great masses of Jews were inspired by the conviction that good results could be expected only in Palestine from an effort to turn the exiled Jews into agriculturists. That view was strongly opposed by others who, living themselves in affluence, thought that they would always be secure

against persecution in the countries in which they dwelt. They consequently thought that the Jewish problem could be solved only by a real union between the Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours, by a process in which the Jews would cast off all that separated them from non-Jews. They were blind to the fact, established by the whole of Jewish history, that the more the Jew denies his distinctiveness the more he is attacked and accused of it; and that whilst small groups of Jews may sometimes succeed in getting rid of their dissimilarity, the Jewish masses neither can nor will. They thought that Palestine should be the last place for the Jew of to-day to think of, being under the mistaken impression that the Holy Land was unsuitable for colonisation and agriculture on a large scale. They argued from a technical standpoint which had a bad foundation. They had no knowledge of the facts, and Palestine was for them really a *terra incognita*. But the masses turned with a unanimous impulse to Palestine. Everywhere societies of "Lovers of *Zion*" were founded for the realization of the cherished hope of making Jews once more owners of land in Palestine. Sometimes the idea was taken up with more enthusiasm than practical sense, and many hurried to Palestine in the belief that, once in the country, they would find it easy to make a living. Not unnaturally there was much disillusionment, and many a bitter lesson was learnt by sad experience. So it became incumbent upon the existing societies to keep the enthusiasm of their adherents within the bounds of sanity and practicability. The societies had to grope their way carefully. They had to find out suitable localities for establishing colonies, to direct the energies of those most fit to undertake colonising work into the proper channels, and to check the efforts of those who did not show the capacity for success and would only have proved a hindrance to the capable and the efficient.



DAVID GORDON

SAMUEL J. FUENN

Dr. LEON PINSKER

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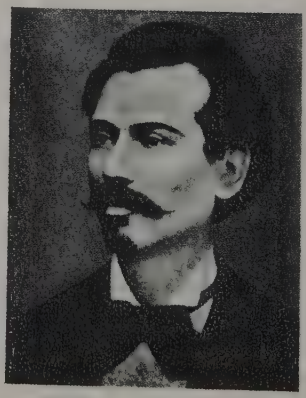


PEREZ SMOLENSKIN

CHAPTER XXXIX

DR. LEO PINSKER

His life and experiences—His *Auto-emancipation*—The old idea of self-help in Jewish teaching—Individual and national self-help—The revival of an old doctrine—An analysis of *Auto-emancipation*—The results of Pinsker's idea.

Leo Pinsker (1821–1891) was the son of the well-known Jewish scholar Simchah Pinsker (1801–1864), the celebrated author of *Lekute Kadmonioth* (Wien, 1860), an important work on the history of the Karaites, and of other valuable Hebrew works. Pinsker was educated at Odessa, where he studied law at the local Richelieu Lyceum. Law, however, was not to his liking, and he went to Moscow, where he studied medicine and took the degree of M.D. He returned to Odessa and took up practice as a medical man. Shortly afterwards the Crimean War came to an end, and Odessa was full of soldiers suffering from typhoid fever. There was danger of an epidemic. Pinsker gave up his practice and devoted himself entirely to the stricken soldiers. This self-sacrifice was not overlooked by the higher officials, who brought it to the notice of the *Czar* Alexander II. (1818–1881), and Pinsker received a generous reward. Pinsker, besides being an authority on medical matters, was one of the editors of the Russian-Jewish paper *Zion*. Educated as he had been in the dark days of the reign of Nicholas I. (1796–1855), and witnessing the somewhat improved conditions brought about for the Jews by the accession of Alexander II., Pinsker believed for a time in emancipation and amalgamation; but after long years of observation and experience he came to take a different view. He was an eye-witness of the anti-Jewish riots in 1859, 1871, and 1881; and in the latter year, he issued a pamphlet in German, under the *nom de plume* "Ein Russischer Jude," in which he most forcibly expresses the conclusions he had arrived at. It was entitled "Auto-emancipation," of which an English version appeared in London some ten years later.[1]

[1] Self-Emancipation! The only Solution of the Jewish Question. Translated from the anonymous German original, by Albert A. L. Finkenstein. . . . London, E. W. Rabbinowicz, Printer and Publisher, 8 Little Alie St., E., 1891 (*8vo.* 51 *pp.* [I. S.])

"Dedicated to Lieutenant-Colonel A. Goldsmid as a token of esteem for his zealous championship of Palestine colonisation."

Self-emancipation was Pinsker's great idea. Not that the idea did not exist before he preached it: as a matter of fact it is as old as Judaism. But Pinsker started his career as a Jewish nationalist by giving renewed expression to this idea of self-help, and from that moment he kept it in the very forefront of his aspirations and activities. Electricity is a comparatively recent discovery; it is only within the last half-century that it has come to be fully understood and harnessed for man's purposes. But this mysterious power is not of recent birth; although unknown to man it was latent in the universe from the beginning. In the fullness of time inquiring minds discovered it and gave us our modern triumphs of power, of lighting and of communication. The analogy, though weak, may convey to us in a certain degree what happened in the case of the idea of self-help. It had permeated the Jewish nation from the beginning of the ages. The importance of free will and independent action had been a leading Jewish principle from time immemorial. But it needed the "Lovers of *Zion*" and the advent of a great interpreter to bring home the lesson to the Jewish people.

Self-help implies the duty of the nation to be on its guard and to use its own endeavours to secure its position. It implies the moral obligation of self-defence and of self-salvation by one's own efforts and sacrifices, without the assistance and protection of others. The principle comes to the surface over and over again in the Bible, where we catch glimpses of a doctrine that is to be fully worked out only in the development of a national movement. The author of the Book of *Joshua* strikes the keynote of *Israel's* duties when he says:—

"Be strong and of good courage; . . ." (Joshua i. 6).
"Only be strong and very courageous, . . ." (*Ibid.* 7).

Phrases similar to those in Deuteronomy xxxi. 6, 7, 23. *Joshua* obeyed the precept, and abundantly realized the promise with which it was accompanied. The historical sections of the Bible are filled with this idea — every deliverance is attributed directly to the moral integrity of the Jew and to the help of his God. It is remarkable how large a place exhortations to courage hold in the Bible; we cannot easily count the "fear nots" of the Scriptures. And these are not merely soothing words to calm, they are quickening words, calling to conflict and to victory. This is

the lesson which the individual as well as the nation had to learn. In the light of it may be read the whole history of Israel. The course of ages reveals a thousand ways in which Israel vainly tries to remedy the disaster into which it has brought itself by relying on the aid of others. Now it was Egypt (Isaiah xxx. 2, xxxvi. 6), now Assyria (2 Kings xvi. 7), now their own kings and nobles. When threatened by the Syrians, they made treaties with the Assyrians; when threatened by the Assyrians, they tried to strengthen themselves by the support of Egypt. The proved uselessness of reliance on others brought the nation at last to recognize the virtue of entire and obedient trust in God.

"Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, . . ." (Prov. iii. 5), was a protest against self-sufficiency, self-conceit and vanity, and also against relying on others. Entire reliance upon God, implied in the words "with all thy heart," is here appropriately placed at the head of a series of admonitions relating especially to God and man's relations with him, inasmuch as such confidence or trust is a fundamental principle of all religion. The admonition does not mean that men are not to use their own understanding, i.e. to make plans and to employ legitimate means in the pursuit of their ends; but that, when they use it, they are to depend upon God and his directing and overruling providence. For there is a true and a false self-reliance: that which forgets God is ignorant and impious; that which recognizes Him as the source of all true intelligence is genuine and blessed.

"If thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself;
And if thou scornest, thou alone shalt bear it" (*Ibid.* ix. 12).

This was a proclamation of the principle of personality, the great truth that each individual, in his single personality, has been endowed with full and equal rights of self-determination and self-control. The old civilizations annihilated the rights of the many in the privileges of the few, and put the manhood of the masses under the heel of power. The very idea of common rights had scarcely dawned upon the minds of men. The grandeur of human personality, as complete and inviolably sacred in every individual, was not discerned. The idea, now so familiar to every civilized human being, that every man is entitled to all the rights of manhood on his own responsibility was originally Jewish. The meaning of the verse quoted above is clear: our wisdom or folly is our own

affair, both in origin and consequences. We must reap as we sow, must bear the brunt of the conflict we have provoked.

This principle concerns nations as well as individuals. The book of Proverbs contains many maxims with regard to nations :—

" Righteousness exalteth a nation ; . . ." (*Ibid.* xiv. 34).

National righteousness consists in the possession of a reverent spirit and the practice of justice, purity, and mercy. In this is a nation's strength and superiority, for it will surely lead to physical well-being, to material prosperity, to moral and spiritual advancement, and to estimation and influence among surrounding nations. The Pagan view of an eternal, inevitable force coercing and controlling all human action was in conflict with the Jewish conception of a free human and national will : man is not a helpless creature, borne along by destiny. Man's moral freedom and responsibility is at the very root of all Jewish teaching, and is most strongly emphasized with regard to the nation :—

" Is Israel a servant ?
Is he a home-born slave ? . . ."
(Jeremiah, *chap.* ii. *v.* 14.)

A slave can be emancipated only by others, a free man emancipates himself. Hope comes to those who rouse themselves from dejection, and " power to him that power exerts." History proves the practical folly, as well as the ingratitude and rebelliousness, of " Israel forsaking God." When trust is placed in other powers they prove like Egypt —inactive, do-nothing (Isaiah xxxi. 7). The " captive daughter of Zion," which is a poetical image for the Jewish nation, brought down to the dust by suffering and oppression, is commanded to rise and shake herself from the dust.

" Awake, awake,
Put on thy strength, O Zion ; . . ."
(Isaiah lii. 1).
Shake thyself from the dust ;
Arise, and sit down, O Jerusalem ;
Loose thyself from the bands of thy neck,
O captive daughter of Zion " (*Ibid.* 2).

In these words *Zion* was exhorted to do her part, to put on her own strength. What we term in modern language " self-emancipation," the Prophet, in his simpler

phraseology, calls "Loose thyself." When the bonds can be broken, break them; when the door can be opened, unbar it; when the way is clear, take it without hesitation and delay; and if this seems to be impossible, try and try again. God's providence requires of men, as a condition of his assisting them, their own efforts. When the Jews were delivered from Babylon, those only were delivered who braced themselves for a great effort, left all that they had, confronted peril (Ezra viii. 31), undertook the difficult and wearisome journey (*Ibid.* xliii.) from Chaldea to Palestine, and made all sorts of sacrifices. They saved the nation. A small beginning was facilitated to some extent by the favourable decree of Cyrus, but the most important and essential part was left for the people to do itself.

"Put not your trust in princes,
Nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help."
(Psalm cxlvi. 3.)

This psalm was evidently composed at a time of great national depression, when the community, sick of dependence on the favour of foreign princes, turned more and more to the thought of self-help coupled with a strong belief in the eternal righteousness and faithfulness of the "God of Jacob." It bears evident traces of belonging to the post-exilic period, and the subsequent verses:—

". . . The Lord looseth the prisoners;" (*Ibid.* 7)
". . . The Lord raiseth up them that are bowed down; . . ." (*Ibid.* 8)

are an appropriate expression of the feelings which would naturally be called forth at a time immediately subsequent to the return from Captivity.

This idea was handed on as a legacy from the prophets and psalmists to the men of the Great Synod, and from the latter to the Jewish philosophers and teachers of the Middle Ages. No doubt it had vastly changed in form and in content; but in essence it was the same. Political independence was lost in course of time; and the place of the political state was taken by national unity and an unshaken belief in the Restoration of the people to its old land. In substance it was a combination of consciousness of the past and hope for the future that made Jewish life in the present worth living. The sluggard was still inert, the credulous man still trusted "in man in whom there is

no help," and had need of a live coal from the altar. But now it was not an angel that brought to man the purifying agency. The sufferings of the nation had been exalted far above the coal of the altar. National martyrdom had assumed a more intense and vivid meaning. It was more insistently set over against the thoughtlessness of a materialistic life.

When we read the maxim of Hillel *the elder* (112 ? *b.c.e.*–8 ? *c.e.*) which Pinsker used as the motto of his pamphlet :

(1) הוא היה אומר אם אין אני לי מי לי וכשאני לעצמי מה אני
ואם לא עכשו אמתי : פרקי אבות א' יד'

We cannot help thinking that this aphorism, as well as the rule :—

(2) " . . . ובמקום שאין אנשים השתדל להיות איש : " ב'י'

refers not only to individual matters, but also to national duties. Several centuries later, Bahia *ben* Joseph Ibn Pakuda (*fl.* 1000–1050), who devoted a whole chapter of his *Duties of the Heart* to the exaltation of trust in God, wrote :—

"Trust in God should not prevent man from doing his utmost in the way of human effort and enterprise. Likewise it is folly to put too much trust in benefactors, however powerful."

The self-emancipation of the Jewish people is, accordingly, not simply *a* Jewish idea, it is *the* Jewish idea. This idea is not of the *Ghetto*, it is truly *Hebraic* ; it may be opposed to some superstitious notions, but it is religious in the highest sense. Belief in predestination tended to make many Asiatic nations lethargic and indolent. Fatalism killed their energy and stopped all their progress. Relying on others was essentially fatalism. This doctrine was Babylonian ; it was never Jewish.

"EthiopiaandEgypt were thy strength, and it was infinite;
Put and Lubim were thy helpers" (Nahum iii. 9).

This was the burden concerning Nineveh, but *Israel* trusted in God, *i.e.* in its Genius, in its own moral power, in its self-sacrifice and faithfulness to its ideals.

[1] He used to say, " If I am not for myself, who will be for me ?
And being for my own self, what am I ?
And if not now, when ? " (*Ethics of the Fathers, chap.* i. *v.* 14.)

[2] " . . . and in a place where there are no men, strive to be a man." (*Ibid.* ii. 6.)

"That walk to go down into Egypt,
And have not asked at My mouth;
To take refuge in the stronghold of Pharaoh,
And to take shelter in the shadow of Egypt!
(Isaiah xxx. 2).

"Therefore shall the stronghold of Pharaoh turn to your shame,
And the shelter in the shadow of Egypt to your confusion" (*Ibid.* 3).

"Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, . . ."
(*Ibid.* xxxi. 1).

". . . Both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is helped shall fall,
And they all shall perish together" (*Ibid.* 3).

In the period of the Second Temple, the Hellenists again made frantic efforts to be emancipated by the Greeks. The Jewish Law, which was the life and progress of the nation, was for them the stronghold of Jewish unity and the obstacle in their path. But the more they strove after equality with the Greeks, the more futile seemed their strivings. It was the loss of their faith in God and their nation that made them cast about for another power to deliver them. They preferred the attractions of Hellenic culture to *Hebrew* morality; Syrian power to the Divine Spirit; the material army of the Seleucides, whose forces they could count and whose weapons they could handle, to the unseen moral power of their nation. This was the sin of the Hellenists. When their success was at its height, they gave themselves with savage energy to the persecution of those of their brethren who remained faithful to their own nationality. With a zeal that far excelled that of the enemy, they hunted to death the innocent followers of the old prophets. But just when this persecuting fury was burning at its hottest, the *Maccabeans* came forward and exhorted the "captive daughter of *Zion*" to shake herself from the dust. Henceforth they became the blessed messengers of national self-help, and it was their chief joy to sing the glories of the Divine grace which enabled them to be more abundant in works than all others.

Was not *Rabbi* Akiba (50 ?–132 ?) *ben* Joseph the spiritual hero and martyr, a preacher of self-emancipation? Did not the same idea inspire Judah Halevi [Abu al-Hassan al-Lawi] (1085(6)–*post* 1140), Moses *ben* Nachman Gerondi [RaM-

BaN]: Nachmanides: [Bonastruc *da* Porta] (1194–1270 ?), Obadiah (Yareh) (*circa* 1475–1500 ?) *ben* Abraham Bertenoro, and that splendid host of scholars who endeavoured to re-establish the ordination in Palestine, and to encourage the Jewish settlement, in that country, amidst terrific troubles and dangers, as well as *Don* Joseph Nasi [João Miguez]—(*circa* 1510–1579), Duke of Naxos, who spared no effort to help his brethren to settle in the promised Land ?

This same idea lies at the root of Pinsker's conception. A clear-minded and quiet thinker, he was deeply impressed by the events of 1880–1881. The grave anxieties through which the Russian Jews passed, and the awakening of anti-Jewish feeling in Western Europe, particularly in Germany, led him to reconsider the conventional Emancipation doctrine, in which he, like all highly educated Russian and Polish Jews, had formerly believed. Being a medical man, he may have seen the tortures of the victims; as an old inhabitant of Odessa, he no doubt remembered the anti-Jewish riots of 1859 and 1871; and now the eighties, with all their horrors, began. He then enunciated "the message of political Zionism."[1] "Pinsker, like all subsequent political Zionists, arrived at the idea of Zionism not through the problem of Judaism—through the necessity of seeking for a new foundation for our national existence and unity, in place of the old foundation, which is crumbling away—but through the problem of Jewry—through a definite conviction that even emancipation and general progress will not improve the degraded and insecure position of the Jews among the nations, and that anti-Semitism will never cease so long as we have not a national home of our own." Pinsker discovered that the root causes of "our being hated and despised more than any other human beings . . . lie deep in human psychology."[2]

"We cannot know whether that great day will ever arrive when all mankind will live in brotherhood and concord, and national barriers will no longer exist; but even at the best, thousands of years must elapse before that Messianic age. Meanwhile nations live side by side in a state of *relative* peace, which is based chiefly on the fundamental equality between them. . . . But it is different with the people of *Israel*. This people is not counted among the

[1] Zionist Pamphlets. Second Series . . . *Pinsker and Political Zionism*, by Achad Ha'am (Translated by Leon Simon), London, 1916, *p.* 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, *p.* 8.

nations, because since it was exiled from its land it has lacked the essential attributes of nationality, by which one nation is distinguished from another. . . . True, we have not ceased even in the lands of our exile to be *spiritually* a distinct nation ; but this spiritual nationality, so far from giving us the status of a nation in the eyes of the other nations, is the very cause of their hatred for us as a people. Men are always terrified by a disembodied spirit, a soul wandering about with no physical covering ; and terror breeds hatred. This is a form of psychic disease which we are powerless to cure. In all ages men have feared all kinds of ghosts which their imaginations have seen ; and *Israel* appears to them as a ghost—but a ghost which they see with their very eyes, not merely in fancy. Thus the hatred of the nations for Jewish nationality is a psychic disease of the kind known as 'demonopathy'; and having been transmitted from generation to generation for some two thousand years, it has by now become so deep-rooted that it can no longer be eradicated."[1]

The great value of Pinsker's doctrine does not lie in the fact of its originality in literature. Original to him—he undoubtedly came to his conclusion by his own reflection—it was not a discovery in the usual sense of this word : views of this kind had been expressed before him. Neither does its great value lie in its possessing the indisputable character of a scientific axiom. It may be said that although the Jews are perhaps the most perfect example of a spiritual existence in dispersion, still they are not quite unique in that respect. Other disinherited nations have existed more or less spiritually for many centuries in a degraded state of national homelessness, "lacking the essential attributes of nationality," dispersed or dependent on other nations, and yet have not produced, even in a smaller degree, that fear which is evoked by a "disembodied spirit." It may also be urged that the Jews were hated and branded by all sorts of calumnies and malicious accusations [Apion (*fl.* 15–54 *c.e.*), Tacitus (55 ?–*post* 117 *c.e.*)], mainly on account of their distinctiveness, their isolation, their different views and customs, and the inveterate prejudices of others—even when they had a land of their own. And although they may, and probably will, meet with the sympathy of some nations, which are not entirely blinded by prejudice, and whose interests may not clash with theirs, if they succeed in estab-

[1] *Ibid.*, *pp.* 8–9.

lishing their own home, still the supposition that they will no longer be hated by others, plausible though it may be, cannot claim any scientific certainty. It must be remembered that, apart from "demonophobia," which is undoubtedly an important motive, hatred of the Jews is continually stimulated by a deep-rooted religious fanaticism, by economic competition and jealousy, by racial prejudice, and that it is rather a ***mixtum compositum*** of causes, conditions, passions, and interests too numerous to be destroyed by the removal of a few of them, and perhaps too various to be focussed in any single formula.

But that is not the main point. The psychology of anti-Semitism, as Pinsker formulated it, may be from a scientific point of view absolutely true, or it may be open to some criticism: the finest and most original achievement of Pinsker is rather that he was one of the first Russian Jews to treat the Jewish problem as a whole, and to treat it scientifically, while others deal only with fragments of it, and always in an apologetic spirit. The new synthesis, the new line of thought, foreshadowed by great minds in the past, but now fully disengaged and standing clearly revealed as the beacon-light of the future, was, to our mind, not his formulation of the causes of the problem, but his formulation of the programme—self-emancipation. Perez Smolenskin had voiced the demand of the Jewish conscience to maintain its historic tradition, and its condemnation of all that spirit of assimilation that betrays it with new formulas or deliberately denies it. Superior to Pinsker's in being independent of the way in which the Jewish people is treated by others—to Smolenskin the fact of anti-Semitism was not one of fundamental importance—his message, eloquent as it was, suffered from being expressed in many different books, mixed up with other subjects, and confined to *Hebrew* readers, and thus cannot be compared with Pinsker's concise and definite teaching. There were, however, many imperfections in that teaching. "Our great misfortune is that we do not form a nation—we are merely Jews. . . . And where shall we find this national consciousness?"[1] How different Smolenskin and others, who spoke from a secure tower of faith! "When he wrote his pamphlet Pinsker did not yet regard our historic land as the only possible home of refuge; on the contrary, he feared that our ingrained love for Palestine might give us a bias and induce us to choose that country without paying regard to its political, economic

[1] *Ibid.*, *p.* 19.

and other conditions, which perhaps might be unfavourable. For this reason he warns us emphatically not to be guided by sentiment in this matter, but to leave the question of territory to a commission of experts."[1] He evidently saw in Palestine no more than a fraction of Asiatic earth, peopled by a certain number of inhabitants, while Smolenskin, David Gordon, and many others looked on it as the sanctuary of the nation, the historic centre, whence came the Jewish message to men, and the Jewish initiative in the world. Pinsker, like many others after him, had not yet realized at that time that one's country is not merely a territory. Territory is only its basis ; country is the idea that rises on that basis, the thought of a common history that draws together all the sons of that territory. But in spite of all these imperfections, Pinsker's pamphlet necessarily led to faith in a national revival and to Palestine —not because of its arguments, but because it was a wonderful human document. Earnest, true, without a trace of affectation, Pinsker's appeal bore the stamp of great sincerity, and if there was in his pamphlet some of the spirit of the prophets,[2] this was essentially in his cry for self-help, in his warnings not to trust in others, in his appeal to national dignity and energy. To superficial minds, the idea of this modern scientist unconsciously re-echoing the warnings of the prophets not to trust in Egypt or in Assyria may seem exaggerated, but the apparently far-fetched comparison is absolutely sane, for it is based on the sanest of all conceptions—the unity of the Jewish national idea throughout hundreds of generations.

" He came to take part in the work of the *Chovevé Zion*. . . . He understood perfectly well that their work was very far removed from the great project of which he dreamt . . . but when he saw a small group of men, with insignificant means, putting forth every possible effort to carry out a national project, small and poor though it was in comparison with his own ideal, Pinsker could not help lending a hand to those who were engaged in this work, seeing in them the nucleus of an organization, and the small beginning of the national resolution."[3] He encouraged and supported the work of the *Chovevé Zion* (Lovers of *Zion*) as the first President of the Odessa Committee, and paved the way for modern Zionism. He died at Odessa, his native town, at the age of sixty-nine, on the 21st of December, 1891.

[1] *Ibid., p.* 21. [2] *Ibid., p.* 21. [3] *Ibid., p.* 24.

CHAPTER XL

THE COLONIZATION OF PALESTINE

Jewish immigration into England—A meeting for the establishment of Jewish colonies in Palestine—The foundation of the Society "*Kadima*"—The Opposition—The opinions of English authorities on Palestine—Col. Conder—General Sir Charles Warren—Lord Swaythling—Earl of Rosebery—A petition to Abdul Hamid, *Sultan* of Turkey.

THROUGH the persecutions of the Jews in different countries large numbers of fugitives had found their way to England. Many of these, ignorant of the language and customs of this country, had to endure great hardships. Although some of them succeeded in the struggle for existence under such unfavourable conditions, there were many others to whom England could not afford the prospect of gaining a livelihood.

Their difficulties were forcibly brought home to the Jews who lived in the East of London. They had been eye-witnesses themselves, if not of the persecutions, at least of some of their worst consequences. The first movement to remedy this unfortunate state of affairs began in 1885, when a meeting was held for the purpose of founding a society for the promotion of the Jewish National Idea, and the establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine. This meeting achieved no practical results at the time; but it gave expression to feelings which were bound ultimately to lead to practical and useful action. Two years later a society was formed in East London under the name of "*Kadima*." Meetings were held at which papers were regularly read on some Jewish national subject. But the members were much divided as to the best method of realizing their aims. While some wanted the society to be nothing but an educational institution for the refugees who had taken up their abode in England, others desired to extend the sphere of its activity, and to make colonization one of its main objects. The newly awakened national consciousness had not yet gained mastery over the inveterate national apathy, and was still groping in the dark to find a basis for practical operations.

The enthusiasm manifested among the Jewish masses,

important as it was, could not raise sufficient means, and was unable to influence the upper classes. The old questions arose again: Is Palestine suitable for colonization? What are the conditions of the soil and the climate? How many people could be accommodated there? By what means could a change in the conditions of Palestine be brought about?

It is strange how obstinately some Jewish opponents of the colonization of Palestine strained against believing in the future of Palestine. To the past they paid in icy discomfort the tribute of their remembrance, for this past imposes no duties upon those who are already quite detached from it in spirit. But the future! By denying the possibility of a future one beguiles an elastic conscience, which longs to evade the apparent conflict between duty to humanity and national instinct. But it avails little to pay no heed to truth because it is inconvenient, for where historical facts and direct experience point the same way, to deny them is but empty sophistry.

The opponents of Palestinian colonization could not deny that Palestine was once the "land of milk and honey," but to justify themselves they tried to make out that two thousand years of desolation and neglect had laid the Holy Land waste and transformed it for all time into an unproductive desert. No more fallacious idea ever obtained currency. True, Palestine is no longer the luxuriant garden it once was, for history has crushed it under an iron heel, and what traces were left of its former richness lacked care and protection, so that disintegration and sterility took possession of the Holy Land as though it were a land accursed. Nevertheless, there is not the slightest reason to despair of a new development of the country, if only the task of carrying out this new development be entrusted to those who are willing to devote themselves to it, head, heart and hand, with the passion of patriotism and the zeal that springs from the consciousness of a historic responsibility.

The appendices to this book contain many excerpts from the works of competent authorities, which afford reliable information as to what may be achieved by a systematic and devoted cultivation. One may infer from these quotations, which are not in any way coloured by a facile optimism, what indestructible germs of future prosperity remain, in spite of all "*injuriæ temporum.*" If only an indolent administration and a lazy and retrograde population are re-

placed by capable national elements, the promise will be turned into a rich fulfilment. Figures and facts show too that notwithstanding all the unkindness of history, not only has the soil of Palestine retained its capacity for development, but trade has maintained itself, all things considered, at a high level. The ports of *Jaffa* and *Haifa* teem with traffic, although little enough is being done in harbour construction ; and exports considerably exceed imports, which shows that, despite the neglect of centuries, the natural productiveness of the soil is still capable of adjustment to present-day conditions. No factory chimneys bear witness to active industry, no convenient means of communication favour trade ; a phlegmatic, sparse population, entirely untouched by modern civilization, takes indolently what nature proffers, without any thought of supplementing it by its own endeavours. But given capable agriculturists, engineers and technicians, trained and enterprising merchants, and ample capital, how quickly could stagnation be turned into living and creative vigorous prosperity. The idea of the colonization of Palestine is, moreover, connected with the remarkable colonizing impetus which has taken hold of the entire modern world. And, judged by outward characteristics, are the European migrations to foreign lands, their colonization and development, so very different from this feature of Jewish aspirations ? Exuberant energy finds no appropriate outlet in Europe, and seeks it far away, where it may be usefully employed for the furthering of civilization in the midst of backward countries and nations. Fruitful Jewish energy, which is being kept under in the Diaspora, will be gathered and transplanted to Palestine, that it may prove true to itself and to the whole of civilization, like Antæus brought back to contact with the earth.

Still, questions were naturally asked as to the condition of the soil of Palestine and the possibilities of expansion. It was also repeatedly asked, whether the Jews would be capable of hard pioneer work in the sphere of agriculture. These questions have been answered in a series of pamphets and articles by such authorities as Colonel Claude Reignier Conder, General Sir Charles Warren, and others. They have shown that Palestine is capable of supporting a nation such as the Jews. Men who for many years had made the scientific exploration of Palestine their sole aim, whose judgment in the matter must be universally admitted to be decisive, have given testimony to the fact

that the land " may be made one vast garden, not merely by rebuilding the great aqueducts, remains of which still exist, and by means of which the great cities were watered, but by means of the *Jordan* river itself." They also affirmed that " the time has at last arrived to restore the desolations of *Zion*, and to rebuild the wasted places of the land of *Israel*." Some of them referred to the Scriptures, but others dealt with the matter from a purely scientific point of view. They suggested the formation of a company similar to the old East India Company to administer Palestine (Appendix lxxiii).

In brief, all these English Christian authorities put forward in the most definite and clearest terms what we know as political Zionism.

These testimonies of English authorities concerning Palestine encouraged the " Lovers of *Zion* " in England to carry on their philanthropic work, and also to take certain political steps. A great and far-reaching step was taken by them in 1893, when a petition to Abdul Hamid, *Sultan* of Turkey (1876–1909), was presented by Mr. Samuel Montagu, M.P. (afterwards Lord Swaythling) (1832–1911), to the Earl of Rosebery, with a request to transmit it to Constantinople (Appendix lxxiv). The petition was signed by the officers of the Executive Committee and the secretaries of each Tent of the " Lovers of *Zion*." It had no effect, because negotiations with the Turkish Government are generally very tardy, and the circumstances of the time were not favourable. There were obstacles, difficulties, uncertain political influences, currents and counter-currents which could not be got rid of immediately. But at any rate the English " Lovers of *Zion* " endeavoured to do precisely what the Zionists did at a later period.

CHAPTER XLI

THE "LOVERS OF *ZION*" IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

The work in France—Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild and his activity in the colonization of Palestine—The effects in England—Colonel A. E. W. Goldsmid—Elim *d'*Avigdor.

To come back to France, it is significant that whilst England took the first place in the propaganda of the idea, its practical progress was due to French Jewry, or, to be more precise, to an individual French Jew. The work of the "Lovers of *Zion*" entered upon a new period when Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild of Paris started his great activity in the colonization of Palestine in 1895–1896.

Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild is one of the most honoured figures of Jewish contemporary history. Born to an exalted station in life and to a large fortune, he has devoted the best of his life and of his thought neither to pleasure nor to personal advancement, but to the furtherance of the material and moral well-being of the oppressed Jewish people. It is not too much to say that he has acquired a world-wide fame as a philanthropist, and that his name is indissolubly connected with all the greatest achievements of the Jews in Palestine. He is pre-eminently the friend of the persecuted and the outcast, without distinction of nationality or creed, and his generous sympathies and ceaseless efforts on behalf of his brethren entitle him to the foremost rank in the illustrious roll of Jewish leaders. His philanthropic enthusiasm can be traced to his profound Jewish national feeling.

Recent improvement in the condition of Jewish life in Palestine is due to many causes and to the efforts of many men, but to none more than to the noble work of Baron Edmond. He was not the originator of the idea of colonizing Palestine, but he carried it further than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, and he is responsible for developments beyond any that they conceived. His activity should serve as the grandest example of what can be accomplished when work is undertaken for the sake of a great ideal and carried out with staunch conviction. The creation of a

sound Jewish settlement in Palestine is his vocation and his life-work. Nor is it the least interesting feature in his character, or the least honourable incident of his career, that the idea took hold of him at a time when there was every reason for even a generous man to dissociate himself from such thankless work.

Baron Edmond began to take an interest in Palestine at a time when the doctrine of assimilation was still triumphantly making headway throughout the whole of West-European Jewry. Under the guidance of the preachers of disintegration, Judaism was supposed to emancipate itself from the antiquated traditions of Palestine and from a belief in its future renascence. All this was to be altered. Neither the past nor the future was to interfere with the present. All that Jewish leaders could do to mitigate the lot of their unfortunate co-religionists was—charity. It was in such a world as this that Baron Edmond found himself when he first became a public character and a public force. Breaking away from the assimilation doctrine, he co-operated most cordially with the "Lovers of *Zion*."

His activity found appreciation and emulation in England. Representatives of English Jewry, who were at the same time English patriots, supported the colonization of Palestine movement. One of the most prominent "Lovers of *Zion*," and an ardent supporter of the Jewish national idea, was Colonel Albert Edward Williamson Goldsmid, M.V.O. (1846–1904),[1] a scion of an old and distinguished Anglo-Jewish family. He made the Army his career, and in January, 1869, after serving two and a half years with the Fusiliers at Walmer, proceeded to India with his regiment. He was appointed Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General at headquarters in 1889, and held this position till 1892. In 1892 he accepted the responsible task of organizing the Jewish agricultural colonies in the Argentine, and, having

[1] מיכאל בן אהרן בן אלי בן צבי הלוי, son of Henry Edward Goldsmid (1812–1855), M.E.I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government, Bombay, who in 1845 married Jessie Sarah Goldsmid. Her paternal grandfather, Benjamin (Baruch) (1755–1808) *ben* Aaron (*ob.* 1782) Goldsmid was one of the pillars of Anglo-Jewry, and a noted philanthropist in the early days of the nineteenth century. Her father-in-law, Edward Moses (*ob.* 1853), on his marriage in 1804 to Rose (*ob.* 1851), a daughter of Elias Joachim, discarded his own, for the maiden surname of his mother-in-law Esther (*ob.* 1811), a sister of Benjamin Goldsmid. Maria [Mrs. Nathan Levien], another daughter of Elias Joachim, was the great-grandmother of Col. A. E. W. Goldsmid's widow, one of whose daughters is Gladys Helen Rachel, the Baroness Swaythling of Swaythling in the county of Hampshire.

obtained a year's leave of absence, he proceeded to South America as Director-General. During his administration there enormous tracts of land were surveyed and parcelled out. About seven hundred families were settled in four great colonies, the majority of whom, being quite ignorant of agriculture, had to be instructed in its first principles. The Colonies were organized on a system whereby, as the colonists gained sufficient experience, the administration could be so materially reduced as to render the Colonies virtually self-governing. On returning from the Argentine, Colonel Goldsmid was unanimously elected chief of the "Lovers of *Zion*" Association of Great Britain and Ireland.

Another active leader was Elim Henry *d'*Avigdor (1841–1895).[1] · By profession a civil engineer, he supervised the construction of railways in Syria and Transylvania, and of waterworks at Vienna. He was the author of several works in connection with his profession, and had literary leanings in other directions. Under the pseudonym "Wanderer," he published many hunting stories of merit, for which he was well qualified, being himself an intrepid rider to hounds. At one time he was associated with *Vanity Fair;* and afterwards owned the *Examiner*, and subsequently brought out the *Yachting Gazette.*

He was like Colonel Goldsmid, one of the first English Jews to join the new movement for establishing agricultural colonies of Jews in the Holy Land. Such an idea was unwelcome to the prosperous and assimilated Jews, for the idea of assimilation had by now made some progress even in English Jewry. The impression left on the minds of many who heard of the

[1] אדם בן שלמה בן יצחק שמואל, eldest son of Salomon Henri *d'*Avigdor (*ob.* 1870) by his wife Rachel (1816–1896), third daughter of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Bart., Barão *de* Goldsmid *da* Palmeira, of Portugal (1778–1859) [son of Asher (1751–1822), the elder brother of Benjamin Goldsmid] by his wife Isabel (1788–1860), a daughter of his uncle, Abraham Goldsmid (1756–1810). *d'*Avigdor was a personal friend of Napoleon III (1808–1873), who conferred upon him the titles of Comte d'Avigdor, and subsequently that of Duc d'Acqua-Viva. His father, Isaac Samuel Avigdor (1773–1850), was secretary of the "Grand *Sanhédrin*" (1807) convened by Napoleon I (1769–1821), and represented the department of the "Maritime Alps" in that assembly. He was the author of "Discours Prononcé A L'Assemblée Des Israélites De L'Empire Français Et Du Royaume D'Italie"; Par J. S. Avigdor (De Nice), Secrétaire de L'Assemblée, Membre du comité des Neufs et du Grand *Sanhédrin*. Paris, De L'Imprimerie De Levrault Rue Mézières, 1807 (8°. 1 *l.*+16 *pp.* [B. M.])

It may be noted here, that "A Jewish State," issued in 1896, was the English translation by Sylvie, the third daughter of Elim H. *d'*Avigdor, of Theodor Herzl's "*Judenstaat.*"

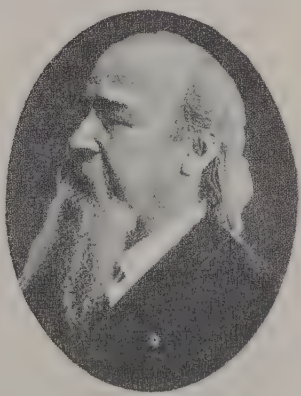
ELIM H. *d'*AVIGDOR

Col. ALBERT E. W. GOLDSMID

JEAN HENRI DUNANT

Father IGNATIUS

Dr. E. W. TSCHLENOW



Dr. MAX MANDELSTAMM

idea was that there was a large number of Jews desirous of forestalling the promised advent of the *Messiah.* They had grown accustomed to the notion that Palestine was a thorny desert, infested by hoards of marauding Bedouins, and only fit for beggars and pious pilgrims. They were ignorant of all that had been written to the contrary by a number of authors, particularly by the indefatigable workers of the Palestine Exploration Fund. They had learned to discredit the sacred promises as to the future of the country. They felt themselves secure in the positions they had gained for themselves, and ridiculed the thought of renouncing them at the bidding of a few enthusiasts and dreamers, as if anyone had ever thought of placing such an alternative before them. They considered this idea *mauvais ton,* and thought that it might endanger their newly acquired social position, such as it was. These motives, and others like them, induced most of the prominent Jews to turn away from a movement with which they could have no sympathy.

Not so *d'*Avigdor. His intuitive mind showed him the futility of such fears and the possibility of attaining the grand results hoped for and partly achieved already by kindred societies, if only the efforts made were kept within the bounds of prudence. He took up the cause of the Jewish colonization of Palestine with ardour and energy. When he began work the "Lovers of *Zion*" Association did not yet exist, but numerous meetings had already been held in support of the movement for colonizing Palestine by Jews, though no steps had until then been taken to give the agitation a practical turn. It was necessary first of all that a proper organization should be established, not only for the purpose of utilizing the energies of the more practical promoters of the scheme, but also to prevent rash measures, which would have had the effect of destroying the undertaking at its very birth.

With both these objects clearly in view, *d'*Avigdor urged the speedy completion of a constitution calculated to give the movement shape and substance, and to establish a system of work on defined and methodical lines. To this end he brought his organizing abilities into full play, and together with Colonel Goldsmid drafted a set of rules, which was made the basis of future procedure. The services rendered by him to the society were innumerable. He addressed public meetings in various parts of London, and travelled to the provinces for the purpose of rousing

general interest in the work. He went to Paris and carried on important negotiations for the acquisition of land in Palestine, a task for which he was eminently fitted by reason of his wide experience and great business ability. He secured 10,000 dunams of land in the Hauran on favourable terms. The departure of Colonel Goldsmid for the Argentine made his work more arduous. *d'*Avigdor was then elected chief of the Association, while at the same time, as Commander of the Western Tent, he attended to the working of that particular branch.

A prominent feature in his activity was his chairmanship of the Central Committee of the "Lovers of *Zion*" in Paris. The idea had seized hold of some branches of the Association on the Continent and in America, that valuable results might be achieved by united efforts in various countries. A meeting to consider proposals for the realization of this idea was held in Paris, and some progress was made in the direction of co-ordination (Appendix lxxv).

CHAPTER XLII

THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

William Ewart Gladstone—*Father* Ignatius—Gladstone's ideas on Judaism —Concessions of the Jewish opposition—Goldsmid's and *d'*Avigdor's nationalistic replies.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE (1809–1898), the "Grand Old Man," statesman, orator, and scholar, gained the undying gratitude of humanity for his championship of right against might in countries which were striving for freedom from the iron grip of tyrannical government. He stood for liberty, liberty of race and creed. Wherever liberty had to be championed he was always to the fore as one of its most valiant defenders. It fell to him to help the cause of the English Jews rather than that of the Jews of the world. Powerful as were his efforts in the cause of national righteousness, he did nothing on behalf of the Jews as a people. But we have it on the authority of *Father* Ignatius (1837–1908) that he was "a friend of the Zionist movement."

Father Ignatius himself was for many years an enthusiastic supporter of the movement from the religious standpoint, but without any conversionist tendency. He defended the national idea of *Israel* for many years in numerous addresses, speeches and pamphlets. In one of his lectures[1] he said :—

". . . he was sorry to say that the magnificent truth respecting the Chosen People has been set aside by certain Jews themselves. There were some who were unconscious of the miracle of the preservation of the Jewish race, in spite of the efforts of the whole world to assimilate them—of the miracle of their distinct existence unassimilated with the other nations of the earth. Where was there a literature produced by any nation that had had that moral civilising and enfranchising power over the hearts and minds and lives of men that the literature of *Israel* had exercised ? . . .

". . . It was necessary to incite the national idea and national ambition in the heart of *Israel* throughout the world. Why should an intelligent and powerful race be

[1] "The World's Debt to the Jews," 14 Oct., 1896.

content to be vagrants on the face of the earth? Why should they be content to be a homeless race now that circumstances were pointing to facilities for giving them a home? . . ."

". . . The national movement was a reality and a fact. It is not a spasmodic movement, but one that was being carried on with great practical business-like skill and determination. . . ."

". . . Let the world give the Jews their home. Palestine was the cradle of their race, its ancient and proper home, the centre of its great and glorious history, and it was the outpourings of sorrow for it that has rendered the literature of the Jews the most precious and beautiful one extant. The Jews had a right to Palestine, it was God's gift to them, and that was a greater right than an Englishman's right to England. . . ."

"Stir yourselves up, agitate, work, labour for your cause. I know such a man as Mr. Gladstone is a friend of this movement. . . ."[1]

In confirmation of this evidence as to Gladstone's attitude towards Jewish national distinctiveness, we find in his writings an eloquent recognition of the "Hebrew genius."

81. "But indeed there is no need, in order to a due appreciation of our debt to the ancient Greeks, that we should either forget or disparage the function, which was assigned by the Almighty Father to this most favoured people. Much profit, says St. Paul, had the Jew in every way. He had the oracles of God: he had the custody of the promises: he was the steward of the great and fundamental conception of the unity of God, the sole and absolute condition under which the Divine idea could be upheld among men at its just elevation. No poetry, no philosophy, no art of Greece ever embraced, in its most soaring and widest conceptions, that simple law of love towards God and towards our neighbour, on which 'two commandments hang all the law and the prophets,' and which supplied the moral basis of the new dispensation."

82. "There is one history, and that the most touching and most profound of all, for which we should search in vain through all the pages of the classics,—I mean the history of the human soul in its relations with its Maker; the history of its sin, and grief, and death, and of the way of its recovery

[1] No. 18 . . . Palestina, The *Chovevi Zion* Quarterly. . . . —December, 1896. *pp.* 14–16.

to hope and life and to enduring joy. For the exercises of strength and skill, for the achievements and for the enchantments of wit, of eloquence, of art, of genius, for the imperial games of politics and of war let us seek them on the shores of Greece. . . . All the wonders of the Greek civilisation heaped together are less wonderful, than the single Book of Psalms."

83. "Palestine was weak and despised, always obscure, oftentimes and long trodden down beneath the feet of imperious masters. On the other hand, Greece, for a thousand years, . . . repelled every invader from her shores. Fostering her strength in the keen air of freedom, she defied, and at length overthrew, the mightiest of empires; and when finally she felt the resistless grasp of the masters of all the world, then too, at the very moment of her subjugation, she herself subdued them to her literature, language, arts, and manners. Palestine, in a word, had no share in the glories of our race; while they blaze on every page of the history of Greece with an overpowering splendour. Greece had valour, policy, renown, genius, wisdom, wit; she had all, in a word, that this world could give her; but the flowers of Paradise, which blossom at the best but thinly, blossomed in Palestine alone."[1]

Here we have again the closest connection between Zionism and Biblical ideas.

At the Great Assembly Hall, Mile End, on the 29th May, 1891, on the occasion when the petition to be presented to the *Sultan* of Turkey, composed in *Hebrew* and English, was communicated to the public by Mr. S. Montagu, M.P. (afterwards Lord Swaythling), Mr. Elim H. *d'*Avigdor declared:—

". . . His objection to colonising America was that the farther west they went, the greater the distance they placed between them and *Zion*. He wished rather that they should go to a country that was once *Israel's* homestead, where brother might work with brother, where the *Sabbath* would be the *Sabbath* of all, and where *Yom Kippur* would be the day of abstention from food throughout the country. He was convinced that many wealthy co-religionists were willing to surrender cheerfully all their worldly possessions, and resign all their hopes of worldly aggrandisement, in order to return with their brethren to the land of their fathers. They

[1] Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order, 1865, in Gleanings of Past Years 1860–79. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., vol. vii. . . . London: . . . 1879. *pp.* 79–80.

express the hope every *Passover,* 'Next year in *Jerusalem.*' Was this utterance merely a lip service, or did it spring from their hearts ? . . ."

Lieut.-Col. Goldsmid followed, and said :—

". . . The seed of *Israel* was meant for something more than a commercial people. Let them not only strive to find a home for their outcast brethren, but let it be their aim and object to resuscitate the national idea in *Israel.*"[1]

In an address delivered in Edinburgh he struck the same note :—

". . . there was no nation on the earth nearer akin to the Jewish nation than the Scottish, both in their love of the Bible and in their sympathy with all that is best in Judaism. The *Chovevi Zion,* he said, was not a charitable institution, the main object was to foster the national idea in *Israel.* Had it not been for the national idea we would have been wiped off the face of the earth long before now.[2] Colonel Goldsmid went on to show how we Jews, who are the descendants of the faithful minority in Babylon, continue to exist as heirs to the promises through all ages, while the descendants of the majority, who turned away from the national idea, no longer exist. Some people said that members of the *Chovevi Zion* could not be good citizens, but he maintained that the true lover of *Zion,* who could be faithful after two thousand years, would die in defence of the *country* he lived in. . . . When I visited Palestine in 1883, colonies were just beginning to be formed. People laughed at the idea of Jewish agriculturists. There were three small colonies, but for want of implements to work, things were at a standstill, some were actually tearing up the ground with their fingers. Through the kindness of Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild, matters are now very different. In future, colonisation, from the experience which has been gained, would start with enormous advantages. . . ."[3]

[1] No. 4 . . . Palestina, The *Chovevi Zion* Quarterly. . . . June, 1893 (History of the *Chovevi Zion* Rise of the Movement), *pp.* 10–13.

[2] Christian Englishmen have ever considered the Jews to be a historical unit, and appreciated their distinctiveness. Sir Isambard Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University, addressing a meeting of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies at Bristol in 1914, said that the work of the Union was of interest to him because it was a work which he himself had spent a good many years of his life in endeavouring to carry out amongst a nationality far smaller in numbers and far less known in history than the Jewish nationality—he meant the nationality of Wales.

[3] *Ibid.,* No. 5. . . . September . . . *p.* 16.

JUDAH TOURO

EMMA LAZARUS

MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH

Rabbi Dr. MORRIS JACOB RAPHALL

CHAPTER XLIII

THE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Zionism echoed in America—Emma Lazarus—A call—Emma Lazarus and George Eliot—Mrs. Rose Sonnenshein—The Opposition—A Tour to Palestine—The Colonies.

THESE ideas were echoed in a sublime form in English-speaking American Jewry by the poetess Emma Lazarus (1849–1887), one of the most eloquent champions of the Jewish national idea in the English language.

The story of Emma Lazarus' life is the story of a soul ever striving and pressing ahead towards truth and the light. Her works clearly reflect the progress of her ideas. She was a born songstress, yet she did not sing like the nightingale for the joy of being alive. There was a shadow of sadness resting on her entire being, something born with her as part of her disposition and temperament, the stamp and heritage of a suffering race. *Hebraism* lay dormant in this Jewish poetess. She was much influenced by Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). Charmed by the beauty of his poetry, the whimsical play of his imagination and the heart's muffled outburst audible through it all, she was nevertheless unaware of the actual bond that united them: the relationship in the blood, the unquenchable flame of the tragic Jewish passion of eighteen hundred years, which was smouldering in her own heart, and was soon to break forth and change the entire tendency of her thoughts and feelings.

The persecutions of the Jews in 1880–1884 were for Emma Lazarus a clarion call that awoke slumbering and unrealised feelings and aspirations. She was an assimilated Jewess herself at the beginning of her literary career. She had been in search of heroic ideals in alien fields, in Pagan mythology and in mystic, mediæval Christianity, ignoring all the time her birthright—the glorious vista of a great past and of a still greater future for the Jewish nation. Judaism had been a dead letter to her. But with the outbreak of the persecutions she found herself again. From this time dated the mission which she undertook on behalf of her race, and the expansion of all her faculties, that growth of spiritual power which is always stimulated when a great cause is

championed and strong convictions awaken the soul. Emma Lazarus became an inspired poetess of the Jewish national idea. Her whole being had reshaped itself and found nourishment at an inexhaustible source. She threw herself into the study of her race, its language, its literature and history. Breaking the outward shell, she soon reached the kernel of the faith and the " miracle " of its survival. What was it other than the ever-present, ever life-inspiring spirit itself, which cannot die—the religious and ethical zeal which fills the whole history of the Jewish people, and of which she herself felt the living glow within her own soul ? She had discovered the secret and the genius of Judaism—that complete transfusion of spirit with body and substance which, taken literally, often reduces itself to rites and ceremonies, but viewed in a proper light takes a nobler shape and form, and spreads its light over humanity in the prophets, teachers and saviours of mankind.

The idea that aroused the imagination of Emma Lazarus was a restored and independent nationality and the repatriation of the Jews in Palestine. In an article on the " Jewish Problem," she wrote :—

" I am fully persuaded that all suggested solutions other than this of the Jewish problem are but temporary palliatives.[1]

" The idea formulated by George Eliot has already sunk into the minds of many Jewish enthusiasts, and it germinates with miraculous rapidity. ' The idea that I am possessed with,' says Mordecai, ' is that of restoring a political existence to my people, making them a nation again, giving them a national centre, such as the English have, though they, too, are scattered over the face of the globe. That is a task which presents itself to me as a duty. . . . I am resolved to devote my life to it. At the least, I may awaken a movement in other minds such as has been awakened in my own.' " Could the noble poetess who wrote these words have lived until to-day, she would have been astonished at the flame which her torch has kindled and the practical shape which the movement brought to public notice by her has begun to assume.

In November, 1882, her first *Epistle to the Hebrews* appeared as one of a series of articles written for the *American Hebrew*. Addressing herself to a Jewish audience, she unfolded her views and hopes for Judaism without reserve, on the one

[1] *Century*, February, 1883, *p.* 610.

hand passionately urging its claims and its high ideals, and on the other dispassionately describing the shortcomings and peculiarities of her race. She says : " Every student of the *Hebrew* language is aware that we have in conjugation of our verbs a mode known as the *intensive voice*, which, by means of an almost imperceptible modification of vowel-points, intensifies the meaning of the primitive root. A similar significance seems to attach to the Jews themselves in connection with the people among whom they dwell. They are the *intensive form* of any nationality whose language and customs they adopt. . . . Influenced by the same causes, they represent the same results : but the deeper lights and shadows of the Oriental temperament throw their failings, as well as their virtues, into more prominent relief."

In drawing the Epistles to a close,[1] she summarized the special objects she had in view : " My chief aim has been to contribute my mite towards arousing that spirit of Jewish enthusiasm which might manifest itself :—

" *First.* In a return to the world pursuits and broad asylum of physical and intellectual education adopted by our ancestors :

" *Second.* In a more fraternal and practical movement towards alleviating the sufferings of oppressed Jews in countries less favoured than our own :

" *Third.* In a closer and wider study of *Hebrew* literature and history : and, finally, in a truer recognition of the large principles of religion, liberty and law upon which Judaism is founded, and which should draw into harmonious unity Jews of every shade of opinion."

Her verses rang out as they had never sounded before, like clarion notes, calling a people to heroic action and unity, to the consciousness and realization of a great destiny.

What the annals of the " Lovers of *Zion* " in America tell us concerning the rise and progress of the Zionist idea shows that the seed sown by Emma Lazarus took deep root in the hearts of the Jews, and brought forth abundant fruit. She created a high sense of Jewish self-consciousness, and spread a holy love and devotion to a great ideal in the hearts of those who had not hitherto reflected on their national duty and its importance.

In the *American Jewess*[2] an article appeared on the " Dream of Nationality," by Mrs. Rose Sonnenshein, the editress, one of the few Jewesses who had as yet written a

[1] February 24, 1883. [2] April, 1897.

word on this question. She wrote : " To our mind there is no loftier ideal worth realization than *Israel's* dream of Nationality. . . . What Jew has not dreamed of *Israel* again as a nation ? It can be confidently asserted that among the sons and daughters of the Covenant it is an exceptional one who has not at some time dwelt upon such a possibility. Who has not given the loose rein to fancy and indulged in visions of *Judah* re-born, free, great and glorious, one of the Sister States in a modern federation of nations ? . . . has not had visions of ourselves as patriotic Jews, proudly pointing to the Eagle of *Judah,* the emblem of a free and happy people ? To the wandering son of *Israel* the knowledge that a recognized government stood behind him to protect him in his rights when he demands reparations of insult or injury and sustain him as the equal of citizens of other nations would endow him with a dignity of which centuries of oppression have robbed him, and which not even the widest modern freedom has fully restored."

The question of the attitude of the Jews, particularly of " the leading and wealthy Jews," towards Zionism arose at different times in the English Press. Amid much friendly criticism called forth by the publication of Emma Lazarus' writings, two plausible objections were raised. The first was that before an appeal to the world, an appeal should be made to the Jews themselves, in order to elicit some evidence as to their feelings on the question. The second was that, even were the Jews to be restored, a difficulty would immediately arise as to the means of subsistence or the kind of employment to be found for them.

It was not an easy task to gain the sympathy and the support of many " leading and wealthy Jews " for the national idea in Western Europe and America. Many who were ready to admit the truth of the Zionist conclusion were troubled by their ideas about humanity. It must be borne in mind that only in the nineteenth century did the idea of nationality reappear in its ancient form, and that as late as the end of the eighteenth century it was considered a sign of advanced culture to have triumphed over national narrow-mindedness and to desire emancipation for the whole of humanity. The Middle Ages knew nothing of nationality in our sense, and therefore a sense of nationality could not be expected of the Jews. But in the nineteenth century first hatred and then science began to recognize the nationality of the Jews. On the one hand

antagonists zealously put forth new arguments to prove that the Jews were a distinct people, who had never yet been absorbed by their environment; on the other hand scientific research brought forward undeniable proofs of the physical, intellectual and moral peculiarities of the Jewish race. And just because separatism was emphasized and made use of by their enemies, some Jews considered that for the purpose of self-defence it was best to deny it: or at any rate their unjustifiable timidity and unreasonable sensitiveness prevented them from admitting it. They forgot that for centuries the furious storms of invective and calumny had been raging around their people, and that there were no malignant suspicions, no treacherous insinuations, no absurd accusations, that had not been levelled at them, whether they admitted the fact of their distinctiveness or not. Anti-Semitism raged most against those Jews who showed particularly assimilative tendencies, and aroused against them every kind of hatred and rancour, regardless of the question whether they were faithful to their past and to their ideals, or otherwise.

Some Jews imagined erroneously that the question at issue was one of their rights in different countries. They forgot that they must demand equality of rights as Jews, and not as a prize for giving up what they could not give up — their history, their distinctiveness. Others, again, confounded Jewish national self-consciousness with what the gentiles regard as nationalism — aspirations generally of an aggressive and reactionary character. Some wealthy Jews were unfortunately lulled into a pernicious feeling of security or fatal indifference. What did they give to the masses? A cheque for charity, whenever it was wanted, of course; but that was all. Insurance money or conscience money, whichever it may be called, they gave; but of personal devotion, of serious anxiety or steady resolve to ameliorate the lot of *Israel*—nothing. They asked, how can a national ideal help poor people? They did not understand that it can help them more than money: that it eases their sufferings, renders their sorrows and disappointments less distressing, teaches them to search their own hearts, to consider their own ways.

It is clear that the "Lovers of *Zion*" in England and America had a hard fight. They knew that if they attempted to satisfy all sections of Jews they could not remain faithful to the nation, whose greatest interest and immediate

concern it is to pave the way for a final solution of its problem. The truth had dawned upon them that for thousands of years there had always been a restless desire on the part of the Jews to get back to Palestine, and that this wish arose from deep religious, traditional and national principles and hopes. It is a feeling inherited by the Jew and fostered in him from the cradle. The ancient home of the ancient nation is Palestine: to that land their eyes, their hopes and their hearts are always turned. This attachment does not interfere with their sincere patriotism and loyalty to the countries wherein they live. Those who live in other countries, and are satisfied, may remain there. The Jewish masses will go to Palestine as soon as they have the possibility of doing so. Palestine must become the home of the nation, not merely of individuals. It did not matter to the "Lovers of *Zion*" that some wealthy Jews did not wish for the national re-birth; they simply emulated careful and prudent physicians, who, when they visit their patients, do not ask them what they like best, and then prescribe what is most pleasing to their palates, though perhaps most hurtful, but, having carefully studied the ailments of their patients, order them to take what they deem most necessary for them, even though it be not pleasing or acceptable.

In 1897 Mr. Herbert Bentwich, LL.B., organized in London the "*Maccabean*" tour to Palestine, in which twenty-one persons took part. Under his guidance this party of Jewish travellers proceeded to Palestine, and got into close touch with the Jewish population of the country, especially with the colonists. On *Sabbath Hachodesh* (3 April, 5657), the late Chief *Rabbi*, the Very Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler (1839–1911), delivered an eloquent sermon[1] at the Hampstead synagogue, in which he said :—

". . . But one of the most attractive portions of your tour will, I think, be your visits to some of the colonies. And in this connection I may give an illustration of the vivid interest taken in your journey by the residents in the Holy Land. A well-informed correspondent writes to the *Jüdische Presse* expressing his regret that the only Jewish colony you contemplate inspecting is *Rosh Pinah*, certainly the most romantically situated, and that you will not see the prosperous settlement '*Rishon-le-Zion*,' nor the agricultural school '*Mikveh Israel*,' and he advises a route which would enable you to see a number of new settlements, and

[1] "God-speed to the Pilgrims."

(1) Herbert Bentwich
(2) Edmond *de* Menasce
(3) Lewis Levy
(4) *Mrs.* Rose Frank
(5) *Miss* Marion Douglas
(6) *Dr.* Louis Frankel
(7) Samuel Finn
(8) Asher Feldman
(9) David Wolffe
(10) Samuel Levy Bensusan
(11) Henry Davis
(12) *Miss* Salvena Schloss
(13) *Mrs.* Fannie Muhr
(14) *Rev.* George Joseph Emanuel
(15) Isaac Snowman
(16) A. L. Birnstingl
(17) *Mrs.* Cordelia Birnstingl
(18) Charles Davis
(19) Israel Zangwill
(20) Ernest D. Isaacs
(21) Jussuf (*Dragoman*)

some thirteen Jewish villages that have sprung up within the last ten years. Now undoubtedly great things have already been accomplished in training the hapless immigrants from Russia and Roumania to become hardy tillers of the soil . . . well-trained Jewish horticulturists are at the head of each settlement, that Jewish farmers, peasants and labourers toil with splendid diligence . . . 50,000 eucalyptus trees planted in *Gadra* to counteract malarial influences; 2,000,000 of vines that have been grafted by Jews in *Rishon-le-Zion, Petach Tikvah* and *Zichron Jacob*, and of the excellent wine that is produced there. In *Rishon-le-Zion* there are numbers of smiths and coopers. . . . But yet I feel confident that this pilgrimage will exercise an abiding effect on your spiritual life. It is a well-authenticated fact that *de* Saulcy [L. F. J. Cagnart] (1807–1880), the great Oriental traveller, confessed that he went to Palestine as an unbeliever, and that he returned from there with a profound faith in the truth of the Bible. You, I hope, do not need to have your faith thus strengthened. But I ardently trust that by this pilgrimage there will be engendered in your hearts . . . a stronger sentiment of brotherhood, . . . a more enthusiastic devotion to . . . *Zion* and *Jerusalem*, . . ."[1]

The visit of this party was a new feature in the Jewish history of Palestine. It was looked upon with satisfaction, as indicating the growing interest of English Jews in Palestine. It took place at the very moment when modern Zionism entered upon the scene, on the eve of the first Congress, and, so far as English Jews were concerned, it had a good moral influence.

[1] *Jewish Chronicle*, 9th April, 1897, *p.* 21.

CHAPTER XLIV

BARON *DE* HIRSCH

His philanthropic activity—The Oriental Jews and the "Alliance"—Emanuel Felix Veneziani—Lord Swaythling—Dr. A. Asher—Laurence Oliphant.

Baron Maurice (Moritz) *de* Hirsch (*Freiherr auf Gereuth*) was born on December 9th, 1831, at Munich. His father, Baron Joseph *de* Hirsch (1805–1895), was a native of that city, and son of Baron Jacob *de* Hirsch (1764–1841), the founder of the family fortune. His mother (*née* Caroline Wertheimer of Frankfort) belonged to an old Jewish family which was universally known for its charitable work and sincere piety. Hirsch cherished very affectionate recollections of his parents, and particularly of his mother, who is said to have seen to it that he received good instruction in the Jewish religion.

The scope of his studies was somewhat narrow. He received his education in Munich and Brussels. Being of a practical turn of mind, he engaged early in life in several business ventures. In 1855 he married Clara (1833–1899), eldest daughter of Senator Raphael Jonathan Bischoffsheim (1808–1883), of the firm of Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, Brussels, which had branches in Paris and London. He did not, however, join this firm, as its business methods appeared to him too conservative to suit his enterprising temperament. Having inherited a considerable fortune from his parents, and received a handsome dowry with his wife, he embarked on railway enterprises in Austria, in Russia, and—with most success—in the Balkans. These enterprises, which consisted mainly in the construction of light railways, were only the beginning of his activities. A huge undertaking came in his way. A Brussels banking firm, which had received from the Ottoman Government a concession for building a railway through the Balkans to Constantinople, was unable to carry the project through. Hirsch acquired the concession, went to Constantinople, and succeeded in getting some of the conditions altered for the better. He then formed a company, and made all

the necessary arrangements for the building of this great railway, which was, for the first time in history, to connect Europe with the Near East. In certain financial circles his optimism was ridiculed. But those who laugh last laugh loudest. It soon became apparent that he knew what he was about when he secured the concession. By a bold practical stroke he obtained the necessary funds, and his success was as immediate as it was complete. This was really the making of his career. The success of this transaction gained him recognition as one of the greatest financiers of Europe. He became not only a multi-millionaire, but also a recognized authority on large industrial undertakings.

His philanthropic activity, which began early in the seventies, was on a scale hitherto unequalled, and showed great originality of method. This activity may be divided into five branches :—

1. The East, in connection with the " Alliance Israélite Universelle " of Paris.
2. Relief for the Russian Jews.
3. Emigration from Russia.
4. Foundation of the Jewish Colonization Association, and
5. Various other philanthropic institutions.

While engaged in working out his plans for the construction of his railway in Turkey, Hirsch had become acquainted with the deplorable condition of the Jews in the Orient, and had come to the conclusion that their sufferings were mainly due to the lack of modern education and of opportunities to earn a livelihood. He considered European education a great necessity in the East, and therefore admired the educational work of the " Alliance Israélite." It struck him that too little was done in this direction. He consequently placed large sums at the disposal of the " Alliance," of which he became a powerful supporter. In 1873 he gave the " Alliance " 1,000,000 francs to form new schools, and from 1880 till his death he undertook to make good the deficit of the organisation, which amounted annually to several hundred thousand francs. Finding that the ordinary schools were not sufficient for the purpose in view, he encouraged the " Alliance " to establish trade schools, the entire expense of which he bore from 1878 until his death. In 1899, in place of his annual grant, he gave

the "Alliance" a capital sum, which yielded a yearly income of 400,000 francs; but, none the less, he continued to meet the deficit year by year.

All this time, as indeed throughout his life, he was keenly interested in the Jews of the Orient. He procured in the seventies the services of an excellent Jew, *M.* Emanuel Felix Veneziani (1825–1889), who made investigations for him, and became his almoner in the East, and afterwards also in other parts of the world.

The year 1882, with its pogroms and the atrocious Jewish disabilities which it introduced, was a turning-point in Hirsch's philanthropic activities as much as in the activities of all the Jewish organizations and of individual philanthropists. When 40–50,000 pogrom refugees in a starving condition crowded into the already crowded Galician Ghettoes, adding their starvation and agonies to the misery already there, and the great Jewish organizations and communities sent their representatives to afford protection to the suffering (Mr. Samuel Montagu—afterwards Lord Swaythling—and Dr. Asher Asher (1837–1889) came from London, also Mr. Laurence Oliphant), *M.* Veneziani appeared as representative of Baron *de* Hirsch, and offered enormous sums—by which, however, only a small part of the appalling distress was met. Baron *de* Hirsch also sent money to Russia for years.

At that period Baron *de* Hirsch, like most other emancipated Jews in Western Europe, believed that a solution of the Jewish problem could be achieved by steps taken in Russia itself. Like the others, he knew very little of the great complexity and peculiar conditions of the problem. So with the assistance of a Commission he devoted much of his time to drawing up a scheme for the improvement of the condition of the Jews in Russia. Bearing in mind the activity of the "Alliance" in the East, he paid due regard to the need for providing Russian Jews with modern education, and his scheme contemplated a fund of 50,000,000 francs to be used for educational purposes—under his own control. But this was a Utopian idea. Anyone acquainted with the conditions could easily have shown him that this offer would be declined.

He was finally and unalterably convinced that the only hope lay in emigration. With the adoption of this view began the third period of his activity, in which he supported emigration in every shape and form. It is difficult to esti-

mate how much he spent for this purpose; but by far the greatest part of the support given by the "Alliance" and other organizations to emigration came from him. Later, however, he realized that this support, useful as it was to individuals, was of no permanent value, and then, entering upon the fourth and most important period of his activity, he became the Baron *de* Hirsch who will for ever be remembered in Jewish history—the man who endeavoured to solve the Jewish problem not by charities, schools, contributions to the "Alliance" or schemes for the benefit of Russia, but by a single great effort for Jewish Emancipation.

CHAPTER XLV

AN ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE JEWISH PROBLEM

The "Jewish Colonization Association" (1891)—Statutes and shareholders—Baron *de* Hirsch's letter to the Russian Jews—His articles in the *Forum* and the *North American Review*—Baroness Clara *de* Hirsch.

Baron *de* Hirsch was not a Zionist, nor do we desire to claim him as a national Jew. Had he been asked whether he recognized the national idea, he would undoubtedly have replied that he was opposed to it. He was not much interested in abstract ideas, and it is questionable whether he could be made to fit in with any cut-and-dried theory at all. Nevertheless, his activities became those of a national Jew when once he was made fully conscious of the Jewish tragedy. Born in Munich, heir to an Austrian title, distinguished for his industrial undertakings in the East, resident in Paris, with powerful connections in England, he devoted himself at last almost entirely to his brethren in Russia. Was the impelling feeling a colourless cosmopolitan humanism? One might have called it so as long as he merely supported education and sent contributions to charities. But one cannot, without doing violence to facts, regard the work of what we have called his fourth period—which was the very climax of his activity—as the mere charitable routine which is characteristic of Jews whose purpose and hope is "assimilation." Hirsch was more than a Jew of that type. The tendency towards assimilation destroys the Jew, discourages the man, kills his individuality, "and thus the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," and the Jew becomes an emulator of what other people do, a slave of other people's opinions. If a personality like that of Hirsch could develop in such an environment, it was because his inquiring mind, the experience gained in his travels and his absorption during youth of the old traditions of his people carried him far beyond his actual surroundings. It was due to his individual gifts that he took up the great idea of concentration of the persecuted Jewish people by means of colonization. He directed all his energies to the investigation of the best places for colonization, and the result was the formation of an international association,

incorporated under English law, and known as the Jewish Colonization Association, whose Memorandum of Association includes the following clauses :—

" To assist and promote the emigration of Jews from any part of Europe or Asia—and principally from countries in which they may for the time being be subjected to any special taxes or political or other disabilities—to any parts of the world, and to form and establish colonies in various parts of North and South America and other countries for agricultural, commercial and other purposes.

" To purchase and acquire, by donation or otherwise, from any Governments, States, municipal or local authorities, corporations, firms, or persons any territories, lands, or other property, as concessions, powers and privileges, which may be necessary or convenient for developing the resources of the same and rendering the same available for colonization.

" To accept gifts, donations and bequests of money and other property, on the terms of the same being applied for all or some one or more of the purposes of the company, or such other terms as may be consistent with the objects of the company."

The Articles of Association provide, among other things, that no more than half the capital is to be employed in the purchase of land, that the governing body shall consist of a Council of Administration, who in their turn shall elect Directors, and these shall be paid officials and carry out all the executive work. The machinery provided by the Articles enables representative Jewish institutions to become members of the Company, and thereby to have a certain voice in the management. The constitution further provides that under no circumstances shall any of the members derive any profit from the undertaking.

With regard to the objects of the Company, the last clause was amplified at an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Company by the addition before " or on such terms " of the following words : " or for any other philanthropical purposes specified by the donor or testator for the benefit of Jewish communities or individuals either in Europe or in America."

The Jewish Colonization Association was founded with a capital of £2,000,000 divided into 20,000 non-dividend bearing shares of £100 each. Baron *de* Hirsch subscribed for 19,993 shares ; and Lord Rothschild (1840–1915), Sir

Julian Goldsmid (1838–1896), Ernest (afterwards Sir Ernest) Cassel, Frederick David Mocatta (1828–1905), and Benjamin Louis (afterwards Sir Benjamin Louis) Cohen (1844–1909) of London, and Salomon H. Goldschmidt (1814–1898) and Solomon Reinach of Paris for one share each.[1]

About the time when the Jewish Colonization Association was formed, Baron *de* Hirsch addressed an appeal to the Jews in Russia concerning the emigration schemes which he intended to carry out under the auspices of the Company. The following is a translation of this appeal :—

" To my co-religionists in Russia : You know that I am endeavouring to better your lot. It is, therefore, my duty to speak plainly to you, and to tell you what it is necessary for you to know.

" I am acquainted with the reasons which oblige many of you to emigrate, and I will gladly do all in my power to assist you in your hour of distress. But you must make this possible for me. Your emigration must not resemble a rash and reckless flight by which the endeavour to escape danger ends in destruction. You know that properly organized committees are shortly to be established in Russia, with the consent and under the supervision of the Imperial Russian Government. The duty of these committees will be to organize the emigration in a business-like way. All persons desirous of emigrating will have to apply to the local committees, who alone will be authorized to give you the necessary facilities. Only those persons who have been elected by the committees can have the advantage of the assistance of myself and of those who are working with me. Any one who leaves the country without the concurrence of the committees will do so at his own risk, and must not count on any aid from me.

" It is obvious that in the beginning the number of emigrants cannot be large ; for not only must places of refuge be found for those who first depart, but the necessary preparations must be made for those who follow. Later on the emigration will be able to assume larger proportions.

" Remember that I can do nothing for you without the benevolent and gracious support of the Imperial Russian Government.

[1] Before his death Baron *de* Hirsch divided his shares among the following corporations : the Synagogues of Brussels and the Jewish communities of Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Main, 3600 each ; the Anglo-Jewish Association of London and the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris, 4595 shares each.

"In conclusion, I appeal to you. You are the inheritors of your fathers, who for centuries have suffered so much. Bear this inheritance yet awhile with equal resignation. Have also further patience, and thus make it possible for those who are anxious to help you to do so effectively.

"I send you these words of warning and of encouragement in my own name and in the name of thousands of your co-religionists. Take them to heart and understand them.

"May the good God help you and me, and also the many who work with us for your benefit with so much devotion."

This appeal, though it only urged the Jewish masses to assist the great work by obeying certain necessary prescribed regulations, had the effect of rousing the entire Jewish population to a new hopefulness and of stimulating communal workers, leaders and publicists to further activity. There was not a poor Jewish home in Russia where the name of Hirsch did not receive a daily blessing—not for what he had given or for what he was about to give, but because he had stretched out a hand to them in their misery, because they no longer felt themselves forsaken, and because a touch of kindness from an unseen hand gave them fresh courage, new resolution, and new hope.

As is usual in such cases, no warnings or denials could correct the estimate formed by the popular imagination of the possibilities of the undertaking. Baron *de* Hirsch himself was supposed to have said or written that he was going to transmigrate five million Jews from Russia in twenty years; and this statement, which was published in an official Russian paper, though in the unofficial part of it, gained currency at once, and remained in the minds of the people as a kind of programme. And, though the immediate excitement abated, and gave way to disappointment among those who had looked forward to a new gigantic exodus, it was evident that the chances of a partial solution of the Jewish problem were immensely greater than they had ever been before.

Baron *de* Hirsch caused careful inquiries and investigations to be made in countries which offered suitable land for agricultural development. It may be observed that, though the wording of the statutes contemplates commercial colonies and the encouragement of artisans, and speaks of "any parts of the world," in reality Hirsch had never thought of commercial colonies nor of artisans nor of small groups scattered all over the world, since first he started

dealing with the Jewish problem in Russia. Commercial colonies for Jews are as unnecessary as they are impossible, because Jews engaged in commerce need not and would not congregate in colonies; and as to the industrial education and encouragement of artisans, it is true that Hirsch was interested in useful work of this kind, but this was at an earlier period, and belongs to the kind of philanthropic activity which he carried on, particularly in the East, through the "Alliance," *etc.* As to Russia, anybody who had any conversation with him, or read his articles[1] on the subject, or was in touch with his advisers at that period, will testify that what Hirsch had decided to initiate was a great undertaking for the persecuted Jewish people. Since he had received, much to his surprise, the reply that he would not be allowed to work in Russia, he had systematically declined to undertake anything there except the support of emigration. Petitions poured into his office at Paris, rue d'Elysée 2, from innumerable Jewish societies and communities in Russia, but he refused to pay any attention to all these schemes for the encouragement of artisans and industries. He was devoted to the idea of concentrating masses of Russian Jews elsewhere, and of making them agriculturists. Since 1887 he had practically decided to make the Jewish people the principal heirs of his fortune, in order to enable them radically to change their status.

Personal experiences of a sentimental nature had contributed to this decision. The terrible and unexpected blow, in losing his only son Lucien (1851–1887), a young man of exceptional gifts and promise, touched his most tender affections and gave a fresh impetus to his desire to succour human misery. It was feared for a moment that he would be overwhelmed by the weight of a catastrophe which had ruined so many hopes. But he possessed such energy, such powerful resources of character, that he soon recovered. His very natural grief found sanctification in the noble diversion of devoting himself more eagerly than before to his immense task. His wife, a keenly idealistic Jewess, exerted a strong Jewish influence upon him, encouraging to the utmost the great work which he started. The unfortunate mother, after having lost her only child, found comfort in the idea of "establishing a home for the oppressed Jewish people."

Another personal experience which had some influence on

[1] *North American Review*, July, 1891: *Forum*, August, 1891.

Hirsch was the anti-Semitic attitude of the Jockey Club towards him, an attitude that made him realize the futility of dreams of unity. There is no need, however, to lay particular stress on these personal experiences. Apart from them, he could not fail to notice the workings of anti-Semitism, not only in its violent and brutal forms, but also in its subtler manifestations; and this brought home to his mind the necessity of a solution which should prove more practical than the old methods.

But the thing that did most to bring him nearer to Zionism than to assimilation, in spite of his dissent from Zionist views, was his belief in the Jewish people. He was a believer in the regeneration of the Russian Jews through agriculture, from which occupation they were barred in the country in which they lived. What, unfortunately, was lacking in him was the sense of historic tradition and the love of Palestine.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE ARGENTINE *VERSUS* PALESTINE

Expeditions and investigations in various countries—The decision in favour of The Argentine—Dr. G. Löwenthal—Col. A. E. W. Goldsmid—The "Lovers of *Zion*" and Baron *de* Hirsch in 1891—Baron and Baroness *de* Hirsch's charitable works.

Baron *de* Hirsch sent agents to make investigations in various parts of America—in Brazil, Mexico, Canada and The Argentine. On the advice of Dr. Guillaume Löwenthal, who was mainly entrusted with these inquiries, he arrived at the conclusion that The Argentine presented conditions most favourable for a plan of colonization. Large tracts of land were consequently purchased in the districts of Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé and Entre Rios. The Russian Government, which had rejected his offer for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in the Empire, co-operated with him in the organization of a system of emigration. A central committee, selected by the Baron, and various provincial committees were formed in Petrograd, Warsaw, Odessa, Kiew and other centres. He formed also a governing body in The Argentine ; and—for a short time—the personal direction of the colonies was entrusted to Colonel A. E. W. Goldsmid, who obtained temporary leave of absence from the British War Office for this purpose. Baron *de* Hirsch, who did not always find the most prudent, devoted and trustworthy agents, had in Colonel Goldsmid, the ardent Zionist, an inspired and enthusiastic coadjutor ; but Goldsmid remained there only a short time.

The gigantic plan of colonization met with the measure of failure and of success to be expected by such enterprises. The work was enormous, and, as far as finance and responsibility were concerned, it fell almost entirely upon Hirsch's shoulders. Hirsch created all the necessary machinery, and sent out agent after agent to furnish him with a correct account of the facts. He sent Mr. Arnold White to Russia four times to negotiate with the Russian Government. A number of influential Russian Jews, including Baron Horace Günzburg (1833–1909), a well-known philanthropist and a recognized leader of Russian Jewry, as well as Poliakoff,

Warschawsky, and others, devoted their energies to the organization in Russia. David Feinberg, a generous and devoted Russian Jew, who had considerable experience in Jewish communal affairs in the Russian capital, and had given many years' service in connection with Baron Günzburg's public activities, was appointed general secretary.

At first the conditions in The Argentine were somewhat chaotic; afterwards matters proceeded in an apparently satisfactory manner. Appearances, however, were deceptive. Not that success was wanting: far from it. Colonies were established; the Baron convinced himself that Russian Jews could really become successful agriculturists. But the task of transporting great masses there proved to be an impossibility. Undoubtedly a few thousand families were helped, and the colonies, some of which are in a flourishing condition, are a credit to Jewish agriculture. But this was not the original object. These colonies had really been intended to form the nucleus of one great home, if not for millions, at least for hundreds of thousands of Jews. This could not be achieved without popular enthusiasm. The Jew could not be expected to love the soil of "The Argentine" as he loves the soil of the Promised Land. He went there, as he would go to Brazil, or to Mexico, to improve his material condition, but the moment other possibilities were offered to him, he would give up his trying occupation and go elsewhere. From the national point of view, if he had to become an Argentinian Spaniard of the Jewish persuasion, he might as easily, and perhaps more easily, become an American. If he had to build up a centre for Judaism, he could not look forward to any success there, being so far removed from his traditional centres. Moreover, Zionism is an ideal which to a certain extent regenerates even the Jew of the Diaspora, who does not go to Palestine himself, because of its national aspect, its historic associations, its influence on education. All this was lacking in The Argentine undertaking. It was, therefore, bound to remain a matter of economic improvement, if not of ordinary charity.

In 1891 the "Lovers of *Zion*" tried to persuade Hirsch to turn his activities to Palestine. Herzl tried again in 1896, unfortunately without success. The fact that Hirsch had met with a repulse at the time of his earlier transactions with the *Sultan*, Abdul Hamid, may have made the difficulty of obtaining a charter from the Ottoman Government seem a greater obstacle to him than it would have seemed to

others. In his negotiations with the "Lovers of *Zion*" in 1891 he was not altogether an opponent; he wavered for a while between different countries, considering exclusively the quality of the soil, the price, facilities and so on; but he overlooked the essential fact. The question for him was not one of history and national desire, but of the soil, the income, and, above all, the extension of his scheme. The able and ingenious business man wanted to be practical. The builder of a great railway wanted to establish a colony for millions, and he believed in the lustre of his gem. Had he known that in "The Argentine," in spite of its apparently unlimited possibilities, only some ten thousand Jews would settle, he would undoubtedly have preferred Palestine, where even ten thousand, as true representatives of a nation in its old country, have a far greater value. But he felt himself called upon to accomplish great things in the economic sphere. It was the very instinct of the man, his nature, the bent of his genius. If we wish to understand him, we must make full allowance for his surroundings, his education and the times in which he lived. His idea was a long step towards Zionism, but some would not have it for that particular reason. It is significant that his enormous munificence remained quite isolated; he had no followers, though he was very anxious to find some. Could anybody imagine a National Fund for Jewish agriculture in "The Argentine"? The masses, it is true, were interested in his scheme, but their interest was one of curiosity, of the wish to be helped, not of self-help. And not only the masses, but the wealthy people too held aloof. A short time before he died, he received a few hundred pounds from two or three people for his undertaking, and he felt very happy!

During his negotiations with the "Lovers of *Zion*" he revealed his idea of creating a Jewish Commonwealth,[1] saying that he was endeavouring to prepare the conditions for such a scheme. On another occasion, discussing the difficulties of administration, *etc.*, he exclaimed:—

"*Give me Jewish apostles, and I shall succeed!*"

It dawned upon him that something was missing.

The fifth period of his activity comprises various philanthropic works. The large number of Russian Jews who emigrated to the United States attracted his benevolent interest; and in 1891 he was instrumental in organizing

[1] He used the term "*Gemeinwesen*."

under the laws of the state of New York the Baron *de* Hirsch Fund, with a capital of 2,500,000 dollars, which sum was afterwards increased. The national Jewish character of Hirsch's activity lies here again in the fact that he identified himself with his suffering brethren all over the world.

Many men of his immense wealth and distinguished position would no doubt have used such advantages chiefly, if not exclusively, for the promotion of causes that fill a large place in the popular estimation. The cause of the Russian Jews would have been too remote, too intricate, or too small to engage all their sympathies and efforts. He made it his life-work to undertake something big on behalf of the Russian Jews. His benevolence was not that weak sentimentalism which too often obscures the plain behests of duty. He liked society, but he never stooped to win a cheap popularity by an unbecoming complaisance. There have been Jews enjoying the same high station, who have put it to quite a different use. But to him wealth and social power were simply one continuous challenge—a challenge to his nobler self, to his reverence for duty. And never could his higher self stand forth more conspicuously than when it impelled him to think and to work for his disinherited people. His leading idea was not to combat the persecutors of the Jews, but to emancipate the Jews themselves—to extricate them from their mediæval life, to revitalize them with the breath of "Western culture," to give them a wider range of occupations, to transform the pedlar into an artisan and the shopkeeper into an agriculturist, in short, to render their political emancipation a necessity by convincing their oppressors of their sound economic worth. It was a repetition of the programme of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" and the Anglo-Jewish Association (Appendix lxxvi), but it had the merit of being in the hands of a man who knew nothing of the difficulty of collecting resources from an inert public.

As he lived the greater part of his life in Austria, it is quite natural that the deplorable condition of the Jews in that empire appealed strongly to him. In 1889, after consultation with Dr. Adolf Jellinek (1821–1893) of Vienna, he formulated a plan to aid the Jews of Galicia by educational work, support for handicraftsmen and agriculturists, loans to artisans, *etc.* In 1891 the Austrian Government agreed

to the plan, and Baron *de* Hirsch thereupon placed 12,000,000 francs at the disposal of the trustees.

The foregoing are only a few of the foundations established by Baron *de* Hirsch. In addition may be mentioned the Canadian Baron *de* Hirsch Fund, and the large sum given to the London hospitals, to which he also devoted the entire proceeds of his winnings on the turf. He always said that his horses ran for charity. It is impossible to form an accurate estimate of the amount of money that he devoted to benevolent purposes. Including the large legacy of about 250,000,000 francs left to the Jewish Colonization Association, it exceeded 800,000,000 francs, is an estimate justified by the amounts given by him from time to time to the foundations already referred to. He died in 1896, having built for himself a monument more lasting than one of brass or marble :—

The Jewish Colonization Association.

The Baroness died in 1899. The amount devoted by her to benevolent purposes exceeded fifteen million dollars,[1] and she further endowed her various foundations by leaving them ten million dollars in her will.

The present possessors of the shares of the Jewish Colonization Association are : The Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Anglo-Jewish Association, and the Jewish Communities of Brussels, Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Main. The administrative council now numbers eleven members : five are appointed directly, one each by the five corporations, each of which holds approximately one-fifth of the capital ; the other six are elected for a period of five years by a vote of the general assembly of the stockholders, convened once a year. Since 1900 the Association has been entrusted by Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild with the care of his Palestine colonization schemes, and it is to be hoped that this great Jewish institution will turn its attention more and more to work in Palestine.

[1] Baron *de* Hirsch Trade School in New York City ; Clara *de* Hirsch Home for Working Girls in New York ; Fund for the Officials of the Oriental Railways, *etc.*

בנימן זאב בן יעקב
(THEODOR HERZL)

Leopold Pilichowski

CHAPTER XLVII

MODERN ZIONISM

Theodor Herzl—The first conception and the acceptance of Palestine—Max Nordau—The ideas of Modern Zionism.

ZIONISM, an idea as old as the Jewish nation, preached by the representatives of Jewish thought, accepted and supported by prominent Christians in England and France and elsewhere, expressed and carried into effect in the colonization work in Palestine, was still in need of a great leader. There had been many eminent champions, thinkers and enthusiasts, but no great leader. Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) then came upon the scene—a born leader of men.

There had been no one before him with his indomitable energy, his magnificent determination and his inspired restlessness. He had at his command all the intellectual pleasures which the combination of Vienna and Paris could offer. He was welcome in society and in literary and artistic circles. His outlook on life before Zionism dawned upon him had been that of the usual type of the modern, denationalized, assimilated Jew. But the old spirit of the Jewish nation awoke in him and removed him from this world of illusions. At the height of his literary popularity in the gay Austrian capital, in the prime of youth and success, he put aside everything else to champion the cause of his people. He created the politics of a state unborn. He began his Jewish career with almost the whole of official Jewry in Western Europe opposed to him and intent on silencing him, until he succeeded in outshining his adversaries. Then the public conscience awakened, the force of truth prevailed, and he found adherents. He imparted to the Jews the greatest national impulse that they have had since the *Galuth* began.

He found the word which crystallized all the yearnings and hopes of centuries. He spoke the truth, although four hundred and fifty priests[1] of assimilation clamoured for falsehood. He brought freedom to the Jewish soul and kindled Jewish enthusiasm to a flame. He reminded the

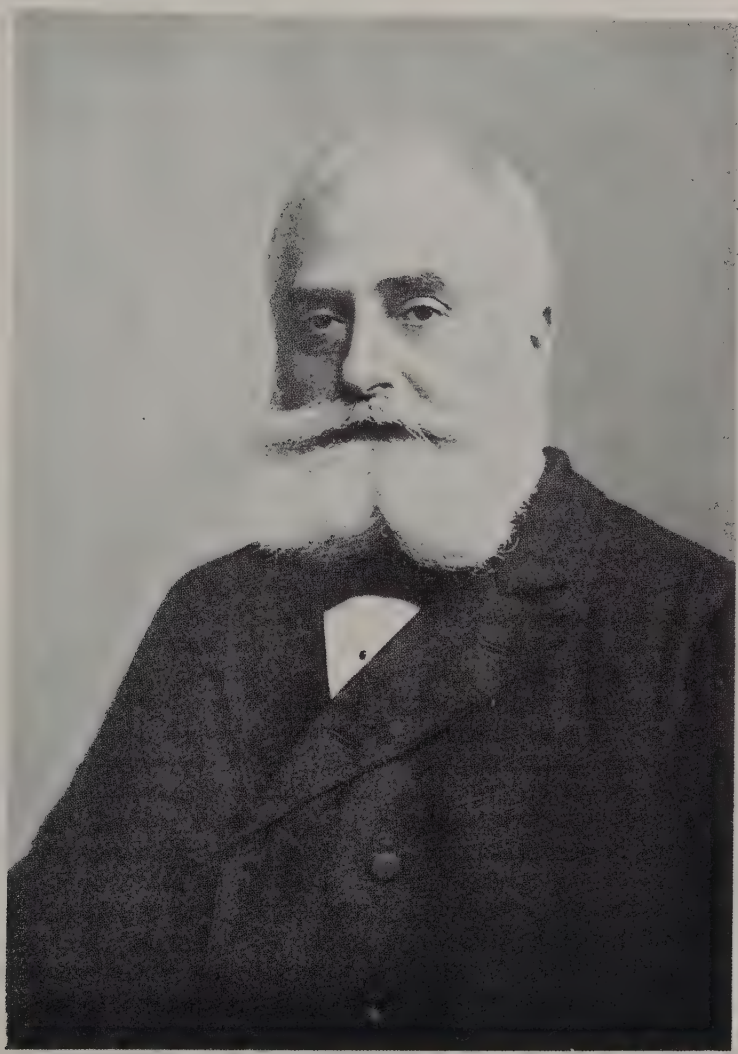
[1] Then said Elijah unto the people: "I," even I only, am left a prophet of the Lord; but Baal's prophets are four hundred and fifty men. 1 Kings xviii. 22.

Jews that they were still unalterably attached to the old centre of Jewish national life, that Zionism remained the ultimate aim of their aspirations, and that the old prophecies were still a living force. He devoted all his determination and skill to his people, and his endurance and ability to the work of organizing the masses. It was the influence of his personality over men that made him a great leader. His nobility of character shone forth in his actions, found expression in his speech, and flashed in his eyes.

The simplicity and modesty of the truly great man showed themselves in all that Herzl conceived and achieved. He was a man of vast knowledge, of irresistible logic, a brilliant writer and a great artist; but in Jewish affairs he was a *homo novus*. He was almost ignorant of Jewish learning, of Jewish literature, even of Zionism before his time. During a discussion on Jewish culture at one of the Zionist Congresses, he frankly admitted that he did not know exactly what "Jewish culture" meant. But he was the embodiment of the old Jewish genius, a re-incarnation of those times when there were Jewish heroes, kings and statesmen. It was hardly necessary for him to plead for the ideal of "Jewish culture," because his personality supplied the argument required. His high-minded disinterestedness, his unselfish devotion, his unceasing self-sacrifice, his magnificent energy, his wonderful gift of seizing opportunities for the furtherance of his great ideal, his high sense of duty, his sincere kindness and modesty of heart, marked him out to be the first Zionist leader in the Diaspora.

The depth, tenderness and sincerity of the love he bore his nation, his passionate yearning for the achievement of the great object before him—these found expression in every word he uttered and every action he undertook. These noble sentiments, together with the magnetism of his personality, accounted for his tremendous influence over so large a section of modern Jewry. He sacrificed his whole being and all his possessions in furtherance of the ideal which he faithfully upheld, satisfied with the prospect of bringing his people gradually nearer the sacred goal of their wanderings.

Dr. Max Simon Nordau, a son of *Rabbi* Gabriel Südfeld of Krotoschin, already at that time a writer of international reputation, was one of the first to respond when Herzl started the Zionist movement; and he was practically second to Herzl in building up the organization.



Elliott and Fry

Dr. MAX SIMON NORDAU

These two men came to be looked upon as the natural leaders and the foremost representatives of the new Zionism. Nordau was Herzl's faithful friend and assistant from the commencement. He placed his genius, his enthusiasm and his powerful eloquence at the service of the Zionist idea and organization. His authority and influence in the propaganda of Zionism became the most powerful and influential force in the movement. Nothing could surpass the overwhelming logic and the admirable spirit of his speeches, pamphlets, essays and articles. From the very beginning he played the part of a great leader with splendid confidence, inspiration, and dignity. No Zionist has exercised a stronger or a loftier influence by sheer strength of character and sound judgment. No orator or writer in modern times has so forcibly portrayed the great tragedy of his people as he has done in his memorable speeches at the Zionist Congresses, and none has voiced so eloquently the claims and hopes of his nation. He had always a message to deliver, and delivered it always effectively. He helped to make Zionism a world-wide movement, with an appeal not only to the Jewish people but also to other nations. His forcible eloquence and untiring zeal in the service of Zionism are generally known. Nor does his public activity exhaust his services to the cause. He gave much useful advice to Herzl, who never undertook anything of importance in Zionist politics without consulting him. Nordau exercised enormous influence during the whole period of Herzl's and Wolffsohn's presidency, and is still doing so at the present moment. A man of great literary and journalistic achievement, with extensive associations and wide interests, a champion of all great causes of humanity and justice, zealously engaged in various domains of human thought, he has always placed his time, his pen, and his matchless eloquence at the service of Zionism.

Herzl fathomed the causes of the sufferings of his people, and saw a radical solution of the Jewish problem of two thousand years in the national regeneration of the Jew. Like his great predecessor Pinsker, he thought at first that it was immaterial where the proposed Jewish centre was situated. He had then no opportunity of knowing the real feeling of the Jewish people on this point. When he tested that feeling he quickly discovered that Palestine was the only possible country. Wishing to see a Jewish centre established, and knowing that elsewhere it was impossible, because contrary to history and tradition, he concentrated

his efforts on Palestine, and although he realized the difficulties more than anyone else, he remained till the day of his death (notwithstanding the Uganda scheme, which he considered only from the point of view of preparation for Palestine) a convinced and ardent Palestinian.

To repopulate this ancient country, to make it a centre of human civilization, was his object. He did not think that the solution of the problem lay in emigration *per se*. He saw that, however carefully emigration was carried out, the result in the long run must be a mere shifting from place to place. Colonization on a large scale, in any territory that might be found for the purpose, taking no account of the historic national sentiment of the Jewish people, and lacking the attractiveness necessary to make it more than a philanthropic scheme, cannot solve the problem. And philanthropy will not solve the Jewish question. Zionism alone—the Jewish National Movement—seeks to grapple with the Jewish question effectually once and for all. It proposes to establish for the Jewish people a secure and recognized national home in Palestine—the land to which the Jew during two thousand years of exile has never relinquished his moral claim.

While providing a refuge for oppressed Jews from other lands, a home in Palestine would become a centre for the Jews throughout the world, thereby raising their status everywhere, and saving them from the degradation to which they are now constantly subjected, merely because they are Jews. Such a plan has a spiritual appeal, and rallies to its aid such energy, enthusiasm and driving power as no scheme of colonization in any other country would ever command. And in spite of the contention of the different philanthropic Jewish societies that the immediate needs of the Jewish masses are best satisfied by improving their condition in the countries in which they live and by offering them opportunities of emigrating to other countries, it was felt in all quarters where intense Jewish feeling was still alive that the new vision of Herzl must not be allowed to fade away.

This new Zionism differs widely from all Jewish philanthropic efforts. It was based not on charity, but on an appreciation of history—political, economic, social and ethical. It proposed the rebuilding of a nation and the repopulating of a country. It meant a logical and morally satisfactory solution of the general Jewish problem. It

was not a measure for the moment, but an achievement for the benefit of untold generations. It did not profit merely the poverty-stricken or persecuted section of our people, but affected the whole of Jewry by a complete change in its position. It taught again the old lesson that no Jew, conscious of his duty towards the unborn generations of his people, should ever lose sight of the fact that Palestine, and Palestine alone, is the country to which he has a historic claim for all time, that in the old country of his ancestors, and there alone, it is possible to work out his people's destiny, and that nothing short of this ideal can be accepted.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE FIRST ZIONIST CONGRESS

The general impression—The proclamation of the Jewish national idea—The Basle Programme—The first Executive Central Committee—Prof. Herman Schapira—Christian visitors at the first Congress—Letters of the Grand *Rabbin* of France, *M.* Zadoc Kahn, and of the *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community of London, Dr. Moses Gaster.

THE first Zionist Congress met in Basle on August 29th, 1897.

This gathering will one day be surrounded by a halo of mythical significance and glory. There were about 200 delegates from almost every country in the world at this Jewish national assembly, the first convened since the Exile by the Jewish people themselves. The enthusiasm was beyond description. For the first time in the Diaspora the Jewish people felt strong and free. Divided by exile, it was again united by national ties as well as by those of a history of common suffering and common hopes. The convener of the Congress received endless ovations. All those present realized the historic event in which they were taking part. The Congress solemnly proclaimed to the listening world that the Jews are a nation. It pictured accurately the Jewish situation.

This picture was black. It was terrible, but it was true. Regarding it to-day, we must confess it to be prophetic. And it was not unfolded for the purpose of lamentation or protest, but with the object of impelling to strenuous action and self-help. The Congress formulated its intentions in the following programme, which was carried unanimously with the greatest enthusiasm :

The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end :—

1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.

2. The organization and binding together of the whole

Dr. Louis Loewe

Rabbi Dr. N. M. Adler

Baron M. *de* Hirsch

Prof. Dr. Hermann Schapira

Moses Hess

of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.

3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.

4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining Government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.

Dr. Theodor Herzl was elected President of the Congress and Dr. Max Nordau, Dr. Salz and M. Samuel Pineles first, second and third Vice-Presidents respectively. The Executive Central Committee elected by the First Congress consisted of :—

Vienna: Dr. Theodor Herzl, Dr. Schnirer, Dr. Oser Kokesch, Dr. Müntz, Julius M. Kremenezky. *Austria* (other than Galicia) : Dr. Sigmund Kornfield. *Galicia:* Dr. Salz, Dr. Korkis. *Bukovina:* Dr. Meyer Ebner. *France:* M. Bernard Lazare. *Germany: Rabbi* Dr. Isaac J. Rülf, Dr. Bodenheimer. *Russia: Rabbi* Samuel Mohilewer, Prof. Max Mandelstamm, Dr. Jacob Kohan-Bernstein, Isidor Jasinowski. *Roumania:* Dr. Karl Lippe, Samuel Pineles. *Bulgaria and Servia:* Prof. Gregor Belkovsky. *Orient:* Jacques Bahar.

One of the most prominent members of the First Congress was Dr. Hermann Schapira (1840–1898), Professor of Mathematics at the University of Heidelberg. He was a native of Russia, and had a most remarkable career. Being too poor to study, he turned to trade, and when he had saved sufficient money became a student once more. He was then already forty years of age, but his keen intellect and industry soon brought him to the forefront in mathematics, which he had studied privately without the help of a school or a teacher. He first learned his science from old *Hebrew* books, and then from books written in other languages. So much was his pre-eminence recognized that, notwithstanding his being a Jew and a foreigner —a Russian subject—he was appointed to the Professorship of Mathematics at Heidelberg University. He remained in appearance, in manners and in mentality as typical and picturesque a member of his people as any old *Rabbi*. He was an excellent *Hebrew* scholar, and well versed not only in ancient Jewish history and literature, but also in modern *Hebrew* literature. Like the whole modern *Hebraist* school, he regarded *Hebrew* as a living tongue. His heart and soul were in the "Lovers of *Zion*" move-

ment and in the *Hebrew* revival. At the first Zionist Congress he solemnly called upon the delegates to declare allegiance to the cause. When differences of opinion arose, the old Professor in impassioned language appealed to all to sink their differences and personal prejudices and to work unitedly with one heart and soul for the common cause. A dramatic scene followed. The Professor called upon every delegate present to raise his right hand, and they all did so and repeated after him:—

"אם־אשכחך ירושלם תשכח ימיני :" [1]

This was one of the most solemn moments of the Congress. On the other hand, when Professor Schapira first spoke about the necessity of a Jewish National Fund, an idea which he had advocated some time earlier in *Hebrew* articles, the proposal was regarded as a chimera rather than as a practical scheme. But he did not feel discouraged by the opposition of the "practical people." During the first year of the Zionist organization, between the first and second Congresses, he devoted himself entirely to Zionist work. He died on a Zionist propaganda tour, during a stay at Cologne.

The first Christian clergyman to encourage Herzl was the Chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna, the Rev. Dr. W. H. Hechler, who is an ardent student of the Bible and a Christian "Lover of *Zion*." With the full knowledge of his chief, the British Ambassador, he supported the Zionist movement, and introduced Herzl to several of his Royal and Imperial pupils and friends. He was the first English clergyman to go to Russia and help the persecuted Jews on the spot: he visited at that time Odessa, Mohilew, Kishinew and Balta. He visited the Holy Land several times, and regularly attended the Zionist Congresses.

Among the most interesting visitors at the Congress were, the famous pioneer of Zionism, Henri Dunant; and the Protestant pastor Dr. Johannes Lepsius, son of Carl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884), the famous Egyptologist, who is thoroughly acquainted with the East, and had been pastor of a small community in the Harz Mountains. Dr. Lepsius warmly espoused the cause of the Armenians in 1895, and when, as the result of his agitation, the

[1] "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning" (Psalm cxxxvii. 5).

German Government sent him a warning, he resigned his post. He placed his views on the Zionist Congress before a meeting held on the 7th September, 1897, at Basle, in a paper entitled, "Armenians and Jews in Exile; or, the Future of the East with Reference to the Armenian Question and the Zionist Movement." After referring to points of similarity between Jews and Armenians, both persecuted races, he said: "When the time comes . . . will Jewry lay their hands on Palestine and say: this is our land? Will anyone be able to prevent them? Even if the Zionist movement has an exclusively national character, there is yet a strong religious undercurrent. We believe that the Jewish nation has a future before it, and that this future will be a glorious one." The address was followed by an interesting discussion, in the course of which Professor Carl Friedrich Heman, the Orientalist, of Basle University, heartily endorsed Dr. Lepsius' views.

The greatest achievement of the new Zionism was the Jewish Congress—the supreme authority in the movement based upon democratic principles—and the creation of a world-wide organization for the resuscitation of the Jewish nationality and for the regaining of Palestine, not by brute force or political adventure, and not by any act against the government or the population of the country or any other government or nation, but by force of conviction, enthusiasm, devotion and self-sacrifice.

M. Zadoc Kahn (1839–1905), Grand *Rabbin* of France, addressed a letter of congratulation to the first Zionist Congress. The Grand *Rabbin* wrote that he would not fail to follow with much interest the deliberations of the Congress. Whatever might be thought as to the utility and opportuneness of the Congress, it could not be denied that it merited every attention. Differences of opinion were inevitable, but he prayed with all his might that God might guide and inspire all the leaders of the movement, and that the debates and the resolutions which would be arrived at would be for the benefit of Judaism throughout the world.

In an interview on the subject of the Zionist movement, which took place immediately after the first Zionist Congress, *M.* Zadoc Kahn spoke in the highest terms of Dr. Herzl.

"This man of faith is also a man of action. He is an apostle, but an apostle who is doctor of political economy. I know he occupies a distinguished place in the Austrian

Press, and that he has excellent relations in the highest political spheres. But he appears ready to sacrifice all for the triumph of his ideas." *M.* Zadoc Kahn then criticized in very mild terms the exaggerated "pessimism" of Herzl's pamphlet, "The Jewish State," and after dwelling on the religious aspects of the question, he concluded :—

"The sympathy of the French Jews, now awakened, is assured to the Zionists. To ridicule or condemn a project when this project carries with it hope, and thus consolation, to thousands of co-religionists who are molested in their quality as Jews, this the French Jews have not the right to do."

In opening the proceedings of the final day of the Congress, Herzl announced that several letters and telegrams had been received. The only one he would mention was that sent by the Rev. Dr. Moses Gaster, *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in England, who wrote to express his sympathy with the objects of the Congress.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE MOTIVE FORCES OF ZIONISM

Modern *Hebrew* literature—The *Chovevé Zion*—The pioneers in Palestine.

THUS the Zionist Movement was launched. Before we follow its progress during the intervening twenty years, it will be as well to give some account of the forces at work in Jewish life which made the movement and its success possible. For Zionism cannot be properly understood if it is regarded merely as a result of certain political combinations or as a reaction against anti-Semitism. It must be traced to its roots, which lie deep in the national consciousness of the Jewish people ; and that national consciousness is not simply a vague sentiment, but has long had its concrete expressions in connection with the revival of Palestine and of the *Hebrew* language. The inner history of Zionism, then, is to be traced along the lines of Palestinian colonization and the *Hebrew* renascence. For convenience we may divide our brief survey into three main headings :

1. Modern *Hebrew* Literature.
2. The *Chovevé Zion* and University Zionist Groups in various countries.
3. The pioneers of the *Hebrew* Revival in Palestine.

It must be remembered, however, that these are not watertight divisions, and we naturally meet with the same men in different fields of work.

The aim of the present chapter is to trace the development of each of these three forces (so far as that has not been done in earlier chapters), giving some account of the outstanding figures in each department. There is in each field a host of less distinguished but not less devoted workers. Of some of these mention is made in Appendix lxxv.

1. *Modern Hebrew Literature*

From a linguistic and literary point of view, no less than from a moral and religious standpoint, the Bible is a great and wonderful book :

(1) בן בג בג אומר הפך בה והפך בה דכלא בה
פרקי אבות, ה' כה.

Not that modern *Hebrew* writers use the Bible merely as a storehouse of words and phrases, depending on reminiscence for their effect. The practice of cramming *Hebrew* writings with scriptural quotations so as to give them an artificial brilliance and a second-hand wealth of idiom and grandeur of diction was characteristic of the so-called *M'lizah.*[2] In our time there is no more of this patchwork writing. The *Hebrew* language has become independent of quotations, but none the less the traditional spirit continues to live, and the Bible is the corner-stone of modern *Hebrew* literature. It could not be otherwise, for in the Jewish view the Bible must enter into every phase of man's life, must exert an influence upon the words of his mouth, the thoughts of his mind, and the feelings of his heart. This is the result not of any dogma, but of the tradition of Jewish learning, which is a sort of intellectual devotion, a reverent feeling, a particular worship of the *Torah* as knowledge, teaching, thought.

The revival of the *Hebrew* language was thus able to become the foremost factor in the Jewish national revival. Yet little attention has been paid to this part of the history of Zionism. Perhaps the most important reason is the general ignorance of the *Hebrew* language or of its modern literature and Press. Some writers on Zionism are quite ignorant of the whole of this literature, others are misinformed as to its past, and often imperfectly and insufficiently conversant with its present, and are only capable of repeating mechanically a few names and titles which have gained currency. Few have an adequate conception of the real activity of hundreds of writers, of the amount of work which has been done, or of the succession of the different stages of development. This lack of knowledge is the main reason for the strange opinion so often expressed by anti-Zionists in Western Europe, particularly in England, that Zionism is a mere political or materialistic movement.

Our object here is not to write a history of *Hebrew* literature as such, but only to illustrate a part of Zionist history which has hitherto been very imperfectly surveyed, and a

[1] Ben Bag Bag said, ponder in it, and ponder in it, for all is in it. *Ethics of the Fathers*, v., 25.
[2] *M'lizah* = "flower of speech."

certain knowledge of which is necessary for a real and adequate conception of the inner intellectual forces which have made Zionism what it is. The fact of importance from our point of view is that the best, the noblest, and the soundest ideas were brought into Zionism from *Hebrew* literature, that certain *Hebrew* writers are prominent nationalists, that from them have gone forth "the thoughts that inspire" and "the words that ignite," and that the wide dissemination of the Zionist idea among hundreds of thousands of Jews (Russian Jews or those who came from Russia) could not have been produced merely by organization and business institutions, had they not been prepared for it by the knowledge and every-day use of the *Hebrew* language with its innumerable national, historical and Palestinian reminiscences and associations. And not only that: in our view even the better elements of the *Hebrew* literature of the period which preceded the Zionist movement, and which is commonly known as the "*Haskalah*" (enlightenment) period, as well as the writings of those modern authors who do not support Zionism, have contributed to that great regeneration which has enabled the national language and literature to reach such an advanced stage of development.

For the beginnings of modern *Hebrew* literature we must go back at least as far as Abraham Dob Bär (1789–1878) *ben* Chayyim Lebensohn (surnamed Michailishker; *pseudonym* Adam), the Hebrew Klopstock—a serious and somewhat dry poet and his son Micah Joseph (1818–1852), a graceful singer cut off in his early bloom. Contemporary with them was F. Rothstein, an almost unknown Polish *Chassid* and *Maskil*,[1] who translated *Hermann and Dorothea* of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) in stanzas of laconic beauty which in precision of outline and completeness of impression are as sublime as the original. These men founded a school of poets, the tradition of which was carried on by men like Solomon *ben* Baruch Salkind (1805 ?–1868); Bernhard Nathansohn (*b.* 1832); David Moses Mitzkun (1836–1887); and Isaachar Berush Hurwitz (*b.* 1835). Contemporaneously, the beginnings of a modern prose literature were being created. To Mordecai Aaron *ben* Judah Asher Günzburg (1795–1846) we owe a *Hebrew*

[1] *Chassid*—member of the sect of *Chassidim* or "Pious." *Maskil*—upholder of the ideals of *Hakalah* ("enlightenment"), as against strict traditionalism with its restriction of intellectual interest to ancient *Hebrew* literature.

style at once forceful and condensed, in great contrast to the limp and diffuse style prevalent before him. Abraham Mapu (1808–1867), master of a pure biblical style and a wonderful imaginative sympathy with the life of Bible times, created in his romantic novel *The Love of Zion* a gossamer web in evanescent hues of gold and silver. Kalman Schulman (1819–1899), a versatile translator and popularizer, did much to break ground for the ideas of the *Haskalah*. Isaac Erter (1792–1851), of Galicia, wrote satires which are masterpieces of art in their epigrammatic beauty. These and a host of lesser men laid the substantial foundations on which later a more specifically nationalist *Hebrew* literature could be built up. For themselves they were too busy with their task of acclimatizing European culture on *Hebrew* soil to trouble overmuch about nationalism. Their tendency was even towards assimilation, so strong was their reaction against the conservatism of their environment. This tendency is seen most strongly in the greatest of these *Maskilim*, Judah Löb (Leon) *ben* Asher Gordon (1831–1892), a poet, essayist and story-teller, who united lightness of touch, clearness and elegance of diction with a great gift of expression, and combined in one harmonious whole accurate reflection and vivid imagination—an exceedingly keen satirist, and the most profound among writers of the *Haskalah* in the knowledge and use as well of the biblical as of the post-biblical *Hebrew* idiom. The recently deceased veteran novelist Solomon (Shalom) Jacob Abramowitsch (1836–1918) "*Mendele Mocher Sephorim*"[1] still continued to carry on the *Haskalah* tradition; and although dubbed "Grandfather of *Yiddish*," he also produced *Hebrew* works of immortal value, the works of a giant artist in language and imagination. But broadly speaking the ideals of the *Haskalah* have given place since about 1880 to a more distinctly nationalist tendency.

The historical and philosophical bases of modern Jewish nationalism were laid in the earlier half of the nineteenth century by a number of Jewish scholars who wrote in *Hebrew*, and of whom the most noteworthy are Nachman Cohen Krochmal (1785–1840), Samuel David *ben* Hezekiah Luzzatto (1800–1865) and Solomon Judah Löb Rapaport (1790–1867). Krochmal in his *Modern Guide for the Perplexed* (a title which alludes, of course, to the great work of Maimonides), strove to effect a synthesis beween

[1] The Jewish Cervantes.

traditional Judaism and Hegelianism. The national idea is a postulate of his method, and he presents it in a rational and constructive manner, entirely free from sentimentality. Luzzatto, who studied deeply and wrote much in the fields of history, religious ideas and exegesis, was more of a mystic in temperament, but not less fundamentally nationalist in outlook. Rapaport, an encyclopædic scholar and one of the pioneers of the so-called " Jewish Science " (scientific study of Judaism and Jewish history), was perhaps less directly and consciously concerned with the national idea, but his hostile attitude to the extravagances of the " Reform " movement sufficiently indicates his leaning. Another profound scholar who has received too scant attention is Jacob Reifmann (1818–1895), whose *Hebrew* pamphlet *The Mission of Israel*—one of a hundred treatises and articles—is an eloquent exposition of the national idea and a thoroughgoing condemnation of radical " Reform," not from a theological, but from a purely nationalist and historical point of view. We may remark in passing that some of the later representatives of " Jewish Science," though they wrote mostly in other languages than *Hebrew* (principally German), were essentially nationalist in feeling: especially Heinrich Hirsch Graetz (1817–1891), the historian, who was influenced by Moses (Moritz) Hess (1812–1875), and really—though perhaps unconsciously—laid the foundations of Jewish nationalism in Western Europe, and David Kaufmann (1852–1899), whose learning and instinct combined made him welcome Zionism and defend its leaders on occasion. Important, however, as was the work of these scholars in giving Jewish nationalism the necessary philosophical foundation, the spread of the national idea among the people is more directly due to the popular *Hebrew* writers of Russia, who, growing up during the *Haskalah* period, abandoned the vague, universalistic idea of " enlightenment " for the conception of a modernized and progressive Jewish people.

Of these David *ben* Dob Baer Gordon (1826–1886) was one of the earliest. In 1856 he became assistant editor of the first *Hebrew* weekly paper, *Ha'magid*. He also assisted in the formation and conduct of the Society *Mekize Nirdamim* (1864), established for the purpose of publishing old and valuable *Hebrew* works. In 1884 he went to London as the representative of the *Chovevé Zion* to congratulate Sir Moses Montefiore on the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

Peter (Perez) *ben* Moses Smolenskin (1842–1885), the most popular *Hebrew* writer of his time, was an ardent nationalist and Zionist during the second period of his literary activity. He rejected the theory associated with the name of Mendelssohn, which makes Judaism nothing more than a religious confession; and against this theory he wrote a series of articles and essays. About 1880 he began to be interested in the colonization of Palestine. He joined Laurence Oliphant, through whom he hoped to secure the intervention of European Powers in favour of the Jews. His realistic Hebrew novels, as well as his monthly *Ha'shachar* (The Dawn), exercised a wide influence.

Moses Löb Lilienblum (1843–1910) was a progressive "radical" during the first half of his literary career. But the anti-Jewish riots of 1880 and 1881 aroused him to a consciousness of the unsafe position of the Jews in exile, and he started writing articles in *Hebrew* and in Russian, in which he pointed to the re-establishment of the Jews in Palestine as the only solution of the Jewish question. He wrote several pamphlets, and as Secretary of the *Chovevé Zion* took a most earnest and energetic part in their activity.

Alexander Ossypovitch Zederbaum of Petrograd (1816–1892) indefatigably advocated the colonization of Palestine by Jews in his *Hebrew* paper *Ha'melitz*. He did not confine his labours in the cause of Jewish nationalism to such editorial efforts. He took an active part in obtaining the permission of the Russian Government for the formation of an Association of *Chovevé Zion* in Russia, with its centre in Odessa, and afterwards in organizing the Association.

Samuel Joseph Fuenn (1819–1891) of Wilna was an admirable scholar and a *Hebrew* writer of wide outlook. For many years he was editor of the *Hebrew* weekly *Ha'carmel*. His *Kiria Neemana* (the History of the Jews in Wilna) is a standard work. He was also author of *Ha'otzar* (*Hebrew* dictionary), of a biographical lexicon, and of many other books of reference. During the last years of his life he was engaged in the *Chovevé Zion* movement.

Jechiel Mendelssohn (1817–1892) of Lublin, was a distinguished *Hebraist*. The diversity as well as the extent of his reading was remarkable. He knew the whole of *Hebrew* literature as well as the classical writers of antiquity, and had a wide knowledge of Jewish history. His *Hebrew* style was of great exactitude and beauty. He contributed to *Hàboker Or*, *Ha'melitz* and *Ha'assif*, and preached with

artistic skill and historical discrimination the national idea of the *Chovevé Zion.*

Asher Ginzberg—"*Achad Ha'am*"—deserves a special chapter in the history of Zionism. He was the most prominent literary figure in the *Chovevé Zion* movement, and he is the most respected and influential representative of modern *Hebrew* literature. Born in Russia, and educated in the traditional religious way, he went through a carefully arranged course of studies in "Jewish Science" and in philosophy and literature. He first attracted notice by his articles in *Ha'melitz* about the condition of the colonies in Palestine. He had the clearness of mind to see things as they were, and the courage to publish what he believed to be the truth. The absence of exaggeration, the earnestness, and the steadfast truth-seeking which are the characteristic features of all his writings, and give them peculiar weight, were already clearly developed and evident in his first essays. He founded the *Hebrew* monthly *Ha'shiloach*, which became a creative force in the modern *Hebrew* revival. He grouped around himself young men of talent, and discovered, stimulated and guided many young writers and students, who looked upon him as their spiritual father. *Ha'shiloach* soon became the leading literary *Hebrew* review, principally owing to his philosophical and publicistic articles. A deep and clear thinker, he expounded with convincing logic, and in calm, noble and dignified language the ideology of Jewish nationalism. His principal ideal is Jewish national distinctiveness in the Diaspora, based upon *Hebrew* culture, and making Palestine a spiritual centre or "nidus." Some of his essays can be read in an English version by Leon Simon of London, published by the Jewish Publication Society of America. We should, however, form a very inadequate estimate of the services which this distinguished writer has rendered to Zionism, and of the influence which he has exerted on his readers, were we to confine our attention solely to his writings. It is the combination of a writer and a personality that gives him his unique position. He was successfully active in the *Chovevé Zion* movement, he has visited Palestine several times, and he founded in 1889 the Order "*B'nai Moshé,*" a group of intellectual Jewish Nationalists. This Order, which existed for eight years, gave rise to the foundation of the *Hebrew* Publication Society "*Achiasaf*" in Warsaw, of the first modern *Hebrew* school in *Jaffa*, and of the Palestinian colony *Rechoboth.* Out of

these grew many other institutions for colonization, *Hebrew* literature and education.

Chaim Noach Bialik is the greatest living *Hebrew* poet, and with his name the national revival is inseparably connected. Born in Volhynia, Russia, he had a *Talmudical* education. He started his literary career in the *Ha'shiloach* and other *Hebrew* reviews. He rose quickly to great fame, making a new era in *Hebrew* poetry. He has an epic as well as a lyric gift. His marvellous artistic instinct, his harmonious *Hebrew*, his liveliness of imagination, the melody of his verse place him in the highest rank. He is a national poet in the noblest sense of the term. He voices the feelings and traditions of generations. He has measured the groans of our people, has counted their sighs and tears, has gathered and sung them and played them upon the celestial harp of his *Hebrew* muse. Sometimes, like a rebel *cherub*, he sounds the trumpet of judgment against tyranny. He is familiar with every phase of Jewish thought and life, ancient as well as modern, in the *Ghetto* as well as in nature, but his heart is in *Zion*, and here the freshness and vividness of his colouring, the truth and life-like reality of his pictures, the enthusiasm of his hopes are unsurpassed. He is also distinguished as a writer of prose, and is active in the *Hebrew* Publication Society "*Moriah*," at Odessa, which has enriched *Hebrew* literature by many valuable works.

Saul Scernichowsky, born in Michailovka, Russia, by profession a physician, is, next to Bialik, the greatest living *Hebrew* poet. He is distinguished by depth and tenderness of feeling, fertile and ingenious fancy, profound knowledge of the classical world, the easy transition by which he passes from nature to man, exquisite sense of beauty and a highly developed taste for music, which makes his verse exceedingly melodious.

2. *The Chovevé Zion and University Zionist Groups*

We have more than once had occasion to mention the groups of *Chovevé Zion* ("Lovers of *Zion*") which sprang up in Russia in the early eighties for the support of the pioneers of immigration into Palestine. Some account of the most important of these groups and of the outstanding personalities connected with them will indicate both the rapidity with which the movement spread, and the continuity of development between the *Chovevé Zion* and the

new Zionist organization founded by Herzl. We shall find throughout that those who came into prominence in Herzl's movement were almost without exception men who had been active for years before as "Lovers of *Zion*." We shall find also that everywhere it was the Jewish University Student—and particularly the Russian Jewish Student, whether at a Russian or at a German or Swiss University—who, captured by the idea of the national revival, became the life and the driving force of the movement.

The first place among the *Chovevé Zion* groups belongs to that of Odessa, which became and has remained the headquarters of the whole organization. We have already mentioned three prominent members of this group—Pinsker, *Achad Ha'am* and Lilienblum (the last two in connection with their services to *Hebrew* literature). Among a host of other Odessa Zionists who have earned distinction, *M.* M. Ussishkin stands out most prominently because of the influence which his energy and determination have won for him. He graduated in engineering at Moscow, where he was instrumental in founding the *B'nai Zion* ("Sons of *Zion*")—one of the earliest and strongest of the *Chovevé Zion* groups. Afterwards he went to Ekaterinoslaw, and only later to Odessa, where he has been the centre of Jewish national work in all its branches for some years. To him perhaps more than to any single man is due the return of Zionist effort to practical colonizing work in Palestine after the temporary concentration on political negotiation under Herzl. He has worked strenuously for the financial institutions of Zionism as well as for Palestinian colonization and the *Hebrew* revival.

Of the brilliant group of leaders which received its training in the *B'nai Zion* of Moscow we mention here the recently deceased Dr. Ephim Wladimirovitch [Jechiel] Tschlenow (1865–1918), Vice-President of the Inner Actions Committee of the Zionist Movement. After graduating in medicine at Moscow University, he settled in that city, and divided his life between the claims of his profession and those of Zionist work. He combined appreciation of the value of practical work in Palestine with a sound sense of political values. He had been twice to the Holy Land, and in a brochure, *Five Years' Work in Palestine* (written in Russian and translated into German), produced an admirably clear and comprehensive record of recent Jewish achievements in the country.

Scarcely less important than the Odessa and the Moscow Societies were those of St. Petersburg, of Bialystok, of Pinsk, of Minsk and of Wilna, every one of which was a training-ground for men who afterwards became prominent in the Zionist movement. It was at Pinsk, his birthplace, that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, now President of the English Zionist Federation, began his Zionist activity, which was continued afterwards with such fruitful results at German and Swiss Universities and in this country. Wilna is the home of two Zionists, the brothers Isaac and Boris Goldberg, who hold a specially distinguished place both in Russian Zionism and in the movement at large. So in every Jewish centre in Russia the "Lovers of *Zion*" movement attracted the best of Jewish energy and idealism, especially among the youth, and the idea of the return to *Zion* took a firmer and firmer hold on the people and demanded more and more imperatively an outlet in practical work. In Poland and Galicia and Roumania, and to a lesser extent in Germany, the movement spread during the eighties and nineties of last century, so that when Herzl came on the scene the national consciousness to which he appealed was largely awakened (though not in those elements of Jewry to which he first addressed his call). In countries further west there was little progress until after the creation of Herzl's organization. True there were *Chovevé Zion* groups in England and France, but the idea of the return had not really struck root in the Jewish communities of those countries. One of the great services rendered by Herzl's organization to the cause of Jewish nationalism is that it has provided a bridge over which the Jewish spirit and the idealism of the reawakened Jewries of Eastern Europe could make their way into the Western communities and give them new life and a new sense of the realities of Judaism. Thus in Anglo-Jewry during the last decade or so there has been a marked tendency away from the polite conventions of assimilation towards a realization of the deeper and more serious implications of Jewishness; and only a remnant of the "old guard" still repeats the *shibboleths* of an earlier generation about Judaism as a "persuasion" and "emancipation" as a cure for all the ills of Jewry.

We have spoken of the part that the Jewish student has played in this evolution, and it is so important as to merit further examination.

The position of the Jewish students at the Universities of

Western Europe at the beginning of the third quarter of the last century was a most deplorable one from a Jewish point of view. They had increased in numbers, belonging partly to the native Jewish populations and partly to Eastern Europe, nevertheless they were a negligible quantity. They were scattered all over Germany, Austria and Switzerland as units without cohesion or organization. Nationally they did not count : the chief principle of assimilation—which was at the time the general tendency of Western European Jewry—was to abandon Jewish national claims. Their attitude towards the religion of their fathers was one of indifference, want of faith, if not hostility. What marked them out as Jews was in fact only the treatment meted out to them by the anti-Semitic Students' Societies, which hated and insulted them. And while the Jews born in the Western European countries were regarded as outcasts by the non-Jewish corporations and societies, the foreign Jewish students—mostly from Russia—were regarded as outcasts by the outcasts. The Western European and the Eastern European Jewish students were thus divided into two fractions.

Then the new spirit of Zionism made itself felt. A group of Jewish students at the Vienna University founded, in 1882, a National Jewish Students' Association called "*Kadima*,"[1] which was later, as we have seen, the first organization to extend a welcome to Herzl. These Vienna students have a better claim than any other similar organization in Western Europe to be regarded as the pioneers of the Jewish national idea.

One of the leaders of the *Kadima* was Nathan Birnbaum, known also by his *nom de plume* of "Mathias Acher," who was born in Galicia and graduated at Vienna University. A powerful writer and a keen thinker, he became, in course of time, a considerable figure in German-Jewish literature. In recent years he has become a Jewish democrat, championing the cause of *Yiddish*. But in the early days of the *Kadima* he was heart and soul devoted to this Association, of which he was the philosophical leader.

The members of the *Kadima* soon attracted attention owing to their courageous attitude, and steadily increased in number. They had become conscious Jews, and derived from this fact a great access of moral strength. They were no longer weak, downtrodden, degraded young men, feeling

[1] "Eastward," "Forward."

helpless and demoralized ; they began to be men, jealous of their honour, demanding their rights as Jews among the nationalities. The *Chovevé Zion* movement appealed strongly to their emotions and energies. The idea, a mere spark at first, developed into a blazing fire that seized upon several Universities. Young Jews speaking different languages and of many different habits and customs became united by invisible ties all over the Continent of Europe. At the end of the eighties there existed an important Association in Berlin, which was at first somewhat theoretical in character, but very soon afterwards became a sister society of the Vienna Association, taking also the name of "*Kadima*" (Appendix lxxvii). The members of this group include a great number of workers whose names are inseparably bound up with the history of the Zionist Organization and with Jewish national literature. Most of them were of Russian birth, as might be expected ; for it was the Russian Jewish student who, moving from one German University to another, carried with him the torch of the national revival. Besides Dr. Chaim Weizmann, already mentioned, we find in the Berlin Students' group two of the present members of the Inner Actions Committee—Dr. Shmarya Levin, a powerful speaker and one of the most energetic propagandists of the movement, and Viktor Jakobsohn, who for some years represented Zionism at Constantinople. Martin Buber and Berthold Feiwel, two gifted littérateurs, were both members of the Vienna *Kadima* who worked later in Berlin. Davis Trietsch, not himself a University student, worked in close co-operation with the Berlin group. An indefatigable advocate of colonization schemes, he has given a great impetus to the study of Palestine and has originated many fruitful ideas. Associated with him on the staff of the *Jüdischer Verlag*, the Zionist publishing house, was the artist Ephraim Moses *ben* Jacob *Hacohen* Lilien, who together with Hermann Struck, an artist of a very different type, best represents Jewish national development on the æsthetic side. It remains to mention two Berlin Zionists who became members of the Inner Actions Committee in 1911—Arthur Hantke, distinguished for his services to the organization of the movement, and Professor Otto Warburg, a well-known botanist and founder of the Palestine Land Development Company.

Similar associations to the *Kadima* were founded at many German and Swiss Universities—Heidelberg, Munich,

Leipzig, Königsberg, Breslau, Berne, Zürich, Geneva and Lausanne. To them is due the national awakening which has led to so great an improvement in the spiritual condition of Jewry in Western Europe. In Germany especially the progress of the national idea among the younger generation was phenomenal. The sons of the most assimilated and denationalized families became the most ardent champions of the new movement back to the Jewish land and Jewish ideals. But much the same thing has happened in all countries which have a considerable Jewish population. In Russia it goes without saying that Jewish Students' groups were to the fore in the national work. Even in the Polish cities of Warsaw and Lodz, the homes of the most extreme and disintegrating assimilation, numbers of Jewish students at the Universities were kindled by the national idea and did it valuable service. In Anglo-Jewry, isolated by distance and by difference of language and environment from the main currents of Jewish life, the university Zionist movement developed later and has not gone so far. Its history belongs entirely to the last dozen years, and its adherents are still a small band. But it is one of the most remarkable and promising features of Zionist development in England in recent years. While the older generation of Zionists in this country worked mainly in the field of organization, a group of younger men, largely of University training, has paid more attention to the spread of the Zionist idea by means of literature and education. Most of these younger men have been influenced by the ideas of *Achad Ha'am*. They have produced monthly journals, pamphlets and books on Zionism and in the Zionist spirit, and have contributed in various ways to the spread of Jewish knowledge and the improvement of *Hebrew* education. They have also taken their share in the work of organization, and one of them, Mr. H. Sacher, has recently become Grand Commander of the Order of Ancient *Maccabæans*, a Zionist association organised on Friendly Society lines.

3. *The Pioneers of the Hebrew Revival in Palestine*

While modern *Hebrew* literature and the propaganda of the Return to Zion were quickening the Jews of the Diaspora to new life and new hope, there were not wanting men who were prepared to throw up their careers and prospects in Europe in order themselves to help in laying the foundations of the revival in Palestine. It is not our purpose here to tell

the almost miraculous story of the foundation of the earliest Jewish settlements or "colonies" in the eighties, how by sheer endurance the pioneer settlers maintained their hold in the face of appalling difficulties, and how by the time when the great war broke out there had been created the nucleus of a thriving *Hebrew* nation, firmly attached once more to its ancestral soil, and repossessed of its ancestral tongue.[1] We have merely to glance at a few of the outstanding facts and personalities of this revival (Appendix lxxviii).

The revival is not wholly, though it is largely, a result of the terrible events which drove large masses of Jews to emigrate from Russia in 1880–1881. Even before that date there were a few Jews in Palestine who, if they were not strong enough of themselves to initiate a national revival, were able to help when new forces came from without. Of these were Jechiel Brill (1836–1886), who, born in Russia and educated in Constantinople and *Jerusalem*, established a *Hebrew* monthly, *Ha'lebanon*, in Palestine in 1863, and later was commissioned by Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild to conduct a group of experienced farmers from Russia through Palestine; Jechiel Michael *ben* Noah Pines (1842–1912), also of Russian birth, who in 1878 was sent to *Jerusalem* to establish charitable institutions associated with the name of Sir Moses Montefiore, and lived thenceforward in Palestine, interesting himself in the welfare of the Jewish community and the organization of the Jewish agricultural colonies; David Yellin, a native of Palestine and one of the most eminent of living *Hebraists*, who has devoted himself mainly to education, and has played a large part in the development of *Hebrew* as a living language through his contributions to the perfection of the "natural method" of teaching *Hebrew*; and the late Abraham Moses Luncz (1854–1918), who had lived in Palestine from early youth, and whose long-established *Hebrew* Palestine Annual has done much for the historical and geographical study of the country. But it was not till the immigration which followed on the Russian massacres of 1880–1881 that Jewish life in Palestine really began to take a new direction. Among the stalwarts of those early days a group of Russian students known as *Bilu* (Appendix lxxix) (from the initials of the four *Hebrew* words meaning "Come, let us go up to the house of

[1] For an account of Jewish colonization in Palestine the reader may be referred to *Palestine: the Rebirth of an Ancient People*, by A. M. Hyamson (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1917), *chs.* 11–14.

Jacob," which they chose as their motto) will always be held in affectionate remembrance. Their example of stubborn endurance and unfailing optimism did much to rescue the colonization movement from the ruin which threatened it in its early days, when the natural effects of insufficient knowledge and resources began to be felt. Most of the group died young, but a few still survive—among them Israel Belkind, who is still at work in Palestine as a teacher. Elieser Ben-Jehuda, who settled in *Jerusalem* in 1881, is associated principally with the revival of *Hebrew*. It is thanks largely to him that out of the welter of languages spoken by Jews in Palestine *Hebrew* has once and for all won its place as *the* national language. His monumental *Hebrew* dictionary, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraitatis,* in ten volumes, was in course of publication when the war broke out. Another side of the revival is represented by Boris Schatz, the founder and head of the *Bezalel* School of Arts and Crafts at *Jerusalem,* whose idea of creating a distinctively Jewish art has already borne good fruit (Appendix lxxx). And in yet other spheres the young Jewish settlement owes much to David Levontin, Manager of the Anglo-Palestine Company, the Jewish banking concern in Palestine ; to Aaron Aaronsohn, head of the valuable Agricultural Experiment Station at Atlit, near *Haifa* ; to Dr. Benzion Mossinsohn and his colleagues at the *Jaffa* Hebrew Secondary School, where an education similar to that of a Grammar School is given entirely in *Hebrew*. Each of these men has done pioneer work in one field or another. They have stood in the van of a movement which has transformed Jewish life in Palestine as Zionist propaganda has transformed Jewish life in the Diaspora, not only creating new types and values of its own, but surely if slowly breaking down the resistance of the anti-national Jewish agencies which were at work in Palestine before Zionism came on the scene. And if the propaganda and organization of Zionism have been essential to the existence and growth of the Palestinian settlement, it is no less true that if not for the work of those who built up the new Jewish life in Palestine, there would have been no inspiring force behind the propaganda of Zionism, and no solid basis for its organization.

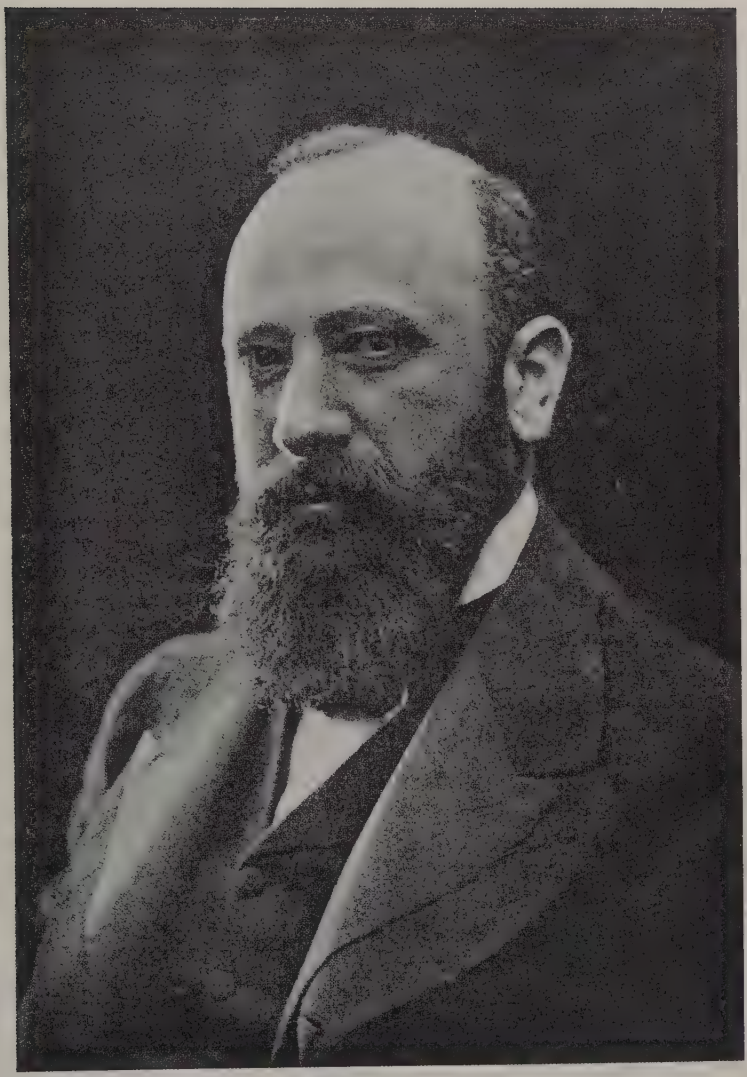
CHAPTER L

ZIONISM IN FRANCE

David Wolffsohn—France—*M.* Léon Bourgeois—Michel Erlanger—Zadoc Kahn—Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild—Professor Joseph Halévy—Dr. Emil Meyersohn—Dr. Waldemar Haffkine—The brothers Marmorek—Bernard Lazare.

In its early years the new Zionist movement showed perhaps insufficient appreciation of the importance of Palestinian colonizing work. Its attention was turned mainly in another direction, that of paving the way for a great resettlement of the Jewish people by the creation of favourable political conditions ; and the plodding and often blundering work of the *Chovevé Zion* seemed to some of its leaders and many of their followers to be poor, petty and uninspiring by comparison with the wide sweep and the brilliance of their own ideal. But as time went on, and it became obvious that in the main the new movement must look for support to those who had worked for the same end as " Lovers of *Zion*," the necessary adjustment between the new and the older methods had to be made ; and the internal history of Zionism since 1897 is one of the penetration of *Chovevé Zion* ideas into the large framework created by the master-mind of Herzl under the stress of ideas somewhat different. It is not our intention to trace this history here[1] (Appendix lxxxi): we are concerned less with the inner history of the movement than with its repercussions in the literature and the politics of England and France. It may suffice to say that the Congresses, held first annually and afterwards biennially, attracted an ever-growing number of delegates and an ever-increasing amount of attention ; that in its early years the movement established a Jewish National Fund for the purpose of buying land in Palestine on a great scale, and a financial instrument, the Jewish Colonial Trust, which in turn founded the Anglo-Palestine Company for the conduct of actual banking business in Palestine (Appendix lxxxii) ; that after the death of Herzl in 1904, and the rejection of the offer by the British Government of a piece of territory in East Africa, there developed

[1] For a general history of the movement see *Zionism*, by Prof. R. Gottheil (Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1914).



David Wolffsohn

a somewhat serious fissure between the two tendencies in the movement, the one looking to political activity and the other to Palestinian colonization as the right line of progress; that Herzl's friend and follower, David Wolffsohn (1856–1914) (Appendix lxxxiii), who succeeded him as President, was able by a rare combination of gifts to hold the movement together during the period of crisis; that after the Turkish Revolution in 1908, which seemed to make political activity impossible or useless, there was a marked concentration of effort on Palestinian development; that meanwhile the Zionist organization spread to the four corners of the globe, and societies and federations were formed not only in every country in Europe, but also in all parts of the British Dominions, and particularly in the United States of America; and that the outbreak of war found the movement in a position to point both to a large membership—about a quarter of a million—and to substantial achievements in Palestine in support of its claim for the definite reconstitution of the Jews as a nation in their ancient land.

We turn from this brief summary to the impression made by the new movement in France and in England.

In France, where there had always been statesmen and writers who had a proper understanding of the Zionist idea, the most notable pronouncement from a non-Jewish source came from M. Léon Bourgeois, one of the greatest French statesmen of the present generation. His views, as imparted to Baroness Bertha *von* Suttner (1843–1914), were published by her in 1899:—[1]

"Bourgeois held forth to me enthusiastically and explained the various reasons why according to his view the movement should be supported. Complete assimilation—not altogether impossible after a long time—looms still in the far distance; until then very many individuals—if they do not break away—must suffer. The individual is still everywhere the highest consideration, collectivism is only an abstract conception. Until now the Jews have been too strongly differentiated from their surroundings to assimilate without being noticed. They are recognizable for their shortcomings as well as for their most outstanding virtues. Difference does not mean inferiority; no one will allow himself to be insulted because he belongs to this or that ethnical group. To be a Zionist means to make a stand

[1] Zionisten und Christen . . . Emil Kronberger . . . Leipzig . . . 1900. *pp.* 117–119.

against anti-Semitism. The people among whom they live are even more injured by Jew-hatred than the Jews ; it is opposed to culture, and prevents the realization of the ideal of peace. Culture happily unites all its objects more closely and aims at an unattainable ideal, but all good works are directed towards paving the way to future success. Therefore every fresh sign of energy is welcome. From a nation newly reconstituted, full of energy, and composed of such intelligent, capable and talented elements, an increase in the general work of culture may be expected. Therefore Zionism is to be encouraged. It is self-understood that the first necessity is to bring relief to a persecuted and unfortunate people. But I wish to clear up this side of the question, which belongs to the future ; to bring forward such arguments as are debated. In our Chauvinistic circles, the following argument will be brought forward : Let us be glad that in the Jews we possess a cosmopolitan element ; that the scholar, the artist and the thinker amongst them work and create without reference to national ideas. But that kind of argument is false, because to be cosmopolitan, to recognize that the interests of humanity outweigh those of one's fatherland, or still more to understand this, one must, before all things, have a fatherland."

What is remarkable about these views is their similarity in some respects to those expressed in 1866 by Moses Hess in his *Rom und Jerusalem*. Hess, though himself a German Jew writing in German, connected Zionism with the political rôle of France. He regarded the French Revolution as one of the great events that were to prepare the restoration of Israel, and therefore he looked to France for help. France had extended her protection to the Roman Catholics of Syria, and was the *beau idéal* and the *avant courier* of human progress. The renationalization of humanity was his aim. He realized the distinctiveness of the Jew. He said that Jews and Germans were as the poles asunder in thought and conceptions of life, and the logic of history and the necessities of humanity made him plead for *Zion* to be restored. Nature's economy, he said, demands that the Jew should lead his own life, in his own fashion, and in his own country. He pleaded in the first place for a reaction against Hellenistic theories of life : to him family life was sacred ; the mother's love was the real sacred source of Jewish persistence, because it was spiritual yet not unreal. From the family to the nation was but a step ; the family

should possess in the individual what the nation should uphold in the mass. He attacked most scornfully the German-Jewish Reform movement, not because he was of the ultra-orthodox school, but because there had been no real Reformation in Judaism. He believed in the upholding of traditional observances not because of their religious utility, but because they were expressive of the Jewish nation, because many of them link us to the remote past. Seeing the gradual disappearance of the little groups of emancipated Jews, and the great misery of the bulk of the Jewish people, he watched most jealously and anxiously over their destiny, desiring to preserve their original purity and ancestral dignity. "The Jew should live his own life," said Hess: "Welcome to all fresh and sound symptoms of energy," said Bourgeois. It is the same idea, bespeaking the same sense of humanity and real equality.

As regards the Jews of France, we have already shown how real were the Zionist sympathies of the leaders of the "Alliance" in the sixties. Their successors did not fall below them in this respect. Thus Michel Erlanger (1828–1892), an active member of the Central Committee of the "Alliance" and Vice-President of the "*Consistoire*" *de Paris*, promoted most energetically the colonization of Palestine. It was to a great extent through his invitation that Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild came to assist the colonies. The success of the Baron's undertakings was largely due to Erlanger's knowledge of the localities and their conditions, to his practical understanding and to the energy which he brought to bear upon the work, inspired by a love for the sacred cause which triumphed over difficulties. His practical mind saw that the Holy Land was far better suited than any other country to be a real home for the Jew. We have already mentioned the Grand *Rabbin* of France, M. Zadoc Kahn, in connection with the first Zionist Congress. No man played a more important part in the early colonization of Palestine than this admirable spiritual leader, with his great strength of character, personal influence and immense popularity. A man of great dignity and wisdom, a fine personality in the noblest sense of the term, he helped all undertakings in favour of Palestine. All the Palestinian deputations, and those from other countries with schemes for the benefit of Palestine, addressed themselves to him; all their cares and troubles fell upon his shoulders. He was engaged in this herculean task for some

years, and rendered invaluable service to the work of colonization. And there was always at Paris a group of influential supporters of the Palestinian idea. Besides Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild, the great benefactor of Palestine, there were the famous scholar, Professor Joseph Halévy (1827–1918), who was already half a century ago one of the pioneers of a *Hebrew* Revival in the East; Dr. Waldemar Mordecai Wolff Haffkine, C.I.E., member of the Institut Pasteur, who afterwards made a great name for himself by his important medical work in India; and Dr. Emil Meyersohn (at present one of the directors of the Jewish Colonization Association), an eminent scholar who, thanks to his exceptional experience, was able to reorganize the old system of colonization in Palestine.

Thus French Jewry has never been the impregnable citadel of assimilation which it is sometimes represented as being. Herzl's movement evoked a response in quarters which hitherto had been strangers to the Palestinian idea; and though a fusion between the old and the new Zionists was not effected for some time, yet essentially the two sections stood for one and the same thing. The new Zionist organization gained its footing in France through the formation, soon after the first Congress, of the "*Fédération Sioniste*," the chief pillar of which was, of course, Max Nordau.

Dr. Alexander Marmorek, a well-known physician, and one of the most prominent Zionists since the very beginning of the movement, was for several years President of the Federation. Alexander and his two brothers Oscar and Isidore were the principal advocates of the national idea in academic circles. The youthful career of Isidore was unhappily cut short by death. Oscar (1863–1910) worked for a number of years with Herzl, but an untimely death robbed the movement of him also. The most gifted and most enthusiastic of the three brothers is still active in the movement. These leaders of French Zionism were assisted by the late M. Berr, Mdlle. Marie Schach, Dr. Jacobsohn, Dr. Nahum Slouchz, and others.

Special notice is due to one of the first followers of Herzl —Bernard Lazare (1856–1904).[1]

Born at Nîmes, Bernard Lazare left his native place at an early age and came to Paris. He studied paleography and history at the Sorbonne, and was engaged for a time on

[1] His name was Lazare Bernard.

archæological work, but soon entered upon a literary and journalistic career. He contributed to the *Figaro*, the *Echo de Paris* and other dailies, founded *L'Action Sociale*, issued a pamphlet about the Panama affair and was the author of a few novels. The publication of his *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* led to a duel with Edouard Drumont.

Lazare was the pioneer of the agitation which led to the release of Captain Alfred Dreyfus; his pamphlets on the *affaire* were undoubtedly the primary causes of the revision. Another subject in which he was deeply interested was the condition of the Jews in Roumania. He repeatedly raised his voice on their behalf in the leading reviews, in that clear, incisive style which was his own. He was also an enthusiastic adherent of Herzl and an ardent Zionist. He came back to national Judaism after all his achievements for humanity in the Socialist movement and in the literature and politics of his great country, and became an eloquent champion of the new Jew. A clear thinker and a gifted writer, he contributed brilliant Zionist articles to the *Flambeau* and the *Echo Sioniste*. It was surprising how this real French patriot and intellectual came to lay bare his Jewish soul and Jewish individuality, and with what power of conviction he defended the immutable rights of this individuality.

" Le Sionisme," he wrote in 1900, " c'est l'affirmation de notre personalité. Nous avons confiance en nous mêmes, en notre génie, en notre destin pour être dignes de notre passé. . . . Nous ne serions pas dignes de notre passé, si notre histoire ne nous inspirait des pensées pour l'avenir et si nous ne comprendrions pas qu'il faut que nous ayons un foyer, un centre pour former notre univers, si grand ou petit qu'il soit, à l'image de notre idéal, de notre civilization, de notre pensée et de notre sensibilité. C'est la véritable solution du problème. Nous ne voulons pas l'absorption et l'anéantissement, la disparition, la paix du cimetière, la mort sans phrase. Pour hurter avec les loups—est-ce-que c'est notre mission? Non. Nous réclamons notre titre à nous d'être un ouvrier utile dans le grand atelier de l'humanité. Notre rôle déjà grand, grandira encore. Ce sera la triomphe du droit sur la force brutale, du droit de l'individuelle personne humaine et des collectives personnes qui sont les nations. On a beau dire que puisqu'il y a certaines groups des israélites denationalisés, la nation n'existe plus. Mais ces petits groupes ne comptent pour rien. Il y

a un peuple juif qui compte, c'est la grande majorité, ceux qui ont un passé et des traditions dont ils sont fiers et dont ils ont la garde."[1]

M. Lazare displayed a warm interest in the various questions of Zionism, and always took a national and democratic view. Though shortly before his death he retired from Zionist activity on account of a difference of opinion between himself and Herzl on a point of tactics with regard to Turkey (Lazare proposed an alliance with the Young Turks), he remained a convinced Zionist. He will live in Jewish memory much more as a Zionist than as a "Dreyfusard." His death in 1904 was an irreparable loss to Zionism in France.

[1] Le National Juif, Paris, 1898.

CHAPTER LI

ZIONISM IN ENGLAND

The first leaders — Herzl before the Royal Commission on Immigration—The East Africa offer—Death of Herzl—Holman Hunt —Report of United States Consul at Beirut on Zionism—Lord Robert Cecil—The Palestine Exploration Fund—Colonel Conder—Lord Gwydyr—Zionism and the Arab question.

WE turn now to England, where the Zionist idea continued to find influential support after the foundation of the new movement.

Dr. Herzl's appreciation of the importance of England for Zionism may be illustrated by quotations from two of his letters :—

"VIENNA, *Feb. 28th.*

"MR. CHAIRMAN,—My friends in England know how much I feel drawn towards them, and how much I expect from them for the work common and dear to all of us. From the first moment I entered the movement my eyes were directed towards England, because I saw that by reason of the general situation of things there, that it was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied. . . .

"THEODOR HERZL.

"To the Chairman of the English Zionist Conference."[1]

Again, in a letter to Viscount Milner, dated January 3, 1903, he wrote :—

"All the freedom and equality of rights of the British Jews, the happy situation even of foreign Jews in the British Colonies, and the humane protection which England's Government grants, by their protests against the persecution of our brethren, all this is a bond which unites us all closely to your glorious nation. . . . Some day, we shall be able to prove our gratitude to Great and Greater Britain."

England was made, almost as a matter of course, the home of the financial institutions of Zionism : the Jewish

[1] Zionist Conference held at the Clerkenwell Town Hall on March 6th, 1898. Report of Proceedings. London : . . . 1898. *p.* 22. (8°. 94 *pp.* in printed wrapper. [B. M.]) Special number of Palestine. The *Chovevé Zion* Quarterly.

National Fund, the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine Company are registered as English Companies. Hence English Zionists have had a position and an influence in the movement which would hardly have been warranted on the ground of mere numbers. Conditions have, however, been unfavourable to any rapid growth of the organization in this country. The official Jewish community, with its rather parochial view, long looked askance at Zionism, and until quite recent years those who followed Herzl have been a minority struggling hard against a vast amount of prejudice and of indifference. None the less, such English Zionists as Dr. M. Gaster (*Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregations), Herbert Bentwich, Joseph Cowen, L. J. Greenberg and Israel Zangwill (who left the movement after some years to found the Jewish Territorial Association) have played a prominent part in shaping Zionist policy; and more recently, as we have remarked above, a group of younger men has come forward.

If Herzl had the intuition as to the importance of England, it may fairly be said that England more rapidly than any other Power recognized the significance of Herzl's movement. The holding of the fourth Congress in London in 1900 evoked a great deal of favourable comment in the English Press (Appendix lxxxiv). And more official recognition was not wanting. In 1902 Herzl was invited to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Immigration. That fact alone sufficiently indicates that the title of Zionism to a voice on a question affecting large masses of Jews was accepted in England, even in those early days of the movement, as a matter of course. But a still more striking recognition of Zionism on the part of the British Government was to follow before long.

In October, 1902, the Executive of the Zionist Organization entered into negotiations with the British Government for part of the *Sinai* Peninsula to be granted to the Jews with powers of self-government. These negotiations broke down owing to certain stipulations on the part of the Egyptian Government, and the Colonial Office then made the Zionists an offer of territory in Uganda, in East Africa. The terms of this offer are contained in a letter of the 14th August, 1903, to Mr. L. J. Greenberg in regard "to the form of an agreement which Dr. Herzl proposes should be entered into between His Majesty's Government and the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd., for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in

East Africa." The letter states that the Marquis of Lansdowne (then Foreign Minister) "has studied the question with the interest which His Majesty's Government must always take in any well-considered scheme for the amelioration of the position of the Jewish race. . . . If a site can be found which the Trust and H.M. Commission find suitable, Lord Lansdowne will be prepared to entertain favourably proposals for the establishment of a Jewish colony or settlement on conditions which will enable the members to observe their national customs . . . the scheme comprising as its main features the grant of a considerable area of land, the appointment of a Jewish Official as the chief of the local administration, and permission to the colony to have a free hand in regard to municipal legislation as to the management of religious and purely domestic matters, such local autonomy being conditional upon the right of H.M. Government to exercise general control." This announcement gave rise to considerable excitement in the Zionist camp. The most ardent Zionists believed that it meant that Zionism was to give up its efforts for the acquisition of Palestine and to regard the settlement in East Africa as its goal, and they accordingly, and rightly, opposed this presumed alteration of the original programme. Others maintained that this alteration was never contemplated. British East Africa was not to take the place of Palestine, but only to serve as a place of temporary refuge for those unfortunate Jews who, under the horrible conditions imposed upon them, could not live in the unfriendly countries of their birth, and wait there until Palestine became a Jewish country. After most exciting debates, the Sixth Congress finally adopted a proposal to express the thanks of the Jewish people to the British Government for its magnanimous offer, which was unique in history, and to send a commission of experts to East Africa to investigate the territory. Even this tentative acceptance of the scheme in principle was bitterly opposed by a large section of delegates, especially those from Russia, who viewed with profound distrust any deviation from the pure Palestinian programme. The Commission of enquiry started on its journey towards the end of the year 1904, and in May, 1905, presented its report, which was not favourable enough to justify Zionist action for the purpose of establishing a Jewish colony. The death of Herzl had taken place in the meantime (3rd July, 1904).

The Uganda offer not only precipitated a crisis within

Zionism, but also—and herein lies its significance—raised Zionism to the rank of a political movement of international importance, and demonstrated the interest of the British Government in a solution of the Jewish problem. But after this brilliant success circumstances brought it about that the movement had virtually to leave for a time the political arena into which Herzl had taken it, and to concentrate on the strengthening of its organization and the development of the Jewish holding in Palestine. The results achieved in both fields have amply compensated Zionism for the comparative absence of *réclame* and of more sensational triumphs. It is, indeed, largely thanks to the quiet constructive work of the ten years preceding the outbreak of war, that the movement is to-day in a position to assert with confidence its claim to a hearing in the peace settlement.

Meanwhile, however, the opportunity was lacking for any further co-operation between the British Government and Zionism. This was partly due to the course taken by British policy in the Near East, with which we shall deal in the next chapter. But there was no diminution of the sympathy shown by English thinkers and writers for the Zionist idea. We quote here a few characteristic utterances of this later period, the period of Zionism in its modern form.

As early as 1896 Holman Hunt, the famous painter, advocated the Zionist idea in its most radical form, that of a Jewish state in Palestine. A contribution to the columns of the *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 February, 1896, *p.* 9, entitled "Mr. Holman Hunt on the Resettlement of the Jews in Palestine," contains a letter addressed by him from Draycott Lodge, Fulham, Jan. 6th, 1896, to an eminent Jew, which expresses ideas similar in every way to those of Dr. Herzl. He saw looming in the distance an approaching war "which would entail the destruction and maiming of countless legions of the choicest men of the noble races of the civilised world, and with this would come the disappearance of wealth, and the ruin of the richest. . . ." "He sought a remedy against the impending evil, and was led to suggest the restoration of Palestine to the Jews, both for the sake of the advantages which would accrue to the Jews themselves and in order to remove a bone of contention out of the way of the European Powers." "Palestine will soon become a direful field of contention to the infernally armed forces of the European Powers, so that it is calculated to provoke a

curse to the world of the most appalling character. Russia and Greece will contend for the interests of the Greek Church, France and Italy for the Latin, Prussia and Austria for the German political interests. . . . In addition to the above-named certain contenders for Palestine, there would be England. . . ." Holman Hunt spoke like a prophet, though not in every detail.

Nor was the actual colonizing work in Palestine without recognition in the English Press :—[1]

Jewish Colonies in Palestine

The United States Consul at Beirut, in a report which has lately been issued by the Department of State in Washington, (on) the condition of the numerous Jewish colonies in Palestine. . . . The Consul thinks that, whether the Zionist movement succeeds in its special aim or not, the agitation aids in the development of Palestine—a country " which will generously respond to modern influences. . . ." The Zionist movement, also, is said to be bringing out new qualities in the Jews inhabiting the country ; they are . . . beginning to act on the principle that " to till the ground is to worship God." . . . On the whole, the Consul thinks " the prospects are brighter than ever for the Jews in Palestine and for Palestine itself. European influence has obtained a foothold in the country, and the tide of modern ideas cannot be long debarred."

It may be added that during the Parliamentary Elections of 1900 the English Zionist Federation addressed to all candidates a letter asking for an expression of sympathy with Zionism, and between ninety and a hundred replies were received, the great majority of an exceedingly favourable nature ; and that in 1906 Lord Robert Cecil wrote : " The central idea underlying the Zionist movement seems to me worthy of all support. Apart from all other considerations, it appears to me that the restoration of the Jewish nation offers a satisfactory solution, if it can be accomplished, of those problems raised by Jewish emigration, which are otherwise very difficult of adjustment."

Naturally, the Palestine Exploration Fund had done a great deal to keep alive interest in Palestine among Englishmen ; and some at least of those who worked for it were outspoken supporters of the Jewish national idea. Prominent among these is Colonel C. R. Conder, who

[1] *The Times*, Monday, May 8, 1899, p. 12.

devoted practically the whole of his life to the exploration of the Holy Land, part of which he surveyed as far back as 1875. He not only wrote a series of valuable books on Palestine from the standpoint of the investigator; he did not fail when opportunity offered to identify himself with Zionist views as to the future of the land. He saw in the Zionists the natural leaders to whom the destitute and oppressed Jews turn for counsel and guidance, and recognized that "a nation without a country must be content with toleration as all that it can expect." Englishmen, he said, should be "only too glad to see Palestine increasing in civilization and prosperity as an outpost in the neighbourhood of Egypt" (Appendix lxxxv).

Finally, something must be said as to the views put forward by Lord Gwydyr (1841–1915) with regard to the relations between Jews and Arabs (Appendix lxxxvi). In suggesting that Palestine can become Jewish without any disadvantage to the Arabs, and that in fact the Jews, being themselves a combination of East and West, are alone capable of helping the Arabs to take their old place in civilization, Lord Gwydyr is expressing precisely the sentiments of Zionists themselves. Zionism has never desired to use its influence to the disadvantage of non-Jews in Palestine. Its hope is that there will come a day when even the Chauvinists among the Arabs, whose number is, happily, quite insignificant compared with the noise that they sometimes cause, will change their unfriendly policy, and that Jews and Arabs will work together for the civilization of the East.

It is true that some English authorities are rather pessimistic as to the possibilities of an Arab administration. One of the best-qualified students of the Eastern question says:—

"Bad as Turkish government is according to our standards, native Arab government, when not in tutelage to Europeans, has generally proved itself worse, when tried in the Ottoman area in modern times. Where it is of a purely Bedouin barbaric type, as in the countries of Central Arabia, it does well enough; but if the population be contaminated ever so little with non-Arab elements, practices or ideas, Arab administration seems incapable of producing effective government. It has had trials in the Holy Cities at intervals, and for longer periods in the Yemen. But a European, long resident in the latter country, who has

groaned under Turkish administration, where it has always been the most oppressive, bore witness that the rule of the native Imam only served to replace oppressive government by oppressive anarchy."

The same author writes concerning the Arab movement :—

" The peoples of the Arab part of the Ottoman Empire are a congeries of differing races, creeds, sects and social systems, with no common bond except language. The physical character of their land compels a good third of them to be nomadic, predatory barbarians, feared by the other two-thirds. The settled folk are divided into Moslem and Christian, the cleavage being more abrupt than in Western Turkey, and the traditions and actual spirit of mutual enmity more separative. Further, each of these main divisions is subdivided. Even Islam in this region includes a number of incompatible sects, such as the Ansariyeh, the Matavcle and the Druses in the Syrian mountains ; Shiite Arabs on the Gulf Coast and the Persian border. . . . The ' Arab Movement ' up to the present has consisted of little more than talk and journalistic comment."

But we do not take this pessimistic view. We are inclined to give much more credit to Arab capacity, and while we admit that the Arab problem is a serious one, we believe that it can and will be solved.

And as to the alleged rivalry between Jewish and Arab claims we may quote the opinion of an Arab authority, M. Farid Kassab, as to the Jewish colonization of Palestine :—

" Nous avons vu de très près les Juifs en Palestine, nous les avons observés et nous pouvons tranquilliser l'inquiet Azoury[1] et son Eglise. Ils ne songent pas à former un empire, à batailler contre les Arabes, à arracher aux chrétiens un caverne ou un tombeau, devenus pour quelques-uns l'unique objet du culte, pour d'autres, les fourbes, un moyen de vivre dans l'abondance et l'oisivité. . . .

" Les Juifs en Orient sont chez eux ; cette terre devient leur unique patrie ; ils n'en connaissent pas d'autres. . . . Ils ne l'exploitent pas dans l'oisivité pour des intentions absurdes, comme les congrégations cléricales, . . . Ceux-là sont de vrais brigands et de vrais accapareurs avec leurs couvents, leurs hôtelleries et leurs domaines. . . .

[1] One of the opponents of Zionism.

" Si les juifs et les indigènes avec l'aide du gouvernement ottoman réussissent à rendre à la Palestine un peu de son ancienne splendeur, . . . ils recevront néanmoins les remerciements de l'histoire et des génération futures."[1]

[1] Le Nouvel Empire Araber la Curie Romaine et le prétendu péril juif universal. Résponse à M. N[edjib] Azoury bey (*i.e.* to his book " Le reveil de la nation arabe "). Par Farid Kassab. Paris . . . 1906. (8°. 2 *ll.*+47 *pp.* in printed wrapper), *pp.* 42–3, 5.

CHAPTER LII

BRITISH POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST

The Russo-Turkish War, 1877–78—The Turkish Revolution—Disappointed hopes—Jewish colonization and British commercial interests in Palestine.

In dealing with the political events of 1839–40, 1855–56 and 1860–61, we have attempted to show that Great Britain has always stood for the regeneration of the Near East—an idea of which political Zionism is an expression, inasmuch as it aims at introducing into the Near East a new civilizing and harmonizing force in the shape of a revived Hebrew nation. If we review the events in connection with the next Near Eastern crisis, that of 1877–78, we shall find that the guiding idea of British policy was the same.

On April 24th, 1877, Russia declared war against Turkey. After a war of eight to nine months, Russia had approached Constantinople. The treaty of San Stefano was signed on March 3rd, 1878, but it had to be submitted to the European Powers for revision, and to that end the European Powers met in Congress at Berlin on June 13th, 1878, where the whole San Stefano Treaty was to be discussed. Some days before the Congress met—on the 4th of June—a separate convention was concluded between Great Britain and Turkey, under which Great Britain agreed for all time to defend the Asiatic dominions of the Ottoman Empire " by force of arms," and in return the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, promised to introduce all necessary reforms, as agreed upon with his ally, and to hand over the island of Cyprus for occupation and administration by England at an annual tribute. This convention with Turkey was one of the most important measures of foreign policy which have ever been resolved upon by a British Government. It was a victory, won without bloodshed by English policy, on the Eastern Question. Cyprus is the nearest island to the Suez Canal. At that time England had no position in Egypt close to the Canal itself, and for many reasons the taking of Egyptian territory was impracticable : hence the possession of Cyprus was attended with special advantages. But the possession of Cyprus could not be dissociated from the pledges given by

Turkey and the responsibilities taken on by Great Britain with regard to the Asiatic provinces. It was clear that the Asiatic provinces could not be rescued from misrule except by Western agency, and that it was necessary for English authority to be on the spot. Cyprus was considered the best station that could be chosen for such a purpose. The Porte was expected to develop the vast natural resources of its Asiatic Empire, or, at least, to allow that task to be accomplished by others. The Marquess of Salisbury (1830–1903) made that clear in words of undiplomatic plainness when he stated that the protection of England must depend on the readiness of the Porte "to introduce the necessary reform into the government of the Christians and other subjects of the Porte." The Jews no less than the Christians and the more enlightened and progressive Mohammedans of the East looked to England for a sort of political and economic renaissance. The occupation of Cyprus brought England into the neighbourhood of Palestine, and made England in the eyes of Zionists the most important Western European power in connection with Palestine.

The same idea guided British policy with regard to Egypt.

In 1882, the first year of Gladstone's government, Egyptian affairs were growing rapidly worse. On June 11th armed revolt broke out in Alexandria. On July 30th the British Cabinet decided to take action. The Porte was informed by our Ambassador at Constantinople, the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1826–1902), that Great Britain considered that on her was laid the duty of restoring order in Egypt, and of safeguarding the Suez Canal. The services of a Turkish army corps were declined. On August 16th Sir Garnet (afterwards Viscount) Wolseley (1833–1913) landed at Alexandria, and in September the invasion ended. Major Baring (afterwards the Earl of Cromer) (1841–1917) was sent to Egypt as British Agent and Consul-General, in order to assume supreme control of Egyptian foreign and home affairs, by means of which peace and stability were eventually to be restored to Egypt, the country was to be freed from external oppression, and internal prosperity such as she had not known for many centuries was to be secured. The real mission of Great Britain was to restore to Egypt a stable Government, which, like that of India, would lead to a just and wise administration of the country. To pretend that such an administration

could be developed out of the existing conditions, by giving Egypt a sound constitution by means of the ballot-box, was to ignore the plainest facts of politics. Egypt's one chance was to procure a strong and permanent protectorate capable of shielding her from rapacious influences from without and from the effects of the political ignorance and weakness wrought within through centuries of abject servility.

Thus throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century British statesmen recognized that the only way to save the near East from decay was to bring a stronger and more healthy influence to bear upon the Turkish Government from without. The idea of a spontaneous regeneration from within was always held to be inadmissible.

But early in the twentieth century events took place which seemed to indicate that Turkey was going to solve her problems for herself. The Turkish Revolution, 1908, marked a new epoch.

The overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of constitutional government in Turkey were greeted with enthusiasm in England, where even the most advanced Radicals, the most voluble preachers against "the unspeakable Turk," had entirely stopped "their flow of depreciation." And on the other side, nothing was so significant and gratifying during the rejoicings which followed the announcement of the Constitution in Turkey as the spontaneous demonstrations of national enthusiasm for Great Britain. Everybody had long been aware that all sections of the Levant populace were filled with friendly feelings towards England, and that different races of the Empire regarded her as their special champion. But in their most sanguine moments Englishmen could not have anticipated such impressive demonstrations as were witnessed in every quarter of the Turkish capital. This friendly feeling was important not only from the political but also from the commercial point of view. For many years past the extension of British commerce in Turkey had been slow; the openings for the development of trade had not been numerous. But under a progressive and friendly Government, bent on setting its house in order and raising Turkey to the rank of a great Power, such drawbacks must immediately disappear.

Unfortunately, the cordial relations at first established between Great Britain and the new Turkey did not endure. British policy took on a different orientation, and Turkey

came under other influences. Of the more far-reaching effects of this development it is not within our province to speak. But from the Zionist point of view it was undoubtedly a great misfortune that Great Britain seemed to be abandoning her traditional policy of working for the regeneration of the Near East through the maintenance of friendly relations with Turkey. For the promise of spontaneous internal reform, which was held out for a time by the Turkish revolution, was not fulfilled, and Zionist effort in Palestine, which might have received an enormous impetus, was doomed to struggle on against the obstacles imposed by the inertia and corruptness of a Turkish Government scarcely differing from the old autocracy except in its greater chauvinism.

None the less, it is a fact that the great growth of Palestinian commerce which has accompanied the progress of the Jewish settlement is due mainly to increased trade with the United Kingdom and British possessions. The Consular Reports (Appendix lxxxvii) show that the exports from the *Jaffa* district amounted to £636,000; over £480,000 worth went to England or Egypt. Thus the Jewish colonization movement has helped in some degree to advance British commercial interests in the Near East.

CHAPTER LIII

THE PRINCIPLES OF ZIONISM

Palestine as the Homeland—The rebirth of Jewish civilization—The security of public law—The aims of Political Zionism—A modern Commonwealth for the Jewish people.

We are afraid that some readers may feel a certain disappointment at the absence in this book of any formulation of what they would call " definite demands " in respect to Palestine. They may have expected a detailed scheme, showing what political conditions are proposed, whether " autonomy " is demanded or certain " privileges," and so forth.

These details are of course very important, and will have to be considered in the near future. But we do not enter into them here for several reasons. In the first place, our aim has been mainly historical. We have been concerned with the past, and to some extent with the present, and any predictions with regard to the future would be out of place. Secondly, the precise nature of the measures that will be taken to realize Zionist aims must necessarily depend upon the future political position of Palestine. An arrangement that would suit one set of circumstances would be quite impossible in another. It is, therefore, useless to conjecture anything in advance. And, thirdly—and this is the most important consideration—the form of the scheme is, to our mind, a secondary matter. When once the principle of Zionism is acepted—the principle of *a Homeland for the Jewish people*—the adoption of the best means for carrying out its object will follow.

We do, however, derive from history and experience certain conclusions as to the way in which the aim of Zionism can be achieved. These conclusions may be summarized as follows :—

I. The Homeland of the Jewish people must be in Palestine.

II. Palestine can and must be made capable of fulfilling its function by the method of patient colonization.

III. The security of public law—that is, of the recognition of the rightful claim of the Jewish people to regenerate Palestine and itself through Palestine—is a necessary condition of success.

As to the first point, experience has sufficiently shown that the Jew as colonist and as pioneer is at home only in Palestine. More or less successful attempts at settling Jews on the land have been made in the Argentine and elsewhere; but none of these settlements has any vital significance for Jewry at large. Their value begins and ends with the individuals who take part in them. With the Palestinian settlement it is quite otherwise. The heart of the Jewish people responds to the efforts of the Palestinian settlers: it recognizes in them not merely a number of individuals, but its own representatives, the vanguard of its struggle towards a new life. That is a natural consequence of the place which Palestine has held for centuries in the Jewish scheme of things. Opponents of Zionism have sometimes tried to reconcile conflicting points of view by admitting that "Palestine is not worse than any other country," and that, therefore, "Jews should not be oppressed there," and that "if there is a chance for colonization it should be taken." But this is like telling a man that his mother is no worse than any other woman, or that his language is no worse than any other language. Such compromises cannot be seriously discussed. If Palestine is anything to Jews, it is the Land of *Israel*. But is Palestine capable of being the Land of *Israel* in anything but an ideal sense? and if so, how is this to be brought about?

We have come to think of Palestine as a barren land; but its apparent barrenness is not to be attributed to defects of soil or climate, as its productivity is in no degree impaired. The causes are the scantiness of population, lack of industry, skill, initative and intelligence, and the want of a local administrative system to encourage the labour of husbandmen to productive activity. If these obstacles were removed and a little exertion bestowed upon it the soil would soon yield abundant crops of the richest grain, and plantations of all kinds would flourish; the country still answers the description given of it in days of old. A stronger proof of its fertility cannot be adduced than the fact that the territory of Judæa alone, at one period, brought into the field more than three hundred thousand, and at another two hundred and four score thousand "mighty men of

valour" (2 Chron. xiv. 7). According to Flavius Josephus[1] (37–95 ?), Galilee alone had hundreds of towns and millions of inhabitants. Even if we do not accept these as exact figures, there is undoubtedly room for several millions of people in Palestine, particularly if the Trans-*Jordanic* regions are irrigated, the old roads repaired and the projected railway lines constructed. There may be room in the future even for several millions. The country only awaits repopulation and reconstruction.

This work of repopulation and reconstruction has already been begun by Jews, who have created the nucleus of a flourishing settlement in Palestine during the last thirty years. All this has to be expanded, increased, developed and protected; but the basis is there, and the lines of progress are sufficiently marked out. This is the way, and there is no other. The Zionist Organization, the Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild administration and the *Chovevé Zion* are competent, by virtue of their knowledge and their devotion to the work, to suggest the necessary improvements. They alone know how much they have had to suffer through all kinds of obstacles which impeded and delayed development, through the absence of security in consequence of disputed title deeds and inability to acquire landed property, through exorbitant taxes and many other hindrances. Whatever has been done, in spite of these hindrances, is nothing short of a miracle; and a hundred times more could be done, and certainly would have been done, had there been freedom and security. Given those necessary conditions, the Jewish people could find in Palestine a real Homeland, where it could live according to its own spirit and work out its own civilization.

Now, the fundamental notion of civilization is that of a progressive movement, of a gradual development from the less to the more perfect. It suggests to us immediately the greatest activity and the best possible organization of society, an organization calculated to produce a continual increase of wealth and power and their proper distribution among its members, so that their condition is kept in a state of constant improvement. But great as is the influence which a well-organized civil society must have upon the condition of its members, the term civilization conveys something still more comprehensive and more lofty than the mere perfection of social relations in the economic

[1] Joseph *ben* Matthias.

sphere. In this other aspect the word embraces the development of the intellectual and moral faculties of man, of his feelings, his propensities, his natural capacities and tastes. Civilization in both aspects has to be worked out by the Jews in their own way. The rebuilding of a Home in the economic sense is not the sole aim of Zionism. Living, national Judaism on historic lines, expressing and asserting itself throughout the whole range of human life, is the principal object of Zionist effort: to procure for Jewish individuality the possibility of regaining harmony with itself, and of reaching its highest possible perfection, like any other national individuality, is an essential part of the Zionist programme. In this sense Zionism means the rebirth of Jewish civilization (or, as it is frequently termed, "culture"—"Jewish culture").

Jews are not anxious to acquire military power; they reject and condemn the idea of subjugating any other people. On the other hand, they have grown tired of their rôle of a homeless Chosen People, and would prefer to be a self-supporting "small nation," with a quiet spot of earth for themselves. They want to be united in an organic community, to feel entirely at home, with their institutions, congregations, societies, settlements, schools and with their national language, literature and Press. That, neither more nor less, is what Zionists look to as the goal of their efforts.

The only serious opposition to a return of the Jews to the Holy Land—and here we come to our third point—is that which is based upon the insecurity of political and economic conditions in Palestine. Zionism, therefore, demands improvement in these respects.

But how is that improvement to be brought about? The answer is supplied by Political Zionism, with its insistence on the security of public law.

"Political" Zionism does not mean politics for politics' sake, nor does it mean state building as an end in itself. "Political" Zionists know perfectly well that political recognition by itself is nothing; one has to be on the spot to toil and to labour, to work out one's destiny, and without this systematic work all rights are futile, all political combinations useless. The Jewish agriculturists, working-men, artisans, teachers and artists who have gone to Palestine to settle there, and those who are still to go, know better than all the preachers of Jewish

spirituality what the essence of the Jewish character and aspirations should be and is : they not only know it, they help to make it, in the highest sense of the word. They are Jews, idealists, the People of the Book ; all they seek for is life in peace. Without practical work in Palestine Zionism would have been one of a thousand futile political schemes, whereas now it is a solid national movement, the colonies being its most powerful argument, even from the strictly political point of view. But none the less some guarantee of security is indispensable. It makes no difference whether we lay more stress on culture or agriculture (the various activities have to be judiciously combined and balanced) ; in practice the importance of political and legal securities is too obvious to need particular emphasis. The reader of this book will have realized that this idea is no new-fangled invention of Zionism : it has been at the root of the attitude of various Governments which for generations have been occupied with the Near Eastern question. The innumerable schemes of reform suggested by England, France and other Powers during last century ; the English projects of 1840 ; Great Britain's protection of the Jews in the East ; Lord Shaftesbury's proposals ; Sir Moses Montefiore's negotiations with Mehemet Ali ; the "Memorandum of the European Monarchs" of 1840 ; the suggestions for reform after the Crimean War—all these schemes and efforts, suggestions and demands presupposed the point of view which is expressed in "political" Zionism. The autonomy granted in 1860 to the Christians of the Lebanon, owing to the efforts of England and France, was a scheme very similar to that which Zionism contemplates for the Jews in Palestine. The idea was much the same as that in the Basle Programme : security, guaranteed by the Government of the country and other powers, for a successful settlement and the free development of a particular section of the population.

The Jewish settlers in Palestine will have to attach themselves to the soil, and to build up the superstructure of a complete settlement upon the model of their own ideas and spirit. In place of the existing forty to fifty Jewish colonies, Zionism wants four hundred to five hundred colonies. In place of the model town *Tel-Aviv* Zionists want a hundred *Tel-Avivs*. They want as many schools and libraries, a University and factories and workshops. There is a clever saying :—

" Narrative is linear, action is cubic."

Happily, the stage of action has been entered in Palestine ; we need only action on a larger scale. And for this enlargement and extension of its activities, for this colonization work which means the reopening and regeneration of a neglected country, Zionism needs such special facilities and protective measures as the Basle Programme contemplates when it speaks of a home for the Jewish people secured by public law. The formula may be varied, but the sense is abundantly clear : it means such rights and assurances as will, in existing conditions, help to lay the foundations of a modern Commonwealth for the Jewish people.

It has been thought by many that a Chartered Company would be the appropriate instrument for achieving this object ; others have thought of concessions to the Zionist Organization and its financial institutions. But these questions of detail matter little at present. The *form* will be decided by general conditions ; the *principle* is a Home secured as far as possible, and behind this again there is the great and profound idea of the reunion of the Jewish Nation with its nobler self. This idea has obtained currency and spread continually : it has progressed outwardly and inwardly taken shape, and has done more than any other idea to awaken and rekindle the powers of the Jewish race. It is an impulse of the national soul towards self-discovery and self-expression, and history testifies to the fact that all genuine impulses of this kind have attained their object.

The quotations which we have brought together in this book show us an unbroken chain of opinion that extends over several generations in England and in France. Throughout we observe the same convergence of ideal, practical and political reasons in support of the Zionist idea. Zionism is, indeed, not less practical for being based on sentiment. Englishmen have always been practical enough to be idealists, and it is not surprising that Zionism has always met with the greatest sympathy in England. This was the case even in the earlier stages of the Zionist idea, when there was no clear programme and no real activity. Now, when Zionism has a clear programme and has years of activity behind it, English interest in Zionism naturally grows stronger and deeper.

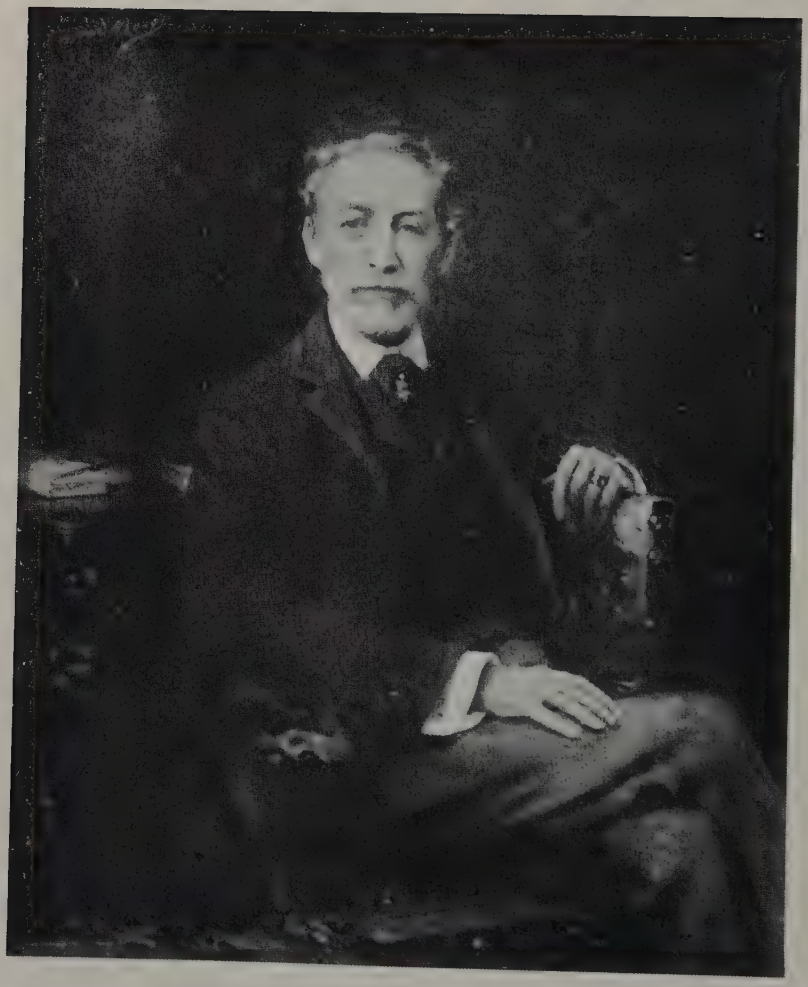
Zionism has, then, every reason to hope for the sympathy

and support of the most enlightened Powers in its effort to secure the conditions necessary for the prosecution of its work in Palestine. But the achievement of a political success with this or that Power must never be mistaken for the real aim of Zionism. Its real aim is the regeneration—physical, economic, moral—of the Jewish people. That is a constructive task of the highest value from the point of view of humanity, and those who set their hands to such a task need many high qualities—patience and tenacity of purpose, experience and foresight. Above all, they need the gifts of imagination and optimism, without which no great object has ever been achieved. So at last the great day will dawn, and the task of Zionism will be accomplished.

END OF VOL. I.

HISTORY OF ZIONISM

1600-1918



Baron EDMOND *de* ROTHSCHILD
BY
M. AIME MORO

From a photograph lent by the Author

History of Zionism

1600–1918

BY

NAHUM SOKOLOW

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE RT HON. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P.

AND NINETY PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY ISRAEL SOLOMONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL II.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

M. STÉPHEN PICHON

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOR FRANCE

PREFATORY NOTE

THE present volume contains the continuation and documentation of Volume I.

After the conclusion of the historical review in its chronological order, it was considered desirable to supplement a portion of the narrative by adding further chapters, which will be found at the beginning of the present volume. These chapters bring the historical narrative up to the outbreak of the War in 1914.

The developments in the Zionist Movement during the War are dealt with in a separate account, which is not claimed to be, in the proper sense of the word, an historical study, but an account of recent activities up to the Peace Conference.

The present volume also contains an introduction, written by the French Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, M. Pichon, which arrived too late to be included in the first volume, and a character sketch of the late Sir Mark Sykes, whose death occurred while the present volume was in the press, to whose memory a tribute is offered.

The appendices contain not only the text of documents referred to in the body of the book, many of them hitherto unpublished, but also essays on subjects related to the main purpose of the work—for instance, Jewish art, and Hebrew literature—and notes of a bibliographical or critical character.

It is desired to point out that the nature of the subject with which this work deals rendered it inevitable that it should to some extent assume an encyclopædic rather than a narrative character. The innumerable sources from which Zionism draws its being, the geographical dispersion of the Jewish people, the many events and phenomena outside of the life of the Jewish people which have had and still have their bearing on the development of the Jewish National idea, give it inevitably the form that it has assumed. The author is well aware that the History of Zionism as narrated in these pages does not appear as altogether a symmetrical structure. Some periods dealt with in the story are somewhat disjointed, and as a necessary consequence the record of those periods reflects the same character. A writer who cared more for the form than for the correctness of the narrative would in such a case have recourse to his imagination in order to fill in the blanks. The present author has not, however, done so. He has attempted rather to let Zionism appear as it really was in the different countries and epochs with which he has dealt. Where his narrative is fragmentary events were fragmentary. In the earliest periods the different elements of Zionism were

sometimes completely detached from one another. An exact description of these therefore takes necessarily an encyclopædic character. But Zionism develops as a unity, and at the end it will be found to offer to the reader a united picture.

The present book treats of the History of Zionism especially in England and France, but it has been found both impossible and also undesirable to exclude from the narrative all references to certain important events and personalities of other countries. Zionism in England and France, however, forms the main thesis of these volumes. Furthermore, this book is not only a history of the Zionist efforts among the Jews, it also narrates the history of similar efforts by non-Jews, in connexion with political events and literary manifestations in the countries in which they worked. At the same time the author has endeavoured as little as possible to cover ground that has already been repeatedly traversed, his intention being rather to break new ground and especially to bring to light hitherto unknown sources, old and forgotten prints, unpublished manuscripts and archives. These he has used to illustrate and document his narrative.

The plan which the author has followed falls under three headings :—

(I) The special treatment of Zionism in England and France ;
(II) A particular consideration of the pro-Zionist efforts outside of Jewry ; and
(III) The publication of previously unknown literary and archival sources.

In accordance with this plan this history begins in the year 1600, although the history of Zionism in reality opened much earlier, even perhaps at the beginning of the Jewish history of the countries dealt with.

Material for a thorough treatment of the History of Zionism in other countries, including many monographs and historical notices which remain in the hands of the author, as well as further recent diplomatic and other documents relating to the most recent development of Zionism and in connexion with the Peace Conference of 1919, will be used as the basis of further volumes.

Publication of an index to the work might well have been deferred until these volumes had been completed, but the author thinks that he ought not to delay one any longer. At the end of the present volume, therefore, the reader will find a thorough index of persons and of subjects, for which Mr. Jac b Mann, M.A., is responsible and to whom he hereby tenders his thanks.

Finally, the author wishes to supplement the expression of thanks addressed to those of his friends who are mentioned in the Preface to the first volume of this work for the assistance they have rendered him in its preparation, and to mention in particular the good services of Mr. Albert M. Hyamson and M. André Spire.

PARIS, *June*, 1919.

INTRODUCTION

By M. STÉPHEN PICHON

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOR FRANCE

Fidèle aux traditions de son histoire, la France vient de montrer une fois de plus, au prix du sang de tant de ses fils, comment elle entend les devoirs que lui impose son rôle séculaire d'émancipatrice des opprimés. Elle sort aujourd'hui victorieuse d'une lutte décisive, soutenue au nom du Droit menacé par la brutalite d'un impérialisme sans scrupules. Champion des grandes idées qu'il a, plus que tout autre, semées à travers le monde, notre pays a puisé dans la conscience d'être un vivant symbôle de justice, la force de terrasser son adversaire. Il a, du moins aujourd'hui, le droit de se dire, non sans fierté, qu'il n'est plus au monde une race ou une nation qui ne puisse faire entendre ses légitimes aspirations, et qui ne sache qu'en France il y aura toujours un cœur pour les adopter.

Dans la paix comme dans la guerre, la France, étroitement unie à ses Alliés, veut demeurer fidèle à sa parole. Elle a promis aux nationalités naguère asservies de défendre leurs intérêts et de faire respecter leurs droits. Elle ne reniera pas une promesse dont la réalisation, en inaugurant une ère nouvelle de l'histoire du monde, justifiera les sacrifices consentis à la cause commune. Elle ne laissera se commettre aucune injustice, d'où qu'elle vienne, et qu'elle qu'en soit la victime. Elle ne saurait per-

mettre, en particulier, sans protester hautement, qu'une majorité ethnique ou confessionnelle puisse désormais abuser impunément de sa force à l'égard d'autres éléments voisins, plus faibles ou plus dispersés.

C'est dire l'écho que ne pourra manquer d'éveiller chez les Français la voix éloquente du représentant le plus autorisé du Sionisme. Monsieur Sokolow, mettant au service de son idéal, un talent qui n'en est plus à son premier essai, s'attache à nous retracer l'histoire des doctrines au triomphe desquelles il n'a cessé de consacrer le meilleur de ses forces. Sachant combien il importe, aujourd'hui, de démontrer historiquement les origines et les antécedents des idées que l'on professe, il a voulu nous exposer les titres que possède le Sionisme à s'imposer à l'attention des Alliés, au moment où ceux-ci procèdent à une reconstitution du monde entier. Monsieur Sokolow, dont la foi dans le succès final de nos armes ne connut jamais de défaillances, possède une foi au moins égale dans l'esprit de justice qui préside à l'œuvre de la Conférence de la Paix. Les sympathies et les concours précieux qu'il a su trouver chez nos amis Britanniques, et dont Mr. Balfour lui renouvelle ici-même l'assurance la plus formelle, sont aux protagonistes du Sionisme un sûr garant de l'accueil que la France réserve à leur généreuse initiative.

Non seulement, en effet la race juive n'a cessé d'être, au cours des siècles, persécutée, décimée, poursuivie sans trêve par une haine incapable de désarmer ; plus malheureuse encore que tant d'autres peuples opprimés, qui ont pu conserver au moins un symbôle de leur grand passé, les Juifs n'ont pu sauver ce dernier vestige. D'autres qu'eux mêmes sont devenus les maîtres de la Judée. Dispersés à travers

le monde, beaucoup aspirent aujourd'hui plus que jamais à reprendre la chaîne brisée par tant de conquérants successifs, de leurs traditions ethniques et religieuses : ils pensent aussi qu'une telle restauration n'est possible qu'appuyée sur des réalités, c'est à dire, en l'espèce, sur un foyer moral national reconstitué au milieu des ruines de l'antique Judée. Qui donc, sans avoir perdu les plus élémentaires sentiments d'humanité et de justice, pourrait refuser aux exilés de revendiquer leur place, au même titre que les autres éléments indigènes, dans cette Palestine où un contrôle collectif des Puissances européennes assurera désormais à chacun le respect de ses droits les plus sacrés ?

Entrée en guerre pour assurer la victoire définitive du Droit sur la force, la France se félicite de l'appui que le Sionisme a rencontré chez elle et chez ses Alliés. Une doctrine qui a pour elle, outre la justice, l'éloquence d'avocats tels que M. Sokolow est assurée de succès. Je suis heureux de l'occasion qui m'est offerte de réitérer les vœux que le Gouvernement de la République n'a cessé de faire pour le triomphe final d'une cause qui rallie tant de sympathies françaises.

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Leopold Pilichowski. 1918

Lieut.-Col. Sir MARK SYKES, *Bart., M.P.*

SIR MARK SYKES, BART., M.P.

(A TRIBUTE)

A MOST tragic event took place on the 16th of February, 1919, when the world lost one of the most valiant champions of Zionism, namely Sir Mark Sykes, Bart., M.P. He fell like a hero in the thick of the fight; he was suddenly extinguished, as it were a torch in full blaze. He stood towering above the crowd of sceptics and grumblers, viewing the promised land as from Pisgah's height, his clear eye fixed on Zion. He was at once a sage and a warrior, a knight in the service of the sacred spirit of the national idea without fear or reproach, whom nothing could overcome but the doom of sudden and premature death. Sir Mark Sykes was but forty years old, physically a giant, a picture of perfect manhood, full of youthful vigour, a soldier and a poet, a fervid patriot and a kindly and self-sacrificing friend of humanity. He was one of the born representatives of that tradition which for centuries has inseparably united the genius of Great Britain with the Zionist ideal of the Jewish people. In him appeared to be harmoniously united the soaring imagination of Byron, the deep mysticism of Thomas Moore, the religious zeal of Cardinal Manning and the statesmanly and wide outlook of Disraeli.

The germs of Sykes' Zionism lay latent in him in his earliest years. He was scarcely eight years old when his father took him for the first time to Jerusalem. He often related how when many years later he visited a certain spot in Palestine, an elderly Arab told him that years before an English gentleman had been there with a little boy, leaving behind him kindly memories. His father, a wealthy land-owner in Yorkshire, was one of the principal churchbuilders in England of his time. He was a gentleman of the old style, a protector of the poor, fired with religious enthusiasm, who devoted untiring labour to the management of his family estate. Every foot of this extensive

family estate with its churches and schools, its country houses and old and new farms and dwellings, with its great collections and its old and valuable library, bears the impress not only of marked diligence and refined taste, but also of an unusual sense of continuity and tradition. Long before the traveller from Hull reaches the estate, a high and slender tower strikes his eye. It is the monument that has been erected in memory of the grandfather, the old squire, an original character about whom Sir Mark was wont to tell so many amusing stories. Long after the introduction of railways he used to ride his steed to London, and on the way often used to stop, take the hammer from the navvies who were breaking road-metal, and perform their work for them for hours at a time. Now his statue is to be seen in a chapel-like recess crowned with a high tower on one of the main roads of the estate. His son, Sir Mark's father, was not less of an original character. He had nothing of the tradition of feudal lords—the family was descended from an old and very rich shipbuilding family in Hull which flourished in the 16th century, had by the 17th century gained a great reputation, and later had business relations with Peter the Great—but he rather represented the type of a fanciful Maecenas, whose hobby it was constantly to remodel buildings or to erect new ones. His ancestors had built ships, he built houses. That amounted to a passion in him, a noble passion, a desire to build, endow and found. And as he was very religious he built churches. He also travelled widely and gathered large collections in his country house. His religion was nominally High Church, but he must have had strong leanings towards Catholicism. His wife, the mother of Sir Mark, was an ardent Catholic. Sir Mark was attached to his mother, and was brought up in the Catholic faith. On his mother's side Sir Mark had a decided strain of Irish blood, but the English type was predominant in him. His features, however, were of extraordinary gentleness, his eyes large and clear blue in colour, and a wisp of hair would often fall over his brow. He was an English Catholic and cherished in his heart the memory of the not so far distant time when Catholics were persecuted, and restricted in their civil rights. He was a Catholic in a country where the Catholics constitute a small and weak minority, and often he remarked to me that it was his Catholicism that enabled him to understand the tragedy of the Jewish

question, since not so long since Catholics had to suffer much in England. His Catholicism did not make him fanatical ; it made him rather cosmopolitan, that is to say, catholic in the pure sense of the word. He received an exceptionally careful education and studied hard in Catholic schools before he took his course at Cambridge. The fact that in his early youth he had Jesuit priests among his teachers was often exploited by those who envied him, in a sense which suggested a leaning in him towards Jesuitism. If the term Jesuitism be taken to mean a zeal for Catholicism, then there can be no doubt that this assertion is correct, since Sir Mark was certainly very religious. But if this expression be taken in the customary sense, namely, as equivalent to clerical intrigue, hypocrisy and spiteful hate of other religions, nothing was more remote from the character, the mental outlook and all other attributes of Sir Mark than such a form of Jesuitism. He was incapable equally of dissembling or of servile conduct ; he was proud without being arrogant, and was severe and inflexible when truth was at stake. His soul was an open book ; he troubled himself neither of career nor of popularity. He possessed an ideal, and this ideal was the sole test of all his thought and actions. At heart he was pious, a good Christian and a good Catholic : he never prided himself upon his faith, which was a sacred thing to him : religious boast and propaganda were alike foreign to him : his relations with God were an intimate personal matter which concerned no stranger ; but his faith was the moving force of his life which afforded him courage to go forward and strength to endure and to deny himself.

When I was with Sir Mark in Hull, where we came to speak at a great Zionist meeting last summer, the member for Hull disappeared from my sight for several hours on one occasion. I presumed that he had gone to the old Catholic cathedral to attend a service as he frequently did. On returning he told me that he had visited his old teachers, the Jesuit fathers, and that he had convinced them that it was the duty of Christians to atone for the crime that humanity has not ceased for many centuries to commit against the Jewish people in withholding their old native country from them. " This was not so difficult," he added, " as one of these fathers is an avowed friend of the Jewish people. When, some years ago, a protest meeting was held in Hull against the Beilis trial (the trumped-up

story of ritual murder that had emanated in Kiev from the Russian anti-Semites), this priest had appeared on the platform to declare in the name of his religion that the persecutions of the Jews that took place in Russia under the old régime were a blot upon civilisation." The meeting which was to be held that same day was to be attended by Jews and Christians equally. He said with a humorous smile that his success with the fathers made him hope for equal success with the whole Christian audience at that meeting. " Perhaps people find fault with me," he continued, " that I have neglected their local affairs. A member for Hull who gives all his time to Zionism may be rather a puzzle to the good people of Hull, but I think I shall manage them—will you be responsible for the Jews ? " I replied, " Very well, I shall be responsible for the Jews, but only with your help ; the Jews are more impressed by an English baronet who is a Christian than by a fellow Jew like me." " It is to be regretted," he said somewhat sadly, " that the Jews rather than follow leaders of their own race bow and scrape to Gentiles. How do you explain that ? " I answered : " That is the spirit of the Exile, that can be combated only by means of Zionism."

The meeting was most successful. There never had been such a Zionist triumph in Hull. The enthusiasm was shared by both the Christian representatives and the Jewish population, the latter but recently arrived for the most part from Eastern Europe. There was only one discordant note in the speeches, and that probably escaped the notice of most of those present, and did not detract in the least from the success of the meeting ; this was an utterance that offended Sir Mark's religious sentiment. " It is natural," someone said, " for Sir Mark to be a friend of the Jews as he is such a good Christian, and must be conscious of the fact that the founder of Christianity belonged to the Jewish race ; moreover, Sir Mark as a Catholic venerates the Holy Mother who was as we know a daughter of the Jewish people." This utterance pained Sir Mark and hurt me very much. I afterwards had long talks with Sir Mark about this tactlessness, which could only have been committed by a quasi-assimilated Jew. The speaker may have meant it well, but a Zionist could never have made such a mistake, for to be a Zionist, means not only to desire immediate emigration to Palestine, but also to maintain the proper practical attitude to the non-Jewish world. This attitude

is one neither of servility nor of arrogance, it is one of dignified yet modest and noble self-consciousness, self-respect and respect for others.

In order to understand the attitude of such as Sir Mark and others like him in his own and other nations, towards the Jewish problem, it is necessary to study the problem more closely than is common among the unthinking crowd who bandy about the words anti-Semitism and philo-Semitism, and, upon their superficial observations, condemn one man as an anti-Semite and laud another as a philo-Semite, according as whether they hate or love certain individual Jews. The crowd does not understand that one can be a great friend of the Jewish people and a great admirer of the Jewish genius and yet find such things ridiculous and repulsive as the apeing, the servility, the obtrusiveness, the hollowness and the empty display, the desire to intrude everywhere, the excessive zeal of the neophytes and all the unpleasant traits of some assimilated Jews. On the other hand, one may approve of all these qualities and rejoice that certain Jews have become rich, obtained titles or gained high office in so far as one desires the assimilation of the Jewish people and the extinction of the Jewish spirit.

Anti-Semitism is fractricidal in that it implies hatred and contempt for, and the desire to persecute a whole race. It is organised outrage, because it employs the brutal power of a majority to insult a defenceless minority and to deprive it of human rights. It is consciously calumnious because it instigates malice against the Jewish people or religion and exploits for this purpose actual weaknesses or failings belonging in reality to neither the race nor the religion. It is biassed and sophistical because it generalises from the faults of individuals and because it fixes itself upon the mote in another's eye without perceiving the beam in its own.

Philo-Semitism in the true sense of the word resembles philhellenism. The latter does not mean simply friendly intercourse with parvenu Greeks, but sympathy for the Hellenic people as such, and with the spirit of Hellenism and an endeavour to aid these and to establish them. Of such a kind was the philo-Semitism of Sir Mark Sykes. I will speak plainly, and do not hesitate to state that he had no liking for the hybrid type of the assimilating Jew. He had no wish to interfere with such people ; he emphatically condemned any attempt at suppression of rights or chi-

canery, but he did not like this type just because he was fond of the Jewish people. What was of the Jewish essence, of the Jewish tradition, was sacred to his religious sense and stimulating to his artistic sense. In this lay the secret, not exactly of our personal success with Sykes (for our cause is of too great an importance in the world's history to be connected with personalities) but of the wonderful concord of minds which was the natural outcome of his outlook The opposite poles attracted each other with irresistible force. Truly anglicised Jews could not have had the hundredth part of the same success with him, not because of their not being excellent patriots and capable men (for such many of them incontestably are and Sykes was fond of society and of making acquaintances and was amiable to all), but for him there were real Englishmen enough. Concerning English affairs, national questions and parliamentary matters he would discourse with anglicised Jews on the same footing as English non-Jews, but concerning the spirit of Jewish history, the *ethos* of Hebraism, the national sufferings and aspirations, that emerge only in national Hebrew literature, in the large centres of Jewish population in Eastern Europe and in the new settlements in Palestine —concerning all these matters he would and could seek information only from the fountain source. These are the things that have succeeded with Sykes and others and that will succeed further, not high diplomacy. There is no lack of this latter at the Foreign Office, which swarms with great diplomats, and it would be carrying coals to Newcastle to seek to add more trained specialists to the crowd of busy politicians in Downing Street. There could be no success with Sykes that way. He was, as it were, born to work with us Hebrews for Zionism.

The spirit of the East breathed in this Yorkshire gentleman. In his earliest youth he showed a keen interest for Arabia, for Islam and the Turkish Empire. At Cambridge he studied Arabic under Professor E. G. Browne, and there also he met the lady who was afterwards to be his wife and true helpmeet, a daughter of Sir John Gorst, who was at the time one of the members of parliament for the University. In the year 1898 Sykes, then a young student, undertook a second journey to the East, and stayed much of his time in the Hauran. He devoted himself with the entire freshness and sincerity of his youth (he was then but twenty years old) to his observations as a traveller. In the

year 1900 appeared his first book, which recounts his impressions in an elegant style and light form.[1] In this book he ascribes to his guide, a Christian Arab named Isa, the following words apropos of the Jews there, that they were "dirty like Rooshan and robber like Armenian."[2] Sykes himself had at that time no clear idea of Jews or of Armenians—of the two peoples for whom he strove and died nineteen years later. He cites an expression of opinion and repeats it in the bad English of an Arab guide. After his return from the East, he devoted his attention to military studies, in which he distinguished himself. He served in the South African War in 1900–2. He gave a proof of his technical knowledge in his work on strategy and military training which he had compiled in collaboration with Major George d'Ordel.[3] In the year 1904 he was travelling again, and the literary product of his later and earlier journeys was his second considerable book on Islam and the Orient.[4] This book is dedicated to his fellow-soldiers in the South African War.[5] In this work already speaks to us a young but mature man who had travelled much in four continents and had been through the South African Campaign. Here we already perceive the fundamentals of his later Zionism. As regards the future of the Orient he looks not to modern civilisation and capitalism, but to the latent force of national life. He was not deceived by the specious platitudes so dear to that deplorable product of modern European democracy 'the man in the street' as to 'extending the blessing of Western civilisation'; he regarded rather with unconcealed apprehension the contingency of the Western Asiatics becoming 'a prey to capitalists of Europe and America,' "in which case a designing Imperial Boss might, untrammelled by the Government, reduce them to serfdom for the purpose of filling his pockets and gaining the name of Empire-maker." (Prof. Browne's Preface, *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. iv). He had a great predilection for all national individualities, and detested the desire to imitate and assimilate. "He hated the hybrid Levantine . . . and faithfully

[1] *Through Five Turkish Provinces*, by Mark Sykes. London, Bickers and Son. 1900.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[3] *Tactics and Military Training*. By Major George d'Ordel and Captain Mark Sykes. London. 1902.

[4] *Dar-Ul-Islam*. A record of a journey through Ten of the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey. By Mark Sykes. London. 1904.

[5] "The F Company, 3rd Batt. Princess of Wales' Own Yorkshire Regiment, who served in South Africa, 1900–2."

portrayed the Gosmopaleet (Cosmopolite)" (*ibid.*). He condemned interfering tutelage. "Orientals hate to be worried and hate to have their welfare attended to. . . . Oppression they can bear with equanimity, but interference for their own good they never brook with grace" (*ibid.*). He shows a profound historic sense: "he does not disguise his preference for countries with 'a past' over countries with 'a future'" (*ibid.*), and finds in the nature of the Oriental the conditions for a true equality. "He recognises the fact that there is more equality because less snobbery and pretence in Asia than in Europe" (*ibid.*). The only feature that is wanting in this book is a knowledge of Jews and of Zionism. He makes but once mention of this matter, in a short sketch of the Jews at Nisibin. "The Jews at Nisibin . . . their appearance is much improved by Oriental costume . . . in which they look noble and dignified." He then adds: "I trust that the Uganda Zionists will adopt my suggestion" (p. 141). One who believes in the assimilation of the Jews may snobbishly consider this also as anti-Semitic, but in fact it is only the harmless joke of an artist, for Sykes was essentially an artist. His drawings were excellent, he was also very musical, and had a great predilection for all true individuality, for the archaic, the original, the unadulterated, for race, nationality, *genius loci*, for everything racy and natural, and for everything that was not cliché, mechanical and snippety.

This was the foundation of his latent Zionism. From 1904 to 1911 he pursued his military studies, managed his estates and travelled much. In 1911 he entered Parliament as member for Hull. Although nominally a Tory, Sir Mark was at bottom no party man, but a man of convictions. Full of faith, greedy for work, energetic, confident, capable, quick of study, charmed with a fight. Equally ready to defend or attack, he was unselfish. Over the Irish question he fell out with the Conservatives; he was an outspoken champion of Home Rule, and throughout his life he remained a loyal friend of Irish nationalism. His speeches soon made him popular in Parliament; they were never long and yet never trite. He showed the same qualities in his letters to the Press. He had always something to say, some original thought which he expressed in his own individual style. He told me once, how he had learned public speaking at school. He had to prepare the outline of the speech and

afterwards to state in short and simple terms the substance of his speech. The latter, he added, was the more difficult task, because a facile speaker can make long speeches, and yet find it impossible to repeat later the essential facts of his speeches. He was not a facile speaker in this sense; he never spoke quite extempore, but always prepared his speeches carefully, often by means only of simple key words or of a few pictures, resembling hieroglyphics, as, for example, the sun with streaming rays. He never spoke to the gallery, never flattered, never perverted the truth under the mask of sincerity, and never sought to create effects. His speeches were full of beauty and deep idealism with a breath of religious fervour, as he leant forward to address himself to the hearts of his audience. This practical man was at bottom a poet. He could tell most fascinating stories. He had not been brought up in the chilling atmosphere of severe Puritanism, but in the medieval glamour of Catholic cathedrals and under the sun of the East. Yet he had remained a proud and staunch Briton. He was a remarkable and extremely unusual combination of a blue-eyed, simple and modest Englishman of childlike sweetness, and of a medieval knight full of Oriental reminiscences, with ardent faith and picturesque imagination. We loved him and he loved us, because his nature was gentle, kind and sympathetic. He chatted freely: he told all about his enthusiasms, his "castles in the air," his stories about dervishes, his travelling impressions, with a lively dramatic touch with appropriate gesture and expression, often drawing his round, brown stylo pen from his pocket in order to explain the matter more pointedly by means of a rapid sketch. How often I regretted that no shorthand writer was present. His ways were dignified and courteous, his modesty so natural and so frank that he gave the impression of being himself unconscious of it. When the talk took a jesting turn, there was no sting in his witticisms, his jests were easy and never offensive. When he was angered, his emotion lasted but a few seconds, and afterwards he was as light-hearted as a child.

Such was the Mark Sykes of 1914 when the War broke out. He took up his part in the War with all his patriotism and with his idealistic faith in the victory of justice. In 1915 he was with his regiment busy in hard training and ready for the field. He often told me how it had come to pass that the East had become his

sphere of action. One day Lord Kitchener said to him: "Sykes, what are you doing in France, you must go to the East." "What am I to do there?" asked Sykes. "Just go there and then come back," was Lord Kitchener's answer. Sykes travelled to the East, made his way through accessible and inaccessible districts, and came back. His observations and experiences constituted the material upon which all the great things that afterwards happened were based. He then voluntarily entered the service of the Government as expert, as adviser, and as draughtsman of their policy. He was one of the pioneers of the new British War Policy in the East, one of the protagonists of the "Eastern School." In the year 1916 he undertook with M. Georges Picot a journey to Russia. It was then the Czarist Russia with its eye fixed upon Constantinople; that was the occasion upon which the so-called Sykes-Picot agreement was signed. From the standpoint of Zionist interests in Palestine this agreement justly met with severe criticism; but it was Sykes himself who criticised it most sharply and who with the change of circumstances dissociated himself from it entirely. It was a product of the time, a time when there was as yet no decided plan formed of launching a definite campaign in the East, when the prime necessity was some sort of agreement, since otherwise no progress would have been made. This was long before Mr. Balfour's declaration, and since at this time the Zionist interests in Palestine had as yet received no attention because they were unknown and not debatable, and also as it was essential to come to terms about Constantinople with the old regime in Russia, this agreement was a necessary prelude to action. This agreement Sykes regarded later as an anachronism.

Zionism had been at work in England for two full years without its coming to know anything of Sykes, who himself worked on his own lines for a year and a half, without knowing anything of Zionist organisation or a definite programme of Zionism. What happened resembled the construction of a tunnel begun at two sides at once. As the workers on each side approach one another they can hear the sound of blows through the earth. It seems at first a strange enough story; a certain Sir Mark appears, he makes some enquiries, and then expresses a wish to meet the Zionist leaders. Finally a meeting actually takes place and discussions are entered upon. Sir Mark showed a keen interest and wanted to know the aims of the Zionist Organisation,

and who were its representatives. The idea assumed a concrete form ; but this acquaintance, however, valuable as it was, had as yet no practical significance. Acquaintanceships were made and discussions took place during the years 1914–16 by the hundred with influential people and with some who had more voice in affairs than Sir Mark ever had. They constituted certainly a most important introductory chapter, and one without which the book itself could not have been written, but they were naturally fragmentary, preliminary, without cohesion and without sanction. The work itself began only after the 7th of February, 1917.

The subsequent chapters describe this work in general outlines. A thousand details remain for the pen of some future historian, when the time comes for the archives of the Foreign Office, of the Ministries for Foreign Affairs of the other Entente Powers, and of the political offices of the Zionist Organisation in London and Paris to be made public. In the whole proceedings there are no secret treaties, no secret diplomacy, in fact neither diplomacy nor conspiracy ; but they constitute a series of negotiations, schemes, suggestions, explanations, measures, journeys, conferences, etc., to which each of those who took a part gave something of the best in himself.

It is my duty both as historian and as one who took an active part in these negotiations and proceedings to record here that Sir Mark Sykes really gave of his best to this work. For more than two wonderful years we were in daily intercourse with him. Our friendship was of the most intimate We shared in common all the delights and disappointments arising from the Zionist work. We instructed each other ; he furnished his knowledge of the East, his profound understanding of the guiding political principles of Great Britain, his personal observations with reference to the possibilities of bringing our aims into harmony with the ideals of the Entente ; we supplied Zionism, inspired by Jewish sufferings and hopes. It was not difficult for us to convince him what an excellent cultural type the Hebrew represents, since already in his youth, before he had the slightest idea of Jews and Zionism, he had intuitively perceived that the hybrid Levantine is hopeless in that direction. The idea was latent in him, and but awaited stimulus and direction into the proper channel. He was ready to understand what a great natural force the Jewish genius could be in the reawakening of

Palestine, all the more because long before as a man of extraordinarily high culture—English to the last fibre of his thought, saturated with English tradition, English literature and English taste—and yet at the same time a broad-minded humanist, with great ideals not only for his own nation but for all other nations and races, he had seen that the 'civilising' of the East by assimilation was idle and superficial prating and a vain delusion. Deep sympathy of ideals had earlier formed an unconscious bond between us. When this sympathy ripened into consciousness through our meeting and soon after the commencement of our common work, the resulting harmony was not one of policy but one of outlook. The idea of a natural alliance between Jews, Arabs and Armenians as peoples of the Near East developed into something quite distinct and found in Sir Mark a convinced champion. He was an enthusiastic protagonist of the Jewish national renaissance in Palestine, an admirer of the Hebrew genius, who could not hear enough from me about national Hebrew literature, who took an interest in every detail of Jewish culture. At the same time he was a sincere friend of the Arabs and Armenians and made strenuous efforts to secure their liberation. We all worked together with him in this direction, but the main idea was his and remained his favourite project till the close of his life. Many superficial and petty individuals in our own ranks, who, not realising the great and difficult task and themselves taking no active part, busied themselves in spreading distrust and discontent, complained that Sykes was too much taken up with the Arabs. I am sure that among many Arabs of the same degree of political maturity Sykes was accused of being too much taken up by the Jews.

Our interchange of ideas resulted in a complete fusion of thought. But Sykes gave us his time and labour as well as ideas. It seemed as though in these two years his whole life's energy reached its culminating point and spent itself. He worked at constant high pressure. But rarely he allowed himself a week-end in Sledmore with Lady Sykes and the children, and even there he was never idle. It was a constant round of church-going, of devotion to the estate and building repairs, of musicians, old French songs, and of hospitality. Holidays were out of the question. All his excursions were connected with political or Parliamentary business. Even prior to the commencement of his official connection with Zionism, Sir Mark was a man of

extraordinarily wide activities. When on the 8th of February, 1917, one day after the first official meeting, our work began with the first conference with M. Georges Picot at Sir Mark's private house, No. 9 Buckingham Gate, the latter place had already become an important centre for matters concerning the new and at that time scarcely completed plan of a kingdom of the Hedjaz, concerning Armenia and Mesopotamia, and was equipped with all such material as files of correspondence and telegraphic communications, etc. It was then that Zionism took its place in the system and came to dominate the situation more and more as our labours progressed. One was liable to be called upon at any moment, early in the morning or late at night. It became a joke with us to name his sudden telephone calls 'brain-storms.' Sir Mark had a 'brain-storm' which meant: danger in sight. This may appear as somewhat far-fetched to outsiders, but those who were in the thick of the work knew well what formidable obstacles stood in the way, and how well founded were Sir Mark's doubts and fears. At every moment dangers had to be guarded against; there were elements that were in favour of the *status quo ante* in the Near East; vested economic interests that desired to uphold this *status quo* for their own ends; clerical, anti-Semitic and pan-Islamitic propaganda; certain Arab sections that opposed Zionism because, obsessed by fanaticism or misled by agitators or influenced by narrow and short-sighted considerations of the needs of the moment, they had no proper appreciation of the great idea of a Hebrew-Arabic national alliance; intrigues of certain Syrian concession-hunters who stormed with a 'holy wrath' against the Zionist idea; certain factions in England that would have nothing to do with an energetic policy in the East, and indeed ridiculed and belittled the importance of British interests in that region; a by no means small party that warned England against undertaking any new engagements; and finally, be it mentioned with regret, our Jewish circles of the assimilating school. The cause of Zionism was in the same dire case as Laocoon in the grip of snakes. Every day brought a fresh indication of some hostile movement, a new suspicion of enemy schemes each of which caused Sir Mark to sound a warning. These were the 'brain-storms.'

I should like to record a few impressions of different occasions. The first was a day in April, 1917, in Paris. I

was due at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to give information about Zionism. Sir Mark also came ; he was a sincere friend of France and was anxious that Zionism should have the same appreciation in France as in England. He came in great haste by motor from the Front, where he had been making a visit, and went to the Hotel Lotti. He arrived early in the morning after a tiring night's journey. At that time Doctor Weizmann was fully occupied with most important affairs in England. It fell to me to begin the official work in France, after we had together prepared all our plans. Sykes was impatient : in spite of his complete confidence in us, he could not refrain from remaining near me, always ready with advice and help. We worked together for some hours. I departed on my mission and we arranged for him to wait for me at the hotel. But as I was crossing the Quai d'Orsay on my return from the Foreign Office I came across Sykes. He had not had the patience to wait. We walked on together, and I gave him an outline of the proceedings. This did not satisfy him ; he studied every detail ; I had to give him full notes and he drew up a minute report. " That's a good day's work," he said with shining eyes.

The second was a day in April, 1917, in Rome. Sykes had been there before me and could not wait my arrival. He had gone to the East. I put up at the hotel : Sykes had ordered rooms for me. I went to the British Embassy ; letters and instructions from Sykes were waiting for me there I went to the Italian Government Offices ; Sykes had been there too ; then to the Vatican, where Sykes had again prepared my way. It seemed to me as if his presence was wherever I went, but all the time he was far away in Arabia, whence I received telegraphic messages.

The third was at the London Opera House Meeting of the 2nd of December, 1917. It was a truly brilliant gathering in a packed house, a festive token of the bond of brotherhood between Great Britain and ancient Israel. Sykes modestly surveyed the assembly. The majority of the audience scarcely knew him, and only a few were aware that this was a great day in his life. When he began to speak the audience recognised that one was addressing them who had made Zionism a part of his life. He showed no flaring enthusiasm, but rather a quiet elation, a devotion to the subject. On leaving, he and I shook hands—no words were necessary because we understood each other.

The fourth was a mass meeting at the end of December

in Manchester. In the morning there had been a small gathering with Sykes, and before the meeting a banquet in honour of Mr. C. P. Scott. The meeting itself was one of the largest that ever was held in Manchester. Sir Stuart Samuel was in the chair. Doctor Weizmann made one of his most brilliant speeches, and Mr. James de Rothschild roused the audience to enthusiasm. Then Sykes rose, and made a speech full of the dreamy poetry of an Eastern tale. The audience felt itself transported into another and better world. The poetry of the East diffused itself as a softening charm over the hard-cut lines of high political argument. After the meeting we sat down, tired out, to tea. Sykes hurried in in his rain-coat : he had no time to stay, as he had to catch the night train. He was due in London next morning to send urgent telegrams to Palestine.

The fifth was on a glorious June day in 1918 en route from Paris to London. Sykes insisted on my travelling with him. He was in company with a distinguished party containing nearly all the members of the Government. As there was no time to complete the passport formalities, he simply attached me to himself personally. I felt embarrassed and accepted his proposal with reluctance. But when he told me that it was necessary to remind people constantly of the Declaration, I made up my mind to venture flying if he should think it necessary. The journey almost assumed the form of a Zionist meeting. There were twenty-eight persons in all, the most prominent members of the Government. On deck the Prime Minister was talking with Jellicoe. The tall and imposing figure of Mr. Balfour, with his noble grey-haired head and the well-known small hat, stood above the rest. Sykes urged me to have a word with the Prime Minister. I seized the opportunity and in the course of our conversation I had from him the treasured words : that such a war as this would be in vain if we did not aim at succouring all peoples, the Zionist Jews included. I afterwards told this to Sykes, who was at the other end of the ship, but he knew already. " How, by an indiscretion ? " " No, a favourable wind whispered it to me." The ' Favourable Wind ' was one of the company who had overheard the conversation.

Sir Mark's work during the last few years falls into eight successive periods. (1) February–March, 1917, the collaboration in London with M. Picot, and after the latter's departure for France, with us ; (2) March–June, 1917,

our journey to Paris; his journey to Egypt; (3) June–November, 1917, preliminary work leading to the Balfour Declaration; (4) November, 1917–March 1918, from the Declaration to the despatch of the Commission to Palestine; (5) March–October, 1918, the work in London during the stay of the Commission in Palestine; (6) October–December, 1918, the work after the return of the Commission; (7) December 1918–February, 1919, the journey to Syria, and (8) February, 1919, the last days in Paris.

In the first period the foundations were laid; at that time Sir Mark was, so to speak, introduced into the world of Zionist ideas. The second was full of active negotiations with the Entente Governments. During the third Sykes was in busy relations with a number of the friends of our cause. In this period the work of Major Ormsby-Gore was of practically the same importance, as also during the fourth period. In the fifth period, during the time of the important work in Palestine of the Commission under the leadership of Doctor Weizmann, Major Ormsby-Gore was of great service there. The whole of the labours in London connected with the activity of the Commission and with a thousand other matters relating to Zionism fell upon Sykes, and necessitated daily work of an intensely difficult character.

To this period belong a number of most important measures which for the first time gave Zionism both internally and externally its proper position and its necessary prestige. Sir Mark had at that time his office in two rooms, afterwards partitioned into three, on the basement of the back wing of the Foreign Office, connected with the upper storeys by means of a lift, never used by Sir Mark, who mounted the stairs about twenty times daily at a lightning speed, which made it impossible for me to keep pace with him in spite of my most strenuous efforts. The first large room was dark because the big window was blocked with sandbags as a protection against possible air raids; it had long tables and was illuminated artificially. I had to be there often and for long periods at a time: my work, indeed, required my attendance there more than at the Zionist offices, and sometimes I had to go there three times a day and to remain there till late at night. On one of these occasions Sir Mark said to me, "Does not this subterranean room look like a medieval inquisition chamber, with those long tables upon which the victims of the Inquisition might be stretched for torture?

Who knows," added he humorously, " whether some of your forefathers had not to undergo treatment in chambers of this kind ? " I answered " Yes, as Scripture has it : ' I will make the desolate valley into a door of hope ' " After that we often used to call this room the " Door of Hope." This room opened into another where Sir Mark spent whole days at work except for the time at Westminster. The duties of Secretary were most ably filled by Mr. Dunlop, a young and energetic man ; opposite, in the building in Whitehall Gardens, Sir Mark's older colleague, the learned and highly experienced Mr. Beck, worked in conjunction with him. Between the two offices the faithful Serjeant Wilson, who accompanied Sir Mark everywhere on land and sea, passed to and fro. It was like a hive ; there was a constant coming and going of Foreign Office men, M.P.'s, Armenian politicians, Mahommedan Mullahs, officers, journalists, representatives of Syrian Committees, and deputations from philanthropic societies. In the midst of this busy world Zionism maintained its prominent position. Everything had to pass through Sykes' hands. In order to avoid confusion and divergence of effort he insisted upon what was readily conceded him, namely that he should pass an opinion on every question and every detail, and in this there was no hesitation, no delay. Among many others a couple of examples will suffice. The Oriental Jews, being Turkish subjects, were under the law regarded as alien enemies. They were certainly only technically such ; at heart they were thoroughly pro-British and in any case politically harmless. Exceptions had already been made on the recommendations of personal standing, but no logical plan was followed. I maintained that the Zionist Organisation should be officially empowered to protect the Jews of Palestine and Syria, just as, for example, the Polish Committee protected the Poles from Galicia, who were also technically alien enemies. Sykes obtained this concession after considerable labour. This was an official recognition of the Zionist Organisation as competent authority. When at the time of the most strenuous military efforts, the later categories of the male population were called to the colours, the Zionist Organisation in England was threatened with losing the last of its secretaries, speakers, organisers, etc., and with seeing its activities restricted, if not completely interrupted. None were more patriotic than the Zionists, so many of whom were in the Army, but we had to deal

with a number of men who could be of no value to the Army, and who, on the other hand, were indispensable to the Zionist Organisation. Previously some had been left with us, but now it was a question of large numbers. It was a generally recognised principle that people whose occupation was of national importance were allowed to continue at it. I insisted upon having this principle applied to Zionism. This matter could not be settled by any single individual or by any single tribunal. The question concerned a matter of principle, and had nothing to do with individuals. Since we had received the declaration of recognition from the British Government and the whole Entente, and as we had to prepare the field for the realisation of this declaration, this ought surely to have been regarded as a matter of national importance from the official standpoint. Sykes adopted this point of view and made strenuous efforts to have it realised. He was thoroughly convinced that our loyalty to Great Britain and her Allies was boundless, and that in all our demands the interests of both parties had been considered with equal devotion. On the other hand, we recognised that when he denied us something as inadmissible, though like any other man he might sometimes make mistakes, he was open to change of conviction upon good reason being shown, and that any stand taken by him against our proposals was due rather to the fact that he regarded the matter at issue as unfavourable in certain circumstances to Zionism, than that he had the interests of Zionism less at heart than we; thus a community of effort and a mutual trust was established, which led to a complete solidarity of aims. In this way our work in conjunction with Sykes became the foundation for our relations with the higher Government authorities, as also with Sykes' colleagues and successors.

The most important and politically difficult task that had to be accomplished in London during the stay of the Commission in Palestine was to make possible the official laying of the foundation stone of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The recommendations and the instructions carried by the President of the Commission, Doctor Weizmann, to Palestine were most valuable, and will stand as a lasting token of the generous and kindly feelings of the leading men in the British Government towards Zionism. The influence of the Commission, the excellence of their work, their splendid relations with the

authorities had ensured complete success. Nevertheless it was found that, particularly with reference to the foundation-stone ceremony, the instructions had been of too general and too vague a character to overcome the formal and legal administrative obstacles. It is my duty to one who is gone, to record the great services of Sir Mark in this direction. It goes without saying that the final decision lay with a man in higher office. However, before Mr. Balfour gave his decision and before the most detailed instructions had been telegraphed, we had to work strenuously day after day for several weeks, by correspondence and by interviews, with such devotion and enthusiasm as only so magnificent an object as the Hebrew University in Jerusalem could inspire.

During the period that followed, namely the sixth as above described, the Zionist programme was being prepared. The end of the War was in sight, but the cessation of hostilities was not to be expected so very soon. Sykes decided, then, the whole of Palestine and Syria being in British hands, to travel thither to gather fresh information and to bring the results of his latter observations to the Peace Conference. I tried to dissuade him from this journey, because I thought his presence in Europe important : he, on the other hand, wanted me to go with him to Palestine. He finally went alone and wrote to me from there that I should come without delay. His stay in Palestine was, however, only a very short one : he soon passed to Syria and did strenuous work in the direction of restoring order in Aleppo. In the meantime the Peace Conference opened here. We were all of us already assembled—except Sykes. We thought of him every day.

One evening there was a telephone call. On taking up the receiver I heard Sykes' voice telling me that he had just arrived in Paris, and was staying as usual at the Hôtel Lotti opposite us. I invited him at once to dinner, and he came. He was the same lovable fellow, full of life and humour, but now frightfully thin. He had lived the whole time on " German sausages " and had suffered much from digestive troubles. It only transpired later, that he had spent sixteen hours a day in Aleppo working under almost impossible conditions on behalf of the Arabs and Armenians. He was himself never in the habit of talking about his work. It was two hours after midnight when he left us,—he had so much to tell about the ordinary incapacity for proper administration of the local Syrian population and their marked capacity in that direction under

suitable guidance, about the prospects for Palestine, about the steps he had taken against anti-Zionist intrigues in Syria and other matters. From that time forward we saw each other every day. Some days later he went to London to see his family and returned in three days with Lady Sykes. Immediately upon his arrival he was in touch with us. He had a thousand ideas, and had brought reports and instructions from Syria that had to be elaborated. Our days were filled with appointments for visits, interviews, etc. Then Lady Sykes was attacked by influenza, which caused a little dislocation and the postponement of an accepted invitation, but gave no cause for alarm. On the 13th of February, Sir Mark hastily entered my room, and on finding me indisposed, he shouted, "There's no time now for being ill." The following morning he sent word to me that Lady Sykes was better, but that he himself was taken ill. "I have got it," he said to Serjeant Wilson when he went to bed. On the 15th Lady Sykes sent for me, and told me that her husband would have to remain in bed for a few days, that afterwards she intended to go to England for a week or so to recuperate. "To Sledmore?" I asked. "No," said Lady Sykes, "it is too cold there. I think the South will be better. And my chief reason for troubling you," she added, "is because my husband wants to know how Zionist matters went yesterday." I gave full details to Lady Sykes. In the afternoon of the 16th Sir Mark died.

He died on the threshold of the Peace Conference which was destined to make his dream a living thing, died in a hotel in the midst of us, bound up with our deepest affections, a radiant form full of love and sincerity. His life was as a song, almost as a Psalm. He was a man who has won a monument in the future Pantheon of the Jewish people and of whom legends will be told in Palestine, Arabia and Armenia. Just returned from a difficult task in the service of humanity in the service of the idea of nationality, and about to perform great things for the Jewish people, he fell as a hero at our side.

There it ends! Shakespeare himself could use no more than the commonplace to express what is incapable of expression. "The rest is silence!"

We say: "The rest is immortality—in the annals of Zionism."

PARIS, *April*, 1919.

CHAPTER XLIXa

Chovevé Zion and Zionists in England—Louis Loewe—Nathan Marcus Adler—Albert Löwy—Abraham Benisch—The Rev. M. J. Raphall—Dr. M. Gaster—Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer—English representation at the Second and Third Congresses—The Fourth Congress in London.

THE *Chovevé Zion* movement in England was not very powerful, yet it enjoyed a certain amount of popularity. If we examine, for instance, the records for 1892–7—the years which preceded the First Zionist Congress (Basle, 1897)—we find among the leading representatives not only the Chief Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Communities, Dr. M. Gaster, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, Rabbi Professor H. Gollancz, the late Colonel Albert Goldsmid, Dr. S. A. Hirsch, Mr. S. B. Rubenstein, Mr. E. W. Rabbinowicz and other English Jews of standing, who are even now more or less active in the Zionist Organization; but we read the names of the late Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, Dr. H. Adler, the late Lord Swaythling, Mr. Elkan Adler, Albert Jessel, Mr. Joseph Prag (who was one of the most active members), Joseph Nathan, Louis Schloss, Haim Guedalla, Captain H. Lewis-Barned, Bernard Birnbaum, Mr. Herman Landau and other distinguished members of the community, as among those of the prominent enthusiastic supporters of the *Chovevé Zion* movement who did not join the new Zionist Organization. The same phenomenon strikes us in France. There the new Zionism was confronted on the part of the *Chovevé Zion* by an opposition that was even stronger than in England.

An impartial historian, desirous of reviewing the facts as they were revealed in Jewish life and literature, would in vain endeavour to discover any essential difference between the *Chovevé Zion* and the Zionist fundamental principles. He could trace a complete and clear conception of political Zionism through centuries of English history or Jewish history in England, and on the other hand also efforts and undertakings in the direction of colonization pursued with great energy and care by forces that are generally found to be co-operating with political Zionism. A sober and dispassionate examination of all these ideas without regard to

mere catchwords must lead to the conclusion that Sir Moses Montefiore's representations to Mehemet Ali in 1838 were substantially the same as Herzl made to Abdul Hamid in 1898. However, both aimed at a legally assured home and both insisted that Palestine should belong to the Jewish people. And no real student of contemporary Jewish history will imagine that Sir Moses was an isolated dreamer. He never undertook anything in Jewish affairs without consulting the authorities of his time. One of his advisers was Louis Loewe, the well-known Jewish scholar and his secretary for many years.

Dr. Louis Loewe (1809–88), who was educated at the *Yeshibot* of Lissa, Nikolsburg, Presburg, and at the University of Berlin, came to England in 1839 and was appointed by the Duke of Sussex to be his Orientalist. He then travelled in the East, where he studied languages. In Cairo he was presented to Mehemet Ali, for whom he translated some hieroglyphic inscriptions. On his return from Palestine he met at Rome Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, who invited him to travel with them to Palestine. When, in 1840, Sir Moses went on his Damascus expedition, Loewe accompanied him as his interpreter. Since that time Loewe was attached to Sir Moses as his personal friend and secretary. He accompanied Sir Moses on nine different missions. He wrote several valuable works on oriental subjects: *The Origin of the Egyptian Language*, London, 1837; A Dictionary of the Circassian Language, 1859; a Nubian Grammar and several pamphlets—and translated J. B. Levinsohn's *Efes Damim* (1871) and David Nieto's *Matteh Dan* (1842). Dr. Loewe was an ardent supporter of all schemes in favour of Palestine and strongly assisted David Gordon, the editor of the *Ha-Magid*, who was an enthusiastic and outspoken political Zionist years before Herzl.

We have already mentioned to what an extent the Chief Rabbi, Dr. N. M. Adler, influenced Sir Moses' works in Palestine. Nathan Adler was born at Hanover in 1803. He received his education at the Universities of Göttingen, Erlangen and Würzburg. Already as a youth his abilities proved him to be particularly adapted to the discharge of rabbinical functions. In 1829 he was appointed Chief Rabbi of Oldenburg; in 1830 his jurisdiction was transferred to Hanover and all its provinces. His fame spread beyond the Rhine and reached England just when the Jewish population there was in need of a spiritual leader.

In 1844 the election took place for Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazi Congregations of Great Britain and the choice fell on Dr. Adler. He was inducted into office on July 9th, 1845. His activity and influence during his lengthy career as Chief Rabbi proved a blessing and were attended with most invaluable results. His calling did not prevent him from contributing excellent literary productions, mostly in Hebrew, the principal of which is Nethino La-Ger's commentary on the Targum of Onkelos. There is no doubt that this famous Rabbi and great Jew was in close touch with Sir Moses in all the steps the latter took for the colonizing of Palestine for a political as well as philanthropic purpose.

Many of the most important Jewish scholars arriving in England, and becoming in course of time the pride of English Jewry, were much attracted by the idea that England was the classical soil for a fruitful work in Palestine. It is worth noting that Dr. Albert Löwy belonged also to this group. He was born on the 10th of December, 1816, at Aussig in Moravia. After his *barmizwah* (attainment of his religious majority—the age of thirteen) he was sent to a public school at Leipzig. Later he attended the University and Polytechnic at Vienna. There he first met his lifelong friends, Moritz Steinschneider and Abraham Benisch. Löwy and his friends formed "Die Einheit," a society whose object was to promote the welfare of the Jewish people. In order to realize this object the colonization of Palestine by the Austrian Jews was advocated. The first meeting of the new society was held in 1838, in Löwy's room. The object, however, had to be kept secret for fear lest it would be defeated by the Government. England was regarded as the country likely to welcome the new movement, and, as an emissary of the Students' Jewish National Society, Löwy was sent to London in 1841. Years afterwards he took a leading part in London in the foundation of a body with kindred objects, the Anglo-Jewish Association.

To the same group of noble-minded men who raised themselves to the height of a national and Zionist conception of a superior kind belonged also the afore-mentioned Abraham Benisch, one of the creators of the Anglo-Jewish Press, the author of the *Jewish School and Family Bible* (1851), the translator of *Petahiah ben Jacob's Travels* (1856), and for many years editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*. If there ever was a Jewish nationalist, this important Anglo-

Jewish writer was one beyond a doubt. He was a man of great abilities and learning, and rendered valuable assistance in the propaganda for and in the organization of the societies for the colonization of Palestine. In several leading articles written by him, with great tact and sagacity, he expounded—particularly in connection with the political events of 1856 and of 1861—the root principles of political Zionism.

Another remarkable Jewish scholar and pioneer of Zionism in his time was the Rev. M. J. Raphall, who was a brilliant writer and also a pioneer of the Anglo-Jewish Press. He edited the *Hebrew Review and Magazine for Jewish Literature* in 1837, which was resumed in 1859. Some years later he edited, together with the Rev. A. de Sola, the *Voice of Jacob*, which had been founded by Jacob Franklin in 1841. He afterwards settled in America and assisted there in the fifties of last century, together with some distinguished American Jews, in establishing in New York a society for the colonization of Palestine. He was later engaged in similar work in Canada. Essentially a student and a scholar, he devoted many years of his life to the propaganda of the Jewish national ideas.

It is impossible to conjure away all the facts showing, firstly, that the supposed differences between the *Chovevé Zion* movement and the new Zionism are mere phraseology, and, secondly, that the best representatives of Anglo-Jews were nationalist and Zionist. The refusal to accept the new Zionism on the part of some representatives of the *Chovevé Zion* movement for that reason can only be regarded as a temporary misunderstanding.

The new Zionism made headway in England especially through the efforts of the two organizations: the English Zionist Federation and the Ancient Order of Maccabeans.

The English Zionist Federation was formed in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Clerkenwell Conference of March, 1898, for the purpose of finding a common platform upon which Zionists of all shades of opinion could cooperate. A committee was appointed by the Conference to draw up a scheme, and that committee established the Federation. When the Federation was started it received support from eight societies, representing five towns: after six months, sixteen societies, representing nine towns, had joined: at the time of the Fourth Congress, thirty-eight societies, representing twenty-nine towns, were affiliated.

This was the first stage of development prior to the London Congress of the Zionist Organization.

The appearance of English Zionist Delegates at the First Congress has already been alluded to. After the First Congress Dr. Gaster published the following letter in the *Times* of the 29th of August, 1897 :—

" The movement aims at the solution of one of the most complex modern social problems in Europe, and the means which are to be employed towards the solution are the realization of deep-seated religious hopes and ideals. For this very reason men from all the ranks of Jewish society and all shades of Jewish religion are here united in the common, noble, lofty and humanitarian purpose—the restoration of Israel, which is, moreover, the true fulfilment of the words of our Prophets.

" It is surprising to find . . . the incorrect statement that the agitation is the outcome of anti-Semitism. It existed long before this word even was coined. It prompted the Jews of Russia and Roumania many years ago to found colonies in Palestine. But this movement is felt to be inadequate to cope with the whole question. The political situation of the Jews has since made enormous strides. The number of Zionists with a definite aim before their eyes has grown rapidly. They are recruited from among the young enthusiasts on the Continent. University Professors and students, scholars and workmen are joining hands. They belong most exclusively to the orthodox and embrace the vast majority of the Jewish people. The Bible and the Prayer Book are the text, and this agitation is merely the practical commentary. . . . I, as an orthodox Rabbi, beg to differ radically from . . . (the anti-Zionist views). . . . It is not here the place to enter upon dogmatic questions and I therefore refrain from discussing the ' miracles ' that are to happen on that day when Israel is to return to the land of his fathers. God chooses human agencies to carry out His Will, and it is after it has been accomplished that we become aware of the renewing circumstances, unexpected and unlooked for, which have all contributed to bring about the result, which before would have appeared to be little short of a miracle. Whether the restoration will be accomplished by the purchase of Palestine, or by unexpected political combinations or by other peculiar circumstances, it would be idle to dogmatize about.

" One thing is certain. The whole orthodox and realistic

Jewry, which does not volatilize the words of the Prophets, and does not look upon the Divine promises as so many spiritual symbols to be interpreted away according to each one's fancy, is now assembled in spirit at the Congress and watches its deliberations with sympathy and elevated hope."

We have already mentioned that Rabbi Mohilewer had sent his congratulations to the Congress. The contents of Rabbi Mohilewer's expressions may be briefly noted as a supplement to Dr. Gaster's letter. Rabbi Mohilewer wrote that as the state of his health did not permit him to travel, he sent the Congress his blessing in writing. Harmony and concord should exist among all Zionists, even if their religious views differed. The colonization of Palestine was recommended as a religious duty—religion should therefore be a leading factor in the Zionist movement. They should also bear in mind that it was a duty to construct and not to demolish, and they should preserve the honour of the rabbis, who were thoroughly patriotic as regarded the land in which they lived. For the past two thousand years, the Jews had awaited the advent of the Messiah, who would take them back to the land of their fathers. But in our country men had risen who had abandoned this hope and had eliminated it from the Prayer Book. Several of the rabbis in Western Europe had declared against the Zionist movement, and one of them had gone so far as to assert that the movement was contrary to the biblical prophecies, as the Messiah was only to be symbolized and the Jews were to remain in exile. He declared this to be wholly untrue. Their faith was that God would send a Redeemer to bring back the People to their own land, and that the Jewish people would, once again, be honoured among the nations. Zionism does not interfere with this deep belief ; it is rather in harmony with it, and it prepares the way.

These two letters were a sort of *profession de foi* on the part of two rabbis representing different sections of traditional Jewry in England and Russia respectively.

The Second Zionist Congress at Basle, 1898, was attended much more numerously than the first one. There were over four hundred delegates, and the English Zionists had sent a larger contingent (the Haham, Dr. M. Gaster, had a Roumanian mandate ; Jacob de Haas, Leopold J. Greenberg, E. W. Rabbinowicz, B. Ritter, A. Snowman, S. Claff, J. Massel, Dr. Moses Umanski, Herbert Bentwich and others). The presence of Dr. Gaster, who was one of the most energetic

spirits of the Congress, was a great gain to the Movement. The English delegates adopted thoroughly English methods. They were not seen standing about in groups and knots in the passages and ante-rooms delivering impassioned speeches. The oratorical contributions of the English delegates were few, and none of them, except Dr. Gaster's powerful address towards the close of the proceedings, took up more than a few minutes. But the English delegates worked hard in Committee and at special conferences.

At that time the number of Zionist Associations in Great Britain and Ireland had reached twenty-six (Leeds three, Glasgow, London, Liverpool and Manchester two each; Belfast, Cardiff, Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Exeter, Hanley, Hull, Limerick, Newcastle, Newport, Norwich, Plymouth, Portsmouth and Sunderland one each), and in France—three, out of the total number of the Associations all over the world of 913.

The *Jewish Chronicle*, writing about the Second Congress, remarked: "There is the remarkable point of the Congress—in strong relief with the comparative paucity of the personnel of the English representatives is the undoubted English influence that has been exerted. Indeed, the net result of the Second Basle Congress is that Zionism has made a distinct move towards England. Indeed, it would look as if events were so shaping themselves that the Mountain having refused to go to Mahomed, Mahomed is coming to the Mountain. The Bank is to be located in England, so is the Colonization Commission. This may have been the result—probably it was—of England's supreme position among all the great Continental Nations, not only in regard to its undoubted stability politically, but also its unique position towards Jews."

The Third Zionist Congress at Basle, 1899, was attended by a still larger number of delegates from the United Kingdom. There were: Dr. M. Gaster, Joseph Cowen, J. de Haas, Murray Rosenberg, Herbert Bentwich, L. J. Greenberg, S. Stungo, J. Massel, Rabbi Yoffey, Rabbi Dagutzky, M. L. Dight, Rabbi Wolf, and others—representing London, Leeds, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Belfast, Edinburgh, Sheffield, Limerick, Grimsby Associations. According to a report of Mr. L. J. Greenberg, who had already become an energetic propagandist of the new Zionism in England, the work was progressing. He referred also to the activities of Mr. Herbert Bentwich, for if it had

not been for him no such organization would have existed in England. The Congress elected as members of the Colonization Committee Dr. Gaster, Mr. Murray Rosenberg and Mr. David Wolffe, and of the Propaganda Committee, Mr. L. J. Greenberg and Mr. J. de Haas.

The Fourth Zionist Congress was held in London at the Queen's Hall, August 13–16, 1900. London had been chosen with a view to further influence British public opinion, seeing that in no country had the Zionist propaganda been received more sympathetically and intelligently by the general public. Dr. Herzl said in his inaugural address at the Fourth Congress in London, 1900 :—

" I feel there is no necessity for me to justify the holding of the Congress in London. England is one of the last remaining places on earth where there is freedom from Jewish hatred. Throughout the wide world there is but one spot left in which God's ancient people are not detested and persecuted. But, from the fact that the Jews in this glorious land enjoy full freedom and complete human rights, we must not allow ourselves to draw future conclusions. He would be a poor friend of the Jews in England, as well as of the Jews who reside in other countries, who would advise the persecuted to flee hither. Our brethren here would tremble in their shoes if their position meant the attraction to these shores of our desperate brethren in other lands. Such an immigration would mean disaster equally for the Jews here, as for those who would come here. For the latter, with their miserable bundles, would bring with them that from which they flee—I mean anti-Semitism."

In the course of his address he uttered the following prophetic words :—

" The land of Palestine is not only the home of the highest ideas and most unhappy nation, but it is also by reason of its geographical position, of immense importance to the whole of Europe. The road of civilization and commerce leads again to Asia."

According to the report read at this Fourth Congress by M. Oscar Marmorek " they had thirty-eight societies in England as against sixteen last year, and all these Societies had increased their membership. Thanks to the activity of the English Zionist Federation, Zionism had greatly prospered in England and had won the esteem of Christians. In Canada there was scarcely a town with a Hebrew congregation where a Zionist society did not exist."

CHAPTER XLIXB

England and Zionism—Sir B. Arnold in the *Spectator*—Cardinal Vaughan —Lord Rosebery—The Death of Herzl—David Wolffsohn—Prof. Otto Warburg—Zionism in the smaller states.

THE Uganda scheme, which was due to the initiative of Joseph Chamberlain, led to an intimate acquaintance between the Zionist leader and this great English statesman. This project, as well as the El Arish expedition, which failed in consequence of technical difficulties, made Zionism not only a living factor in Judaism from an international standpoint, but also a political factor that was given consideration by one great Government, namely, that of England.

Subsequent events, instead of diminishing, have only more firmly increased Zionist confidence in the sympathy of English public opinion for Palestinian Zionism. There is hardly an appeal so eloquently written as Sir B. Arnold's address, published in the *Spectator*, October, 1903: "You have a country, the inheritance of your fathers, finer, more fruitful, better situated for commerce, than many of the most celebrated places of the globe. Environed by the lovely shores of the Mediterranean, the lofty steppes of Arabia and of rocky Sinai, your country extends along the shores of the Mediterranean, crowned by the towering cedars of the Lebanon, the source of rivulets and brooks, which spread fruitfulness over shady dales. A glorious land! situated at the furthest extremity of the sea which connects three-quarters of the globe, over which the Phœnicians sent their numerous fleets to the shores of Britain, near to both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf: the central country of the commerce between the East and the West. Every country has its peculiarity: every people their own genius. No people of the earth have lived so true to their calling from the first as you have done. The Arab has maintained his language and his original country: on the Nile, in the deserts, as far as Sinai, and beyond the Jordan, he feeds his flocks. In the elevated plains of Asia Minor the Turkoman has conquered for himself a second

country, the birthplace of the Osman : but Palestine has a thin population. For centuries the battlefield between the sons of Altai and the Arabian wilderness, the inhabitants of the West and the half-nomadic Persians, none have been able to establish themselves and maintain their nationality : no nation can claim the name of Palestine. A chaotic mixture of tribes and tongues ; remnants of migrations from north and south, they disturb one another in the possession of the glorious land where your fathers for so many centuries emptied the cup of joy, and so where every inch is drenched with the blood of your heroes when their bodies were buried under the ruins of Jerusalem."

It is obvious that these and other similar appeals and encouraging statements made a deep impression upon Zionists. This gave rise to the assumption that Zionism was merely concerned with English interest. It is needless to say that such a statement is as unfounded as the one ascribing to Zionism the pursuance of any other political interest. Zionism is a cause of humanity and justice, altogether remote from any political speculation : it can help the Jews, it can be useful to any country interested in the development of the East, it can be beneficial to all the neighbouring nations. It was only the spirit of the Bible which enabled the English people to appreciate the justice and the moral equity of the endeavour to raise up in the old land a free, united, prosperous and energetic Jewish nation, attached by the closest ties of friendship to European civilization, carrying not only into the East the civilization of the West, just as in the Middle Ages their forefathers brought the torch of culture to the West—that torch of enlightenment which they have borne aloft in their journey from the East, and which has enabled them to accomplish cultural work of their own.

Cardinal Vaughan referred in 1902 most sympathetically to Zionism in the following words : " I have always taken a great interest in the Jews, they were once the chosen people. I marvel at the strength they retain amid most unfavourable conditions. I admire their industry, their domestic virtues and their mental force, and I can only wish success to a plan which promises them such great advantages."

Lord Rosebery pointed out, in one of his speeches, that the silent campaigns of commerce are at least as decisive of the fate of nations as the noisy operations of the battlefield.

Even as the spasms and convulsions of nature, though she works through them, are less important than the slow, silent, everyday forces, so history is made less by the fire and sword of the fighters than by the humble, prosaic working-classes. The Jews were aware of the fact that not by soldiers has the great British Empire been built up, but by Trading Companies: India by the East India Company, Canada by the Hudson Bay Fur Company, South Africa by Mining Companies. The East India Company was incorporated in 1600 ; a few years later (1607) the earliest permanent settlement of Virginia was founded. The Pilgrim Fathers—a movement somewhat similar to Zionism —began their noble work in 1620 ; and West Indian colonization was inaugurated with the occupation of the Barbadoes in 1625. Half to three-quarters of a century the work went apace in North America, colony after colony was added to the British Crown. Then other regions began to attract the British, and a new era dawned with the occupation of Gibraltar in 1704.

All the great achievements of British peaceful conquests encouraged the Zionist Movement with its trusts and funds. Cecil Rhodes, with only a million pounds to start with, created Rhodesia with its 750,000 square miles. The British North Borneo Company has a capital of £800,000 and dominates over 31,000 square miles. The British East African Company, which administered 200,000 square miles, began with the same amount as the Jewish Colonial Trust, namely, £250,000.

It is true that the Zionist Palestinian scheme presented other difficulties, but where was any great work undertaken which did not present difficulties ? Is not the whole history of the Jews a struggle for existence amid the greatest of difficulties ? The Jews in their normal condition were an agricultural people. During the centuries of depression and persecution they had to abandon their old vocation. Dispersed throughout all countries, yet fugitives from every land, the Jews, who could call no place their home, had to turn to commerce or to handicraft for a means of livelihood, and were thus able to carry about with them everywhere that kind of labour power that they knew to be realizable everywhere. Yet, inexorable necessity as it was, it was a breaking with the nation's own self. And is the present situation without its difficulties ? Let those answer who know something of the hardships, the privations, the

squalor, the wretchedness amid which three-quarters of the Jewish people live throughout their lives. And, as to financial means, even under present circumstances it is necessary for the continuance of the present misery, to collect millions and millions, whereby indescribable energies are wasted—without any real help being given.

Inspired by these ideas, and with this object in view, the propaganda was continued when suddenly, in 1904, the Zionist Organization sustained the greatest loss ever experienced by any Organization. Herzl had worked too hard; his exertions, his experiences and his emotions had been such as to exhaust the strength of this strongest of physical and intellectual giants. It was too much for one human being to bear; nature was unduly taxed and he broke down. On the 3rd of July, 1904, Herzl breathed his last in the villa "Home, Sweet Home" at Reichenau, on the Semmering Mountain, south of Vienna. His memory will be cherished for ever by the Jewish people.

David Wolffsohn (1856—1914), the Zionist representative and worker, who had distinguished himself since the very beginning of the movement, succeeded Herzl. David Wolffsohn's career was eminently that of a self-made man of the kind that old Dr. Smiles would have delighted to portray. A man of attractive and imposing appearance, of a loving disposition and mild grace, and with a real sense of Jewish humour, rare gifts of adaptability and extraordinary capacity for managing and leading forward in active work, he was a splendid type of a self-made man. But, from a Zionist point of view, he was more than that: he was Herzl's great friend and confidant. His autobiography is given in Appendix LXXXIII.

David Wolffsohn, practically chosen by the Actions Committee and all Zionist authorities, took over the leadership of the Zionist Organization, during the interim between Herzl's death and the Seventh Congress in 1906. He had first intended to transfer the headquarters to Berlin, but afterwards decided to give Cologne, the city of his home, the preference. He was assisted in this important and responsible work by two distinguished Zionists: Professor O. Warburg of Berlin and M. Jacobus Kann of the Hague. The activities of Professor Warburg have been described elsewhere in this volume: they tended in the direction of colonization, and were almost wholly concentrated upon this domain. M. Jacobus Kann, a member of an old and

highly respected banking firm in Holland, was more interested in the financial institutions of the organization. He joined the Zionist Organization at the very beginning and has served the Zionist cause whole-heartedly and devotedly, particularly in the founding of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Company and all the other financial institutions. He travelled in Palestine, wrote a book (*Erez Israel*) dealing with his impressions, and is also active in the Zionist work in his own country.

Holland has a well-organized and active Zionist Organization, to which great impetus was given by the Eighth Congress at The Hague, 1909. M. de Liema, Professor Orenstein, Dr. Edersheim, M. Cohen, M. Pool and many others are among the prominent leaders. They take a very active part in the general organization work and in that of the Jewish National Fund, the headquarters of which at present are at The Hague. The Dutch Zionist Federation has an excellent weekly paper, *Het Judischer Wachter*, which has appeared regularly for several years, and contains much information concerning Zionist and Jewish matters as well as other excellent articles and contributions. It is worthy of note that Zionism in Holland has had for several years now a Zionist University Movement—with some good publications—which was started by Orenstein, Edersheim and others. Mention of Holland reminds one that a place of honour in Zionist history belongs to Belgium, and particularly to Antwerp, which has been for several years a first-class Zionist centre. Messieurs Jean Fischer, Oscar Fischer, S. Tolkowsky, Dr. Wulf, Ruben Cohn, the late Mehrlender, Grunzweig and many others, occupying important positions in the general Zionist Organization, made Zionism a living force in Belgian Jewry. M. Jean Fischer is a member of the Actions Committee and of the great financial institutions of Zionism: he and his friends have taken an important part in colonization undertakings in Palestine of which the devoted pioneer M. S. Tolkowsky is the representative at Rechoboth. M. Fischer visited Palestine and wrote a book containing his observations. Belgian Zionists had also a paper of their own, *L'Esperance* (*Ha-Tikvah*), which brought very valuable contributions and information.

In connection with Zionism the smaller countries of Central and Southern Europe, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries also deserve special mention. Switzerland,

the land of the Zionist Congresses, has a good organization, of which Dr. Camille Levy, Dr. Felix Pinkus, M. Levy are the most notable. They were always very active in propaganda, had their delegates at the Congresses and always made their regular contributions. Denmark and Sweden have now had for some years a good Zionist Organization, and, of late, are developing great activity, owing to the Zionist Office which has been established at Copenhagen. Roumania and Bulgaria are still more important as great centres of Zionist activity. Roumania was almost equal to Russia in the *Chovevé Zion* movement. Now, M. Pineles, M. Schein, M. Schwarzfeld, the learned and well-known Dr. Nacht and Dr. Nemirower, with many other leaders are at work in that country.

CHAPTER XLIXc

The Year 1906—The Pogroms—Emigration—Conder and his Activities—An Emigration Conference—The Eighth Congress—The Question of the Headquarters.

THE year 1906 was one of the *ans terribles* in the annals of Jewish history. It was a year of bloodshed and terror. Not even the dark ages extracted so heavy a toll of Jewish blood: something like 1400 pogroms took place all over the Ghetto. In many districts the Jewish population were completely exterminated. The number of persons directly affected, that is to say of those whose houses, shops, or factories were the objects of attack and pillage, reached a total of some 200,000 to 250,000. To this number must be added that of the clerks, workmen, etc., indirectly affected by the destruction of factories and shops, which could not be ascertained. The casualty list was estimated at approximately 20,000 murdered and 100,000 injured. Public opinion was stirred up. Why had those Jews suffered; what sins had they committed? Their loyalty and steadfastness to Judaism, instead of winning respect and admiration for their faithfulness, had called down upon them a treatment so immeasurably atrocious that it outdistanced the conventional words of sorrow and suffering and tempted many thinking men to ask whether the vaunted tolerance of the twentieth century was anything but an extravagant dream. If other nations suffer, they afterwards get freedom and indemnity. If in 1860 the Christians in Syria had suffered, their suffering afterwards brought them an autonomy. But what of the Jews? Every day it becomes clearer that it is impossible to allow the Jews to remain a prey to revolution and counter-revolution, between which they are crushed just as the corn is ground between the upper and nether millstones. "Emigration, then." But whither? The mass of Jewish emigrants, in spite of all Emigration Committees (which were established in America), resists dispersion; it holds together like a swarm of bees. In New York and elsewhere gigantic Jewish cities have sprung up that have become a menace to the safety of the present inhabitants and

therefore to the possibility of further Jewish immigration. Attempts made to substitute agricultural colonies at an enormous expense by philanthropists have met with failure everywhere except in Palestine, where it seems that at last an effective form of organization has been discovered. There alone the immigrant Jew finds himself at ease in language and customs, and to that land he brings the indescribable imperishable feeling of home that elsewhere comes to him but slowly and gradually.

Palestine is not far from Russia and Roumania, and is unquestionably so adapted for cultivation that as soon as the soil has been prepared the main stream of present emigration can be directed thither. And, further, it is the connecting link between the three great human divisions of the earth, while its commercial future promises to be of the brightest. It is therefore natural that the Jews, longing to possess the land of their fathers, should be encouraged to immigrate both on political and industrial grounds.

This great and powerful problem has roused English public opinion, but the Zionist propaganda has made considerable progress since 1900. One of the foremost English authorities who supported a Zionist solution of the Jewish problem was Colonel Claude Reignier Conder, to whom we have referred several times in this book. Some space must be devoted to a brief reference to the activities of this wonderful man in connection with Palestine.

Colonel Conder's name will always be associated with the exploration of Palestine and with the history of Christian sympathy in this country for the colonization of Palestine by the Jewish people. No other person has ever done as much as he for the correct interpretation of the Bible with reference to Palestine. He was born on December 29, 1848, and was trained for the Royal Engineers. He was associated, almost from its creation, with the Palestine Exploration Fund, which was founded in 1865. He was only twenty-six when, as a Lieutenant, he went out to join in the survey of Western Palestine. He returned to England in September, 1875, having surveyed 4700 square miles. He brought with him a mass of notes, special surveys, observations and drawings, which formed the bulk of the material for a work which may be said to have become historical: *Tent Work in Palestine.* It is a book which even now well repays perusal, if only for the light it throws upon the geography and topography of Palestine, and the many incidents and experiences it

records. The remaining 1300 square miles of the survey were finished by Lieutenant (later Lord) Kitchener in 1877. The scientific results of the work occupied some twenty-six memoirs, one to every sheet of the map. The whole of Western Palestine was mapped out on a scale which showed every ruin and waterway, every road, forest and hillock. More than a hundred and fifty biblical sites were ascertained and from these the boundaries of the tribes were worked out and the routes taken by the invading armies traced. The other books and memoirs on Palestine which Conder published form a library in themselves. In addition to the one already mentioned, there are *Heth and Moab* and *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* in 1883. This was followed in 1890 by *Memoirs of the Survey of Eastern Palestine, The Bible in the East* in 1896, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* in 1897, *The Hittites and their Language* in 1898. Besides these must be mentioned his *Handbook to the Bible* (1879), *Primer of Bible Geography* (1884), and *Palestine* (1891), which contained in one small volume a handy summary of all that was known of the geography of the country up to date. His last work, published only a year before he died, was on the City of Jerusalem. Special notice is also due to his *Judas Maccabeus* and *The Jewish Tragedy*, in which he deals with Jewish history from a national point of view.

Conder pointed out that Zionists are the natural leaders to whom the destitute and oppressed Jews turn for counsel and guidance, that "emigration has not settled the eternal question," and that "a nation without a country must be content with toleration as all that it can expect." He, too, sees the only solution in Palestine, and declares that Englishmen should be "only too glad to see Palestine increasing in civilization and prosperity as an outpost in the neighbourhood of Egypt." (*See* Appendix LXXXV.)

The Zionist Organization called, in 1906, mainly under the pressure of the pogroms, a conference of representatives of Jewish organizations at Brussels, to discuss the question of emigration, particularly to the East. A number of organizations—including the Anglo-Jewish Association—sent their delegates; others, probably in consequence of their anti-Zionist tendencies, declined. Resolutions in favour of investigating the condition of the emigration to the East were accepted, and a committee was elected; but nothing practical resulted from these efforts, except a little "rap-

prochement" between Zionism and the "Hilfsverein" which, however, in consequence of deep differences of principle, was only superficial and of a short duration.

The work of the Zionist Organization, without losing sight of the political aspect, devoted itself more and more to the work in Palestine. The Eighth Zionist Congress at the Hague, August, 1907, with Wolffsohn and Nordau as Presidents, was attended by a considerably increased number of delegates, and among them a number of English Zionist leaders. The report says about Zionism in England: "In England the devoted zeal of the Zionists has removed the difficulties which formerly existed. The Federation worked systematically and well, and the Movement has received a considerable impetus. The old and trusted workers co-operate with the younger spirits."

The Ninth Zionist Congress at Hamburg, December, 1909, with Wolffsohn and Nordau again as Presidents, was well attended (about four hundred members—and for the first time in the history of the movement, delegates were in attendance from Turkey). The impression driven home with irresistible force was the sustained and unflagging interest of all present in the movement. Among the English delegates were: Dr. Gaster, Dr. Samuel Daiches, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Mr. L. J. Greenberg, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, Mr. Norman Bentwich, Dr. Fuchs, the Rev. J. K. Goldbloom, and Mr. Leon Simon.

The Congress found itself confronted with the problem of organization. Several delegates were of the opinion that the task of leadership was too difficult for a Small Actions Committee, consisting of three persons, and that the headquarters should be removed to a larger centre. This view was not influenced by any personal sympathies or antipathies: it was dictated by considerations of an important character. Others were opposed to any change. This was an internal fight which had to be fought out, as in any other democratic movement, with the weapons of reason and conviction, and it was fought out. This Congress could not radically solve the question and it was left to the next one to bring the solution.

Zionism, however, remained as strong as ever. The disputes, far from being symptoms of weakness, were symptoms of growing interest, devotion and enthusiasm for the common cause.

CHAPTER XLIXD

Turkey, 1910–14—The New Turkish Cabinet of 1912—The Balkan War—The Tenth and Eleventh Congresses—Death of Wolffsohn.

We may as well now cast a glance at the aspect of the general political situation at the period this narrative has reached. Public opinion in England was greatly disappointed when the first enthusiasm for Turkish liberties had passed away. The ship of state in Turkey began to enter very troubled waters, and no one saw safety ahead. The defeat of the Committee of Union and Progress, the displacing of the Said Pasha Cabinet and the downfall of the other leaders of the Young Turkey party of 1908, followed by the amnesty of a number of officials of the Hamidian regime, had naturally led many in Europe to believe that reaction had set in, and that the Young Turks had once more been overthrown and were in danger of being stamped out by the Old Turks or reactionaries. On the other hand, some careful observers asserted that the new Cabinet of 1912 was the best Turkey had had during the past forty years, and that it was in no true sense reactionary, but really constructive and progressive. They maintained also that the Committee of Union and Progress had begun to use old methods and were now hated by a large proportion of their former supporters. But all these allegations were contradicted by rapidly developing events. Hardly at any time within this generation had the political situation in Turkey presented elements of greater uncertainty and danger than in the period 1910–14.

The greatest misfortune was the impossibility of any improvement. Turkey undoubtedly had the desire for progress along those lines which Europe professedly was so anxious to see her follow ; but she needed advice, guidance, credit and patience. She required men—advisers, counsellors—to give her practical help in carrying out the necessary reforms. But, unfortunately, such a development was made impossible by the disturbing political events.

The Balkan War broke out. The Balkan peoples took

their fate in their own hands. They did not look for liberators from elsewhere, and asked no help in the settlement of their differences. Whenever the Balkans had flared up and gone into war before it had generally been due to the fact that other nations had drawn them into the struggle. The vital difference of this conflict was that, for the first time for centuries, all the peoples concerned thought themselves strong enough to decide their own future by the sword. A fierce struggle began. The outlook for the Turks was most gloomy from the very outset. The Turks were beaten. They were discarded by all those who in Europe had seemed to have supported them, abandoned by the Powers which once valued their friendship. Speculation as to what would happen was on everybody's lips. One thing was certain: that the East was getting thoroughly aroused, and that the developments led inevitably to a crisis unparalleled in history. Meanwhile, the Zionist Organization continued its work with great energy.

The Tenth Zionist Congress at Basle, August, 1911, with Wolffsohn and Nordau again as Presidents, had an attendance of about four hundred delegates, including a considerable number of English: Dr. Gaster, Mr. H. Bentwich, Mr. Jacob Moser, Dr. Samuel Daiches, Dr. Weizmann, Mr. J. Cowen, Dr. Hochman, Mr. H. Sacher, Dr. Salis Daiches, Mr. S. B. Rubenstein and others. The question left over from the previous Congress was settled at this one. A new Small Actions' Committee was elected, and David Wolffsohn retained his influential post as President of the Council, and from that time again devoted his energies mainly to Zionist finances.

The Eleventh Zionist Congress at Vienna, in September, 1913 (preceded by an International Congress of the Hebrew Language Revival Societies), with its attendance of five to six hundred delegates, its enormous mass meetings, exhibitions, lectures, entertainments and demonstrations, such as the visit to Herzl's grave, the Gymnastic Display with 2500 national Jewish gymnasts and 25,000 Jewish spectators, was the greatest Jewish display of forces that had ever taken place. The importance of practical work in Palestine, the thorough, serious and systematic treatment of all colonization questions, the powerful influence of the Hebrew language, the great number of intellectuals present, the great power of the Students' movement, were new elements which were apt to give the calmer and older

Congress members the impression of something chaotic. In reality, however, that was only the way in which the growth of the movement, its development, and many-sidedness found expression.

Superficial observers, who have but vague ideas of Zionism, in its narrow political and financial aspect, might have been surprised at the sight of this Congress, but those who know how Zionism has grown up out of the *Chovevé Zion* and literature and education, with the University movement, which we have described elsewhere, will understand why the first "idyll" was bound to give way to a movement as reflected by the Vienna Congress. Dr. Gaster, Mr. J. Moser, Mr. H. Bentwich, Dr. Ch. Weizmann, Mr. J. Cowen, Mr. L. Simon, Mr. H. Sacher, and many other active and well-known members of the English Zionist Federation and of the Order of Ancient Maccabeans attended the Congress as English Delegates.

There was also a large delegation (fourteen members) from Canada. For the first time in the history of the Canadian Zionist Federation no proxies had been given, as all the delegates to whom the Canadian Federation was entitled attended in person.

The general Organization has since then been active in propaganda work, in development work in Palestine through the "Zionist Office," and also in educational work in that country.

The Organization sustained a great loss by the death of David Wolffsohn. He had been ailing for the past few years and died on the 15th of September, 1914. He served the Zionist Organization with unequalled fidelity, with intense devotion and a singleness of purpose that nothing could divert. His passionate affection for the Zionist idea never wavered. He was proud of the Zionist institutions and watched over them with never-ceasing vigilance. All Zionists fully realize the great devotion to the cause that actuated this remarkable man. Unbounded industry, a passionate love of the work he had to perform, these were the characteristics of Wolffsohn, and won for him wide and deep sympathy and admiration during his life and have secured for him a lasting and cherished memory in the hearts of Zionists throughout the world.

CHAPTER XLIXE

Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Palestine—Sir John Gray Hill—Professor S. Schechter—South African Statesmen—A Canadian Statesman—Christian religious literature again.

THE events in Turkey did not change Zionist convictions in the least degree, nor lessen the faith in the ultimate triumph of the cause. The colonization of Palestine by Jews is useful and desirable from every point of view. It was as much a necessity when Europe upheld the principle that Turkey was to form an indissoluble and indivisible Empire as in different circumstances. Among Jews themselves it was impossible to fail to notice the complete change of tone and spirit with regard to Zionism. If there was still any feeling of rivalry between *Chovevé Zion* and Zionists, it has vanished completely in recent years. In this respect Baron de Rothschild's visit to Palestine in 1913 was significant. The Baron, or " Our Baron " as the great philanthropist is affectionately called by the Palestinian Jews, for whom he has done so much, was received with royal honours: there were triumphal arches, and crowds of people and school children lined the streets singing songs of welcome. He expressed his keen satisfaction with Zionist work, and particularly with the remarkable development of the Hebrew schools and the spread of the Hebrew language in Palestine.

The attitude of English opinion, that is of real opinion based upon knowledge of facts and circumstances, remained unchangeably sympathetic.

For instance, Sir John Gray Hill of Liverpool, who had an intimate and direct knowledge of Palestine, where he used to spend his holidays for many years, and whose reflections and observations were of great value, gave in his address, delivered to the Liverpool Jewish Literary Society, on the 30th of November, 1913, a detailed analysis of the work to be done in Palestine. While admitting that exaggerated hopes were liable to strong objections and indicating the existing limitations, he said: " What you can

do is to afford a refuge in Palestine to large numbers of persecuted Jews, and you can teach them to cultivate the soil, and to practise various arts and crafts so as to maintain themselves in the home of their fathers. Now I think it is very important that the English Jews should take a lead in this endeavour, because the English Jews are the leaders in thought, in position and in common sense, and have a calm way of looking at things." He opposed the most erroneous and absurd idea of a contradiction between Jewish racial self-consciousness and English patriotism. " I am told that there is some feeling amongst the English Jews of there being a want of patriotism in interesting themselves in the Holy Land. That I do not understand. A Scotchman is a Scotchman, full of love for his own land and his own customs, poetry and song, but he is a Briton ; so of a Welshman ; so of an Irishman ; so of a Devonshire man ; so of a Lancashire man ; we cherish these special local feelings, these feelings of local pride, and yet we remain true to the Great Empire to which we belong." He offered a suggestion about travelling to Palestine.

" Now the leading Jews in England cannot, of course, go to live in Palestine altogether, but they might visit the country ; and those who can afford the time might pass a portion of the year there, and, I think, if they did so they would find an immense interest in the country, and would be able to help their poorer brethren far better than they can by remaining at a distance from it. Travel, open, open your mind, travel to the Holy Land and see the great vision of what the past did for us, that amazingly interesting country, without seeing which I think it is extremely difficult to understand in a full and proper way the meaning of the Bible ; at any rate, the sights of that land throw an immense deal of light upon it. Then there is another reason. Englishmen are very much respected in Palestine ; they are thought more highly of than people of any other nation. One reason is, that it is known that England is not seeking to exploit the country ; England does not seek for greedy concessions, and Englishmen, so far as they have to do with the natives, always treat them considerately and kindly, and, I think, the natives believe that whether the Englishmen are going the right way about it or not, they are trying to help the native to help himself."

Here he struck a note which might have seemed new to

him as a spectator appealing to English Jews. In the Zionist literature and Press this idea has frequently been expressed. Indeed, Palestine is still the land of poetry and enthusiasm, but it has ceased to be that of mystery ; and though only the fame of its natural beauty has hitherto reached Western Europe, travellers who have recently visited Palestine have learned to appreciate the progress of this country in colonization. If anybody has hailed with enthusiasm the rising of this new star in the East on account of its brilliancy, beauty and poetical supremacy, he could discover on a visit to the country those pioneers of vigorous frame, with eagle eyes and well-formed, combining the sternness of the present with the subtlety of the intellectual and the simplicity of the child. The best means of becoming a Zionist is—a visit to Palestine. Sir Moses Montefiore was the first European Jew who visited Palestine as a tourist and philanthropist, and he was an English Jew. That was a great traditional example for English Jewry.

Sir John Gray Hill emphasized the importance of the Zionist Jerusalem University scheme : " Now I have to speak of the proposal to have a University in Jerusalem. That is a proposal, I think, in which all Jews might join. Any objection or feeling of apathy that there is on the part of Jews for any reason against Zionism generally, cannot apply to a Jewish University. You want a centre of Jewish culture and instruction in Jerusalem. The Vienna Congress recently started the scheme thoroughly by a good subscription. You would, of course, teach Hebrew, thus preserving the purity of your language, and you would also, I hope, teach medicine, arts and crafts, agriculture and horticulture. Cannot you attract the attention of some very wealthy Jews to this great project ? Whatever objections they have to Zionist projects generally cannot possibly apply to this. What a noble monument it would be to a millionaire, or group of millionaires—those mighty kings of finance who are so powerful in Europe—to erect and endow a splendid University for the Hebrew race. If they were appealed to they would, I think, listen. Surely they would not take for their motto the injunction addressed by the followers of Solomon to the Bride from Tyre : ' Forget also thine own people and thy father's house.' No, that cannot be ; I think if the matter is properly represented to them a response will come. I believe, also, that a true and wise view of Zionism is growing in force. The cause is moving at

last. The long period of slack water has ended. The tide has turned, although we may not yet see that it has done so.

> ' For while the tired waves vainly breaking,
> Seem here no painful inch to gain ;
> Far back through creeks and inlets making,
> Comes silent flooding in the main.' "

On the other hand, an appreciation of the moral and religious value of the Zionist movement may be quoted. Speaking at a Zionist meeting in 1914, in Cincinnati, the late Professor Solomon Schechter said: "Zionism is now a living fact. We must have Zionism, if we want Judaism, orthodox or reform, to continue to exist. Judaism is at the present time in a very weak condition, not only in America, but also in Europe. The Jew cannot live in his own atmosphere, he is compelled to breathe the spirit of other religions. . . . The question then arises: What is it that can preserve the Jewish people ? Now can Judaism be saved from complete annihilation ? Jewish history tells us that the Hellenist Jews who settled in Alexandria and other places remained loyal to Judaism, although they had been excellent Greek citizens. . . . But after the destruction of the Temple, these Hellenist Jews became completely submerged by the Greeks, and nothing remained of their Judaism. That," said Professor Schechter in conclusion, "was why Jews must have at the present time the Zionist movement. Zionism could effect for the Jew a change in his material life, and it could also create for him a Jewish atmosphere, in which he could breathe freely his religion." It is worthy of note that the late Professor Schechter did not join the Zionist movement during the first years of its existence, but was then opposed to it. Being, however, unlike the Bourbons, who are said to have learned nothing, and having realized the wonderful effects of this movement as far as the revival of Judaism was concerned, he became in the last years of his life a faithful Zionist. This was the logic of a progressive mind.

The Right Hon. J. X. Merriman said in an address delivered on the 9th of July, 1914, in opening the Zionist Bazaar at Capetown, that "Zionism is a ramshackle movement, because it began in a very small way, and it had gradually spread. This had been achieved by the general effort of the people themselves, who had laudable desires. They had settled a good many people on the land

and had brought to bear their remarkable faculty of energy, enterprize and skill in restoring Palestine to its former fertility." On the following day the Bazaar was opened by Sir Thomas Smartt, M.L.A.: "There could be few," said Sir Thomas in his eloquent address, "but what admired their great leader, Dr. Herzl, in his lofty ideal for re-establishment as in the days of old, after many years of wanderings, the ancient glories of their race—of establishing a nation which had done more than any other nation for the spread of religious thought throughout the world. Notwithstanding the long and dark ages of suffering and tribulation through which the race had passed, the love and devotion to its traditions were just as strong as ever. Their young men still continued to dream dreams and their old men to see visions of that sun of righteousness which was to rise with healing in its wings. In seconding, Senator Powel said that it was a great satisfaction to know that the Palestine movement had got beyond the stage of dreams and visions, and was becoming an accomplished fact. He hoped that they would never slacken their efforts in what is one of the greatest movements in the world to-day.

At the General Conference of the Canadian Jews held in Montreal on the 14th of November, 1915, which was unique in the annals of the Jews of Canada (for this was the first time in their history that the representatives of every section and every element of the Canadian Jewish Community came together from all parts of Canada to take part in a conference), a representative of the Canadian Government, Mr. Maighen, brought the Assembly the good wishes of the Government for the success of the Conference and its high appreciation of that spirit of brotherhood which had caused them to come together. He spoke of the history and traditions of the Jewish race and of the debt that mankind owed to it. He referred to Jewish civilization as being the most ancient that influenced the world of to-day and of the wonderful way in which it had endured in spite of the ages of oppression its zealots had suffered. Speaking of the wish cherished so long by the Jews to regain possession of Palestine, Mr. Maighen gave utterance to the following: "I think I can speak for those of the Christian faith when I express the wish that God speed the day when the land of your forefathers shall be yours again. That task will, I hope, be performed by that champion of liberty the world over—the British Empire."

This speech shows how, in the minds of English statesmen, the question of rights for the Jews all over the world, and that of a Jewish homeland for the nation are bound up in one great principle of justice and freedom.

To conclude the way we began mention must be made of Christian religious literature, which continues to support Zionism in its own way. The Rev. Earle Langston published recently his ideas on the subject. The Christadelphians have published ample literature to which the learned Mr. Walker has contributed extensively. Mr. Frank Jannaway, an ardent Christadelphian whose interest in Jews and their homeland dates back some forty years, and who has paid several visits to Palestine at intervals of a few years, and has thus enjoyed some splendid opportunities of watching the gradual development of the Holy Land, has published a book, *Palestine and the Jews* (1914), of which two new editions, one of them entitled *Palestine and the Powers*, have since appeared. His knowledge is wide and thorough. He sees Palestine as the land of the future, and every new development is to him the fulfilment of a prophecy. He offers biblical chapter and verse for the happenings that have been convulsing the world, and in a way which reminds one of the oldest English pro-Zionist literature of the seventeenth century, which links up the position of the present and future aspects with sacred prediction. His views favour the Jewish cause and show considerable and correct acquaintance with the Zionist movement. It must finally be observed that during the last two years a great number of excellent articles have appeared in English newspapers and magazines, and some also in the French Press, in which great sympathy is expressed with the Zionist cause from a political, as well as from a humanitarian point of view.

ZIONISM DURING THE WAR

1914–1918

GENERAL SURVEY

THE year 1914 will stand out as the Great Divide in contemporary history. It was a year of endings and beginnings. Humanity left an age behind it, and entered upon an age in which old things have passed away and all things had to become new.

Long feared and long foretold, yet never seriously expected, the European War came at last. Nations, great and small, arose in their strength, and gathered, in an avalanche of excitement, all their manhood to battle, all their old age to guard, and all their womanhood, not only as in bygone days, to tend and heal the wounded and sick, but also to do preparatory work for the fighting armies. Generations, young and old, rushed eagerly to defend their countries, leaving home, property, calling; knowing no fear save that here and there one of their fellow-citizens might prove less patriotic than themselves. The world was thrown back to the moral level and the ethical conceptions of thousands of years ago: man became again a wolf to man, as in the Pleistocene Age. On the one hand, the vast and bloody epic produced a sort of ecclesiastical moratorium which, for the duration of the war, annulled all moral obligations and abrogated the Ten Commandments, while on the other hand, it developed, to the highest degree, all the great and noble feelings—sense of honour, unselfishness, magnanimity, courage. Nationality, patriotism, the sense of duty, the spirit of sacrifice, enthusiastic heroism and patriotic martyrdom filled the hearts and created a new atmosphere, in which every kind of human activity was intensified: industry, art, science, and literature. This great storm, the greatest storm that had ever stirred mankind, produced the greatest spiritual tragedy the world has ever known. The most terrible aspect of the war was not the fact that Europe was being bled white, that all the amenities of civilization were

breaking down with the strain of the military operations, and that each day some new and more brutal engine of destruction was prepared and brought into use, but—the ethical conflict carried on with minds and nerves on the rack of tense emotion which not only upset mental balance and changed the outlook of peoples, hitherto industrious and peaceful, but developed moral and social fears and passions which will not pass away in a day. This universal catastrophe would indeed have degraded the world into "a sort of malign middle term between a lunatic asylum and a butcher's stall," if it had not finally become—as it has become—"a war against war." The peoples turned their ploughshares into swords, they ceased to make useful, beneficial rails and plates and angles and girders of their iron ore and their coal, and they manufactured harmful, destructive shells and guns to project them to the slaughter of the enemy, hoping that when the time came they would again turn their swords into ploughshares. They realized that the enemy of society is militarist despotism, and that militarist despotism therefore must be ended, or it will end society. A great moral idea arose out of this war : the liberation of oppressed small nations. Another great moral idea arising from it is the de-militarization of humanity. The whole world is now involved in a life or death struggle for righteousness. This is the justification for all the sufferings and all the sacrifices. If this war were not a war of principles and for ideals it would be nothing, and could result in nothing except the further enthronement of the doctrine and worship of force, and the perpetuation of the untold misery and degradation which that form of religion carries with it. It should never be forgotten that this was a war for liberty of the peoples, and in particular of the small peoples.

This great war has aggravated and made terribly clear the position of Jewry and the tragic problem of its existence as a small and oppressed nationality. The war has turned numerous *Ghetti* of Galicia, Bukovina, Russian Poland, Lithuania, Courland and Roumania into heaps of ashes, and hell would be pleasant compared with the situation of great masses of the Jewish people. In this war, particularly in Eastern Europe, hundreds of thousands of Jews were fighting against one another in the hostile camps of the belligerent countries ; and the significant factor is that they were not fighting because they were forced

to, but from a sense of supreme duty. Even among those that were fighting in the Russian Army before the Revolution, there were many who were not acting under compulsion : they were giving of their best and from their heart. They wanted to take their places in the virile, the over-virile world—which is also their world, they wanted to live and die taking their place in the great living society which called to them. The spirit of Europe—rather the spirit of present-day Europe, which was the spirit of obstinate conflicts and of extreme courage of devotion—has seized the Jews also : they also have entered into this tremendous catastrophe, into this pilgrimage through chaos towards a new world.

But for the Jews this war meant infinitely worse evil and greater danger ; the nations were divided one from another, Jewry was divided against itself ; each nation opposed its fixed shape and character, untouched even by defeat, to the overflooding chaos, but the Jewish nationality seemed to be its victim, in its own wavering and chaotic form of the Diaspora. It almost seemed as though there existed Jews, and divided Jews, but no Jewry.

And yet it was not really so. It was a dark time, and the storm was ghastly enough, but the lightning has revealed things that might otherwise have remained hidden. Rather should we believe that the time of the greatest trial for Jewry denoted a high self-recollection, and with it the commencement of a true gathering and union. In times of great stress men discover their own deeper selves. Great trouble somehow digs into the very foundation of a man's existence, and he cannot explore there without finding what is most essential in him. When some tremendous trouble sends its plough through his heart of hearts, then he becomes aware of wonderful things he has never suspected before.

Now it is well worth our while to weigh all this and to make it part of our outlook and equipment as we face the great present events. Because, for one thing, it should go a long way towards delivering us from the worst of all fears—the fear of to-morrow and the next day, and all the days that the future hides. Nine out of ten of us are perpetually spoiling what *is* happening by dread of what *may* happen, so that we can all join Disraeli in saying that we have had many troubles, but the worst have been those that never happened. If only we could let the morrow be anxious for itself ! But, to a large extent, we can, if we will, school ourselves to it;

" . . . וכימיך דבאך : "
דברים לג' כה' [1]

is a promise perpetually justified by the best psychological findings and historic experience in the life of nations. It is really the fact, that our " day " stirs and heightens our strength. Only when challenged, do we know what we are capable of. Modern psychology tells us that " the human individual lives usually far within his limits ; he possesses powers of various sorts which he habitually fails to use. He energizes below the *maximum*, and he behaves below his *optimum*." And to rise to our *maximum* and *optimum* we need some unusual stimulus or some unusual idea of necessity.

Jewish history has revealed this truth several times. One individual or another, one small group or another—separated from the masses of the people—may fall away from Jewry ; whoever can do that to-day has never belonged to it. The majority, however, remain loyal, and are never more loyal than in times of stress. The illusion is destroyed that a man can live a truly moral life in a time of trial while he is only a spectator of the life of society. In the Jews, convulsed by the events of the war, the new unity of Jewry showed itself. The situation was so serious, so full of menace for all that we hold dear, that every thinking Jew saw that he must in these days help to create and maintain the moral energies which alone can carry him through the crisis. At this time the Jew had a duty to his country and a duty to Judaism. To his country he owed, as a citizen, duties which could not be shirked. Every support was to be given to all patriotic efforts for the prosperity, the victory, and the glory of the country. To Judaism he owed the obligation of securing and defending not only the existence, but also the development and the realization of its traditional ideals, and of strengthening its unity. The first expression of this unity was an increase of self-consciousness. Jewry was affected by the war, but the essential problems of the Jews in the modern world were not altered by the war.

When we speak of Jewry, we speak of a living historic, ethnic and cultural—although not political—nationhood, existing potentially in its unity, independently of the Jewries of the countries in the various forms of their divided destinies, and their dissensions at the present moment. We strive to fix and to assure it—as far as external conditions allow it—

[1] ". . . And as thy days, so shall thy strength be."—Deut. xxxiii. 25.

in the Diaspora. And when we wish to prepare for it a sort of central Metropolis, an organic *chef-lieu* in Palestine—we are not engaged in adding one more nationality to the existing nationalities which fight against and watch one another suspiciously. It is not the question of introducing Jewry into the divisions of the nations, to be absorbed by them, and thus to contribute to their conflicts, but it is rather a question of aiming at the union of all that is noble and just in the nations and in ourselves. We want our own centre of simple active life, because the spiritual and intellectual element without the simple active life degenerates into subtlety and trickiness. We want—at least, for a section of our nationality—normal life, with its variety and interpretation of different influences of Nature. This is a question in which every Jew should be interested, because not only does the nobility of a nation depend on the presence of the national consciousness, but also the nobility of each individual. Our dignity and our rectitude are proportioned to our sense of relationship to something great, admirable, pregnant with possibilities, worthy of sacrifice, a continual inspiration by the presentation of aims larger than everyday life and personal ease.

What was the attitude of the Zionist Organization with regard to these great events ? Why was the Zionist Organization more interested in the war than any other section of Jewry ? And why is Zionism at present more up to date than it ever was ? In order to answer properly these questions we have to cast a retrospective glance on the history of the last twenty years, and to recall to the minds of the readers a few important facts which, although dealt with in this work in previous chapters, must be again reviewed in their connection with the present political situation.

Twenty years ago several hundred Jews from all parts of the world met in the Swiss town of Basle and held a congress —the first Jewish congress in history.

A strange community of Jews, a representative assembly of the great Jewish *Diaspora*—from the most modern European writers to teachers in Talmud colleges in small Lithuanian towns, quiet respectable citizens and fiery students, bankers and Hebrew writers—representing all kinds of civilization and all languages—and, nevertheless, some bond unified the whole.

At the head sat a man of the kind which appears like meteors but once in the course of generations—Theodor

Herzl. A sage, a hero, a leader of men, an artist ? Everything—even more than everything—the embodiment of an idea. In the body of this man there existed a soul, and that soul was Zionism.

At his side there stood (besides other worthies whose titles to honour we may not here linger to mention) a tribune of the people, in the person of Max Nordau—another famous man only just awakened suddenly and with great power to his Jewish nationality.

There the veil was torn away from the tragedy of the Jews. There it was stated that the Jewish problem was a disease, and that against a disease one should not protest and struggle wildly, but one ought to cure it. Moreover, it was said that at times one cannot heal a wound except by cauterizing it. And all were agreed that it was not a good plan to postpone difficulties, but on the contrary that they should be anticipated.

Speakers there indicated the "*Galuth*"—the serpent with a thousand coils. And they pointed to the Land of *Israel*, to freedom, to redemption.

In the Land of *Israel*, it was there affirmed, Zionism could become a living reality.

Nothing new indeed was there discovered. It was simply stated that two and two make four.

Out of the vocabulary of modern political nomenclature the word "national" was adopted. Is Zionism national ? Certainly. It can also be called "human"; perhaps still more simply, "natural." Let us learn, however, from Nature, in its simplicity and honesty, which knows of no sophistries nor manœuvring.

We Jews have become again children of Nature. There exist species in Nature. The eagle does not toil for the pike nor the lion for the cat; neither can the light of the stars replace that of the sun. Each fulfils its own purpose, and thence results the sum total. Behold the trees and the standing corn—would they be so splendidly developed, so rich and so fresh in their growth, if they were forcibly mixed and mingled together so that one drew its sap from the other ? They are flourishing and rich and beautiful, because each keeps its own natural form and each draws its nourishment from the breast of mother earth. "Give us our country," said the Zionists. "Give it to us for our exiled and wandering ones, who unwillingly find themselves mingled in the great seething pot of assimilation,

who drag themselves from place to place. Give it to us for those who long and thirst for another kind of life; our garments, our bread, and our freedom we do not wish to have as alms. We wish to work and to obtain the fruits of our honest labour. We love that little country; waters cannot quench and streams cannot drown our love for it. Our love has the power to move mountains, it is stronger than all material obstacles. We demand a peaceful spot for our future and for our children who are becoming lost to us. Beholding this misery, we are willing to sacrifice ourselves. Even a she-wolf throws herself against danger to protect her young ones. Shall our love be weaker then than that of a wolf? And shall those whom we love be worse off than the offspring of animals? We want to rend asunder our chains, to blot out the mark of serfdom upon us, and win for ourselves true human rights, and the privilege of living equal to others, by honest toil."

This was the Jewish claim—the demand put by Zionists to the world. And then the world turned against us, especially the little Jewish world.

We shall not talk about the levity, the insolence, the egotism, nor about those satiated folk who philosophize with their stomachs, nor about those others who do not know their own minds, whose shallow little heads float like foam in any current. We do not talk about those idle jesters who have found another opportunity of showing the sad wit of the *Ghetto* which takes pleasure in ridiculing and despising one's own self. Indeed even respectable, serious and honest, though unfortunately shortsighted and obstinate men, who imagined themselves enthusiastic concerning Judaism, kind-hearted but automatic leaders of Jewish communal life who, though philosophizing about mankind, are inwardly divided from their own people, came to us with "fatherly" advice, with moral lectures, with sonorous phrases about humanity. They wanted to destroy most quickly, annihilate and extinguish the "dangerous chimæra," the "reaction," the "chauvinism," the "*Sabbatai-Zvi'ism*," the "decay of religion," "religious fanaticism," "tribalism," and all the other things they ascribed to Zionism in their political delusion and contradictory nomenclature.

"You must scatter yourselves all over the world," they said, "just as a handful of seeds, scattered by the wind, germinate, grow and ripen, all in different spots, replenishing the earth with their fruits! What do you want with a

country of your own ? You are made for something better ! To be priests, teachers of ethics, missionaries of God—that is a higher ambition ! Your contribution to mankind is social justice and the brotherhood of men. Why be a nation and for what purpose ? You will be great in the memory of peoples. You have earned a golden throne in history's temple of fame. You *have been*, to-day you are no more ! "

The Zionists replied : " We want to live. We know better than you do what we are able to do, and how we ought to influence mankind ; but we do not wish to abdicate, we do not wish to be destroyed like a broken vessel, whose contents have run out and have drained into the soil without leaving a trace. We do not want to be lost like a falling star, which for a time had shone brightly in space, only to sink into nothingness. Our star is not yet dead. Our ambitions are not very high, but they are based on reality. We do not want to be an exception, and we want to be excused from such a ' priesthood.' We want to create a sound settlement, a strong centre where we can develop our own nature and our character to the highest and purest perfection. Should the world wish to learn from us and accept our influence, we shall place no obstacles ; on the contrary, we shall be glad of it. But to drag ourselves from place to place, to be the scapegoat of every ' *Azazel*,' and the sacrificial lamb for every calamity, to mix everywhere with others, to lose more and more that which is our own personality, and to imagine that we are a sort of schoolmaster for everyone—for such imposture we are too honest, for such megalomania we are of too normal a mentality, and, morally, too modest. We do not want to be driven *ad majorem Dei gloriam* (for God's greater glory) or to be intermingled with others. We do not want to be like the goose that was offered the choice of being either roasted, stewed, or boiled. Neither do we wish to have lavished upon us the pity given to old people, because it is certain that they will not for long continue to disturb the peace of the living. We are old, it is true, but on that account we are experienced. From Pharaoh and Balaam to the foreign Antiochus [Epiphanes] (*ob.* 164 *b.c.e.*) and our own Jason,[1] from the Hellenists to the modern Assimilationists, we have been constantly invited, as the spider invited the fly into her

[1] יהושע or Jesus, High Priest from 174–171 *b.c.e.*, brother of the High Priest. חוניא=נחוניא, Onias iii.

parlour, just to get it entangled in her web and afterwards to suck it dry. No ! a thousand times no ! And if you say the Land of *Israel* is of no value to any one, then you are not speaking in our name ! Speak for yourselves alone ! For you the Land of *Israel* means perchance only a cemetery, a legend, an amulet, an archæological relic ; for us its every pebble and grain of sand is beloved, not only in a spirit of worship and of inactive enthusiasm, but also as a necessity to our life labour. And if you believe that the Jewish people are of a similar species to the Mammoth and the Megatherium, which have been devoted to extinction, then please speak only for yourselves ! Perhaps the sense of Jewish nationality in you has gone to sleep or has even died entirely. That is your own affair, a personal question which you have to fight out with your own selves. In us it is alive, suffering, fighting, clamouring ! Zionism is the movement of the Jewish people to reconstitute itself and to collect again its scattered members, to provide Judaism, the Jewish spirit, the Jewish soul, with a home once again after two thousand years of exile and of wandering. Zionism is the struggle of the Jewish people to preserve its existence. Zionism feels that the *raison d'être* of Judaism is not ended, that the Jewish race can still contribute its share towards the raising of humanity, but to enable it to do so more efficiently, in an organized form, and in accordance with its own natural affinities and historic traditions, a Jewish *milieu* is necessary. To create such a Jewish *milieu* is the purpose of the Zionist movement. Such a Jewish *milieu* can take root in one land and one land only, for there is one land only that has a real glorious Jewish history and Jewish past. That land is the Land of *Israel !* "

Both parties had exhausted the discussion—and, as is usual in such cases, did not succeed in convincing each other. Then they each went their own way.

The Zionists began to build straightway. No other colonial settlement in the world is of nobler birth than ours in Palestine. Tradition relates that young Rome was fed by a she-wolf. Some day it will be told in legends that our new settlement on old foundations was fed by a turtle-dove, by love, faithfulness, kindliness, and brotherliness. Not wild animals, but angels, stood round its cradle. Muses and Graces illuminated and crowned the morning star of its noble childhood. Jewish thinkers like Leo Pinsker, Perez Smolenskin, David Gordon ; enthusiastic leaders and many others—

a kind of Jewish Puritan pioneers, the "*Bilu*"—had started to build up the settlement even before our first and greatest, our immortal founder and leader of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, had drawn up our programme, created our organization, founded our institutions, and had given us the impetus, method and form of the Zionist movement.

The success of a wonderful, personal, magnetic power, the method of large-scale propaganda, the labour through relations with Governments had for a certain time given Zionism a political bias. More considered and every-day experience, on the contrary, pointed to a slow method of practical labour. Different parties amongst the Zionists opposed one another, and we need not be ashamed of that. Jews are inclined to freedom in all their spiritual tendencies, they do not easily submit to formulæ, they criticize, analyse, and search for the truth. Finally, the whole struggle was reduced to a question of tactics. Whether one attempts to reach the goal by means of the plough, plantations, schools, literature, or propaganda, it is a question of time and circumstances. And the essential truth was, that all means must be employed.

What was the result? The net balance was not great; forty settlements, some farms, co-operative societies, *Tel Aviv*, the new *Achuzoth*, the *Carmel*, the *Pardes*, the *Aggudath N'taim*, modern machines; new methods of work introduced not only among Jews, but also among Arabs; malaria centres disinfected; the best conditions for planting studied in experimental institutions; our banks, the *Bezalel*, public health centres, the music school, two well-filled secondary schools, the girls' school in *Jaffa*, the *Tach'kmoni* school in the same place, the *Petach-Tikwah* school of agriculture, the settlement schools, the committee organization of the settlements, the workers' associations, the teachers' union, the *Hebrew* newspapers and literature, the "Houses of the People"—these represent what *Chovevé Zion*, Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild and the Zionists have created, and what we call the new colonization of Palestine. The earlier rivalries have vanished. The *Chovevé Zion* and the Zionists are at one as to the policy of Zionism. The Zionist Palestine office in *Jaffa* is the head-quarters of the work of colonisation. The struggle for *Hebrew* has shown how Palestine is becoming more and more an intellectual centre. The visit of Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild to Palestine in 1913 had set the seal upon this unanim-

ity. Even the blind could perceive that a true Jewish Home was in process of establishment. No further arguments were needed. The Jewish population in the land, although a minority, is the only one that is growing and has grown during the past generation. It is the only progressive population in the land, the others are stationary in regard to numbers. Let any one go to Palestine, not on one of Cook's lightning tours, but as a Jew to the land of *Israel;* let him remain in the settlements but a few weeks—that will be a certain cure for anti-Zionism. If it should happen that any one could not be cured even in this way, then he must unfortunately be regarded as incurable. We, however, know of a great many that have been cured.

Thus the organization grew. It is sufficient to compare the beautiful first Basle Congress of 1897 with the enormous Vienna Congress of 1913; it is sufficient to compare the phantom Jewish National Fund of 1899 with the existing Jewish National Fund, which can show an annual income of over two million francs; it is sufficient to compare the two or three Zionist pamphlets of eighteen years ago with the Zionist press and literature in existence to-day.

Thus Zionism has grown to what it is to-day for the Jewish people: a spring of life, a signpost, the foundation of a mighty edifice.

In a few words the author can give the essence of the personal impressions which he received during the course of his three months' stay in Palestine, in 1913, before the war: a model factory of modern Jewish national life; a nursery for rearing the fruitful parent-stems for the blossoming tree of a living Hebraism; a laboratory for sociological experiments in self-help and self-government in Jewish economic life; a compendium of elements and corner-stones for the erection of the Home; a systematic, laborious, slow preparation of the preliminary conditions for a great, healthy, original Jewish province; the genesis of a new world, naturally with many defects, with many premature and unripe attempts, but that was just most beautiful and most natural in people who search and strive and venture. And all this was enlightened by a clear understanding, and glowed with a youthful national enthusiasm. That is what Jewish colonization in Palestine is.

Do not try and count it over! The wisdom of the multiplication table is too dull to be able to estimate it. Do not

try and weigh it ! On the great scales of history a single unit sometimes weighs down a hundred thousand ! Enjoy it, as one enjoys art, or as the free soul becomes intoxicated with and rejoices in freedom. As musical natures become enraptured with music, so national natures become enraptured with national life.

And if you will have net results, then do not forget one thing, namely, that all this has been done, not by the entire Jewish people, but by a small handful of Jews. When this small handful has become the entire people, then this edifice will grow even grander. Palestine is a land that stretches forth its hands to the future. For two thousand years it has been ravaged by war and by misgovernment, until a country that was once famous throughout the world for its fertility, has become a desert land, degenerate from lack of cultivation. According to the statistics of the Ottoman Board of Trade less than 9 per cent of the area of European Turkey has been brought under cultivation, and still less of Turkey in Asia. There are in Palestine twenty-seven inhabitants to the square kilometre, and in the valley of the *Jordan* four ; while in the irrigated districts of neighbouring Egypt ten thousand are concentrated within the same area. Why should not Palestine be resettled like Egypt ? Why should it not be made a happy home for an unfortunate people ?

Now the Zionists, after twenty years of work, plead their case again. They have not succeeded in putting an end to the "*Galuth*." Their opponents maintain that they had overestimated their strength. Perhaps so, but this does not prove that their labours have been to no purpose. They have laid a few foundation stones, they have shown the way.

They defend their cause in the midst of a hell-fire. Our ancient people that has lived so long, has now experienced the greatest of wars, such as has never been in the world before. We live to-day in the most critical period of the world's history. It has been our lot to share in the greatest drama which humanity has as yet lived through, not only as spectators, but also as actors. The history of this world war is written in letters of blood on the ancient and holy parchment, on the brow of the Jew. No seismograph has indicated beforehand the coming of this earthquake, of this outburst of the volcano of the nations. But *one thing* the Zionists have foreseen : the force of national consciousness ; the flood

of hate, our pitiful situation, which cause every storm to tear away the ground from under our feet.

Herzl had written his first pamphlet under the influence of the Dreyfus affair. That cry of twenty years ago thunders now in unison with the cries of mothers, wives, orphans, from underneath the pyres and ruins which in their brutal reality leave the worst imaginings of a *Jeremiah* far behind. The dead arise from their graves, covered with blood, trampled in the dust, with the fiery name of God, the "*Shaddai*," on their pale foreheads, and they demand to be heard. They lament, and say :

"Vainly we strove to secure a little life—we could not grasp it. Withered with sufferings, with pain and injury, shivering and frozen with cold, we used to hug the earth closely, but it would not give us warmth. We were teachers of the most ancient peoples, but death and insult were the recompense paid us by our pupils. We shone like the stars, but we were treated like silkworms, which have to die, so soon as they have spun the fine web of their threads, so soon as they have drawn forth and sacrificed their life-blood—they have fulfilled their duty, and farewell !

"On our shoulders we bore the burdens of our masters' interests, just as the sea bears the little fishing-boats on its waves. We were more faithful in guarding their property than dogs are. For the labour which we performed, for our hard and humble services, for the sacrifice of all our strength on their altars, for the resigned and patient suffering of all the tortures of exile, we did not receive even the reward of protection extended to the beast of burden, to the cow, or to the sheep for its wool. Deprived of all human rights, even stripped of the scantiest rags of toleration, we wandered and fell under the iron yoke of serfdom, like a weary and impotent herd of cattle driven over rocks and brambles. They felled us as a forest is felled, and we went down without the slightest possibility of suitable self-protection, with the dull thud of an old oak prostrated by a storm, yet with the pain of bereaved, insulted and humbled human beings. We are the victims not of the war, but of the '*Galuth*.' Let no one talk to us about Belgium, Serbia. Theirs is the well-known scourge of mankind taking the shape of tyranny, militarism, war. Had we suffered only from these things, then we should have suffered but in common with others. Our misery, however, is of a peculiar kind. It is a double misery : we suffer with the rest, and in addition we suffer

specially as a people without a country. Belgium and Serbia and Montenegro are nations with countries of their own ; they cannot be annihilated, they must be restored. We envy Belgium in her misfortune, and sorely assailed Serbia ; we behold the strength and health of the Polish peasant. Truly, he has been ruined for the time being, but he has his country, and though he has been driven away ten times by the fury of war he will return, and once again plant himself on his native soil, where his golden corn will grow again. Not only could he not be uprooted, but he will regain more than he had lost : a new, free, independent Poland !

" Everywhere the rights of nations are triumphant. Let it not be said that only countries that had been stolen fifty or a hundred years ago shall be returned to their former lawful owners. Whoever says so, falsifies history, either intentionally or unintentionally. The right of the Greeks to Greece is also a right which has remained through thousands of years. The right of the Armenians to Armenia has also been suppressed by force throughout the centuries. And yet these rights will be granted. Let it not be said either, that a nation robbed of the country must have remained on its native soil, or otherwise it will have lost its rights. That is not true. More Greeks live outside Greece than in Greece, and there are still other nations, the majority of whose citizens dwell outside the frontiers of their old home. Nor let it be said that it is sufficient to grant equal rights to mankind. Were not equal rights given to the Greeks—and yet the problem was not solved till Greece redeemed herself !

" We, the orphans, the disinherited, the playthings in history's sports, the step-children of a world founded on nationalities—we summon the world before the high court of history.

" For two thousand years past they put us off with excuses and false promises. Civilization has been progressing for thousands of years : mankind now flies loftier than the eagle and dives deeper than the *Leviathan*. Has it become better for us ? Have we not remained the same scapegoats from the time of Rome to the Crusades, from these to the ' Haidamaks,' and from them to the Pogroms of the present day ?

" We, the wandering souls, demand our rest. Enough of wanderings and being bandied about ! Give us back our body, our country ! We want to be equal with the

rest, suffer with the rest, fight with the rest, live with the rest."

Thus lament the dead, teaching the living. Will the world not listen to them ?

" What do you wish ? " the Zionists are asked. They reply : We want a home in the land of *Israel.* On the day of Judgment, when every historical right—from the smallest to the greatest—is announced, elevated, proclaimed, and demanded ; when even the weakest, the most doubtful claims of half-forgotten and but recently-awakened little peoples, based on old, torn, ambiguous and now scarcely legible documents and traditions, assert themselves and demand rights of ownership ; when history takes its place as judge on the throne of justice, and the national territorial idea is accepted as the world's code, in order to resolve every doubt and to arbitrate every dispute ; when the great in power penitently declare that every injustice, especially towards suffering peoples, must be righted ; when these things come to pass, then (we Zionists say) the Jewish people is in duty bound to proclaim its old, holy, historical right to the heritage of its heroes, its prophets, its civilization, its religion, its language, and its labours !

It is an ancient right, but it has not lapsed. It is the ancient oath, the ancient covenant. No right has been earned more honourably. None has been paid for with more and nobler blood. None is so highly established and deeply founded.

In order not to lay itself open to a verdict of letting its claim go by default, the Jewish people will have to proclaim its immortal right to the land of *Israel.* It is the sacred duty-right of loyal children towards their parents. Not to demand the land of *Israel* means that we tacitly waive our rights to it, and this means a waiving of our rights to everything : tradition, honour, justice, the law of *Moses,* and the general historical idea.

We don't trust a man who denies his mother, however much of a patriot he may be in his country. He is an opportunist, but no patriot, because patriotism is idealism.

Nothing will daunt us in our resolve to proclaim solemnly our historical right and to demand it with all our energy. Do not trouble us with intimidations, on the score of a possible growth of anti-Semitism, and so on ! These fears are senseless. Anti-Semitism is a consequence not of Zionism, but of the " *Galuth.*" Those who have the courage of their con-

victions and a sense of honour, are not to be influenced by craven fears. Our duty it is to proclaim our right, and we shall fulfil this duty. Will this bring us sufferings ? Good : we are prepared for that. Martyrs from of old as we are, we have been through fire and water during thousands of years, we have been the target of every attack, the victims of every persecution, and we fear no chicanery when it is a question of fulfilling a holy duty of our conscience.

Whoever understands Zionism, knows it is not our intention to raise conflicts. We stand for a peaceful movement. We began in a time of peace and we desire to renew our work and substantially to enlarge it, in the coming time of peace. We did not wish to harm anyone, to wrong anyone, and we wish to do so still less, if possible, now than before. We wish to make our country a model of social justice and human brotherhood ; the spirit of our prophets shall fill our land, and the ancient *Hebrew* genius shall there have its dwelling-place.

We certainly, not less than all the other Jews and all just men, are strongly interested and are anxious that we, wherever we live, wherever we are, and wish to be citizens, should have our rights secured. Where the Jews are not yet emancipated, they shall be emancipated ; where they are but half emancipated, their emancipation shall be completed and perfected ; and where they are already emancipated, their emancipation shall be in no way checked or diminished. This question of rights we had better formulate in the following manner: Not that rights should be given us, but that our rights shall no longer be filched away, restricted and encroached upon wherever we have our domicile, wherever we fulfil our duties, and bear all burdens in order to defend the soil of the country to the death ; wherever we work, live, and die together with its other inhabitants. Not that we should be emancipated, but that people should emancipate themselves from the instinct of persecution, from malice, from envy, which find expression in various forms : in pogroms, in boycott, in social ostracism, in open or masked disabilities ; that we should not be shut up in cages like wild animals, whether it be in the brutal form of a*Ghetto*, a " pale of settlement," or in the more subtle form of social exclusion and coldly polite hypocritical repulse : whether it be finally, in that cunning form not of Anti-Semitism, but of Asemitism which declares that, as in the case of poisons, the country can at best

absorb only a limited quantity of Jews, while any excess is dangerous.

If the civilized world really intends to make an end of war, then, also, this war against the Jews must not be overlooked. It is a war in time of peace, a war that has not the heroic character of a struggle between two opponents equal in arms, but the character of a systematic and brutal oppression of the weak by the strong.

That is the problem of the rights of the Jews in the countries of the Diaspora!

Some sophists have, in their speculative, casuistical way, evolved a strange doctrine. They assert, that when the Jews surrender their claims to the land of *Israel*, when they deny their own nationality, then they will "receive rights." Pedants and arm-chair theorists as they are, they paint in their luxurious imagination a picture that recalls the classical example of Paris with the apple: in one hand, Palestine; in the other, rights in the Diaspora. And as they point to this picture, they cry out to the Jews: Choose! One or the other!

Such pictures may please children, but not grown-up men—since children are innocent and do not understand the laws of logic. There are no two kinds of truth, nor of justice, only *one*. If justice is done to us, then our right to Palestine will be recognized, and we shall also be left in peace in the Diaspora.

Be assured the Land of *Israel* will not injure our situation in the Diaspora. Only Zionism, not self-betrayal, is calculated to lend us authority and prestige in the world. Avoid the old error, avoid renunciation, stand true to your flag, to righteousness, like men!

We are asked, What are your politics? Others say that politics should be indeed excluded. Zionism must be only either colonization or a spiritual movement. We must be Zionists in colonization, in the spirit, and in religion. In what each says, there is some truth. The error lies only in the fact that in each of these assertions, a partial truth claims to represent the whole truth. Zionism is not a part; it is the totality, the sum, the synthesis of these efforts.

However little Zionists wish to enter into politics they cannot close their eyes to the fact that Zionism is—at least, in part—a political problem. However spiritual its arguments, its origins and its motives may be, however metaphysical its aims may be, and however much its methods

may accordingly strive to remain pure, neverthless, it is concerned with the problem of people desiring to settle in a particular country, under a particular form of social life. They, consequently, have to strive for a certain degree of political self-government, whether it be high or low, and thus they must come into relations with other groups and states already in existence, already formed, already in possession and having rights. The boundaries of rights will have to be drawn up, and these will soon become frontiers of existing spheres of influences, and these again, later on, will need to grow to new forms. Even if Zionism should devote itself entirely and with absolute exclusiveness to spiritual matters, its centre of colonization will have a political aspect, which must be developed as such. It is a good thing that the war has thrust political temptations upon Zionism. Nothing can become of greater advantage to it, than that it should always grow more clearly conscious of being something practical, the creator of life, of being conditioned and limited by frontiers, and not that it should simply fill the rôle of redressing grievances from a single point.

The Zionist policy must always be controlled by the national idea. Great changes will arise in the political situation in the world, the extent of which cannot as yet be surveyed in detail. But one thing is already certain ; the national, the historical idea will be victorious. The people that suffer most, the small and weak people, must weigh on the scales of the coming changes in proportion not only to their physical strength, but also to their moral strength, and in proportion to the intensity of their will-power and self-determination—and this will-power and this self-determination, although at all times needing and capable of development, develops most rapidly under the influence of such moments as the present. The first preliminary condition for political success, therefore, is self-determination and will-power. The first and most important political task is the awakening of will-power. Only then commences the policy of finding support in the outer world. And under this head we know of one policy only, namely, truth—absolute and unconditional truth. Out of love for it Zionists desire to be just to all men, even to their opponents. This may be disagreeable to short-sighted people, but it does not trouble Zionists. Should truth beckon in one direction and the greatest successes in the other, Zionists should without a moment's hesitation choose rather the former

and exclaim, "Away with falsehood." Only truth can be of service to us; wherever any shadow whatsoever falls upon that, there can be no place for us.

No cause that is unjust, even if at the first glance it appears to bring immediate help, and is advanced by people who wish us well, is worthy of Zionist support, and, likewise, every righteous cause, even though it appears to be against us, and is put forward by people who are indifferent and even opposed to us, is deserving of our support. For high above the plans dictated by benevolence or malice, stands the loftiest cause which so rules it that injustice cannot help Zionism, and that justice, on the contrary, must help it.

It is sometimes pointed out that certain among those who profess sympathy for Zionism do not exactly belong to the most trusty friends of the Jews, while, on the contrary, many so-called Liberals seem to be opposed to Zionism. Truly, we say to you: this is of no concern to us. Personal motives have no interest for us; we do not sit in judgment upon individuals. We are neither flattered by friends nor deterred by the envious. The Zionist's only concern is the righteous cause.

The Zionist policy is one of principles, and not an opportunist policy. A policy founded on principles can only base itself on truth. The assistance of strangers can be of service to us only when it sees in us the truth, sees us as we really are, as we are in the continuity of our history, in our numbers, in our distress and in our hopes. Not the plans of any individual, whether personal or general, only fidelity to the axioms of international morality can help us. And if it be possible to obtain such assistance, then it can be attained only through a leading policy of true equality, but never through assimilation, which is opposed to the truth.

Truly, to be on an equality with others means the solving of our problem on national lines. That in the highest sense is equality of opportunity. If the principle of self-determination is applied to all, then it must be applied to us too. If historical rights are recognized, then ours must also be recognized. It is right and fair that Armenia should become Armenian; it is just as right and fair that the Land of *Israel* should become *Israelitish*. Grant equal rights and compensatory justice; all else is hatred, cowardice, hypocrisy, ambiguity.

The error of Jewish policy since the beginning of the last century lay in the fact that it was an opportunist policy.

We tried to please different parties, to utilize political situations. Perhaps this was formerly an opportunity—we have now outgrown this standpoint. Human progress, like every development, advances ever further and further. Every new advance leads to a new stage that could be reached only through the earlier stages, and every new stage when reached has been reached only to be left behind in its turn. As soon as a stage has been reached, the time has once more arrived for leaving it. That is the essential reason why the Jewish problem has now become a national problem. Hence it is the purest childishness to wish to solve the problem by the means adopted by the *Sanhedrin* in Paris, in 1806.

It is not, however, to be supposed that because Zionists hold to a policy of principles they are on this account incapable of profiting from favourable opportunities, of utilizing a fortunate moment, that may come and bring more with it than many years of hard toil. " Whoever wants to sail to the new-discovered isles must use the winds as they blow." The centre of gravity lies in the Jews alone, in their will-power, in the independence of their spirit.

The Jewish people have seen the dominion of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Rome, and still survive. Under the standards of *Zion* the Jewish people will rise to new life.

What ought Jews to do ? To this question we answer : In these serious times all Jews should be united, all Jewish organizations, parties and communities should set to work, by all lawful means, through the press, literature, propaganda and personal connections, to attain the recognition of a national home for our people in the Land of *Israel ;* and at the same time to carry through the abolition of all injustice against the Jews in the countries of the Diaspora.

And in view of the enormous importance of the already existing Jewish colonization in Palestine for our future, and, also, of the salvation of the Jewish people from want and misery accentuated by the war, the greatest possible assistance must be given to Palestine and to the suffering masses of Jews in the Diaspora. For the sake of these causes, and especially for the first, the Zionist Organization all over the world should not only be maintained, but also placed in a position to develop and enlarge its activities.

ZIONIST PROPAGANDA IN WARTIME

In the above the Zionist policy has been sketched. Experience has by this time shown that in spite of the incredible difficulties of all kinds, Zionism has not only not lost its power, but has also actively developed its work.

The present war has not affected the unity of the Zionist idea nor has it affected the unity of the Zionist Organization. As the Organization was established on the federative principle, it was found possible to continue the essential work of the movement by utilising the separate organizations of the different countries. The work of propaganda and the collection of funds, so far from diminishing, actually made great progress. The societies already in existence continued their work very effectively, and a considerable number of new societies came into being. *Die Welt*, the central organ of the movement, had, however, to be suspended ; but a series of new Zionist publications made their appearance. The Zionist press—in Russia particularly —made great headway. The Zionist weekly, *Razswiet*, which is published in the Russian language, increased its circulation threefold. Three new dailies, *Ha'am* in *Hebrew*, *Das Togblatt* and *Der Telegraf* in *Yiddish*, were established, and rapidly attained a circulation comparable to the great European daily papers. A crowd of new journalists and publicists accepting the Zionist platform, joined the old guard of writers and workers in the cause. The *Yiddish* Press in Poland, which numbers its readers by the hundred thousand, put themselves at the disposal of the Zionist movement. One in particular, which had hitherto been territorialist, and only lukewarm towards Zionism, declared openly its acceptance of the Zionist programme. In England Zionist activity in press and literature made remarkable progress, such as had scarcely been imagined possible in this country. It is worthy of note that, quite apart from the Zionist Press proper, the Jewish non-Zionist Press evinced a much keener interest in the movement. The world's general Press, in all languages, devoted to Zionism an amount of space second only to the events of the war. The mere fact that at a time such as the present, when the world is in the throes of a universal struggle, and every nation is concerned for its own safety, and even existence, so much interest was directed to our

movement throws a dazzling light upon the naïve absurdity of the anti-Zionist assertion, that the whole movement is nothing more than an Utopia.

The Zionists have long realized the need of public meetings and discussions. The Zionist movement is the only Jewish national and democratic movement to attach great importance to the free exchange of opinions and to break down the somewhat autocratic method of conducting Jewish affairs in favour with the *Kehillah* leaders. It was the first movement to replace the dry bones of bureaucracy by the introduction of universal Jewish suffrage as a means of dealing with Jewish public affairs. As the Zionist movement in pre-war times found full expression in conferences and public meetings, it was to be feared that the War, by reducing greatly the facilities of communication and intercourse, would seriously affect this form of activity. But this was not the case. The long record of the meetings and conferences held since the outbreak of the war, and which by no means exhausts the total number, gives some notion of the vast scope of this form of propaganda.

We will make a short survey of the most important dates in Zionist activity during the course of the war, in chronological order.

CONFERENCES.

September, 1915.

Zionist Conference—Dordrecht—Holland.

Roumania. Annual Meeting of the Roumanian Zionist Federation, November 7th and 8th, held in Galatz. Country divided into four districts for Zionist work : Galatz, Bucharest, Jassy, Foscani.

Canada. General Jewish Conference held in Montreal, November 14th and 15th, together with the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Zionist Federation, presided over by Clarence *de* Sola.

December 5th, 1915.

West Austrian—Galician—and Bukowina Zionist Conferences (Adolf Stand in the chair). Resolutions:—

"The Assembly expects to see the Jewish problem discussed at the peace conference, and trusts that the Actions Committee will find suitable means and ways to create a united manifestation of the Jews of all countries for the demand of

securing for the Jews their civil and political equality of rights all over the world, and in the nationality states also recognition of their national existence.

"The Actions Committee is asked to prepare everything in a suitable manner, in order that the interests of political Zionism may be secured before the Forum of the future Peace Congress."

December 26th and 27th, 1915.

Holland. At Nymegen one hundred and twenty delegates attended.

December, 1915.

Manchester. Conference of English "*Poalei Zion.*" Delegates from all parts of the country attended.

January 1st, 1916.

England. Conference convened by E.Z.F. attended by *Rabbis*, delegates of Synagogues, Friendly Societies and Trade Unions.

January 5th, 1916.

America. Annual Conference of the Federation of "Knights of *Zion*," at Chicago. The Federation has fifty-three active branches and three thousand members.

January, 1916.

Australia. Annual Conference of the Sydney Zionist Society.

February 6th, 1916.

America. Annual Convention of the Zionist Council of Greater New York.

February 13th, 1916.

England. Annual Conference of the English Zionist Federation at Manchester.

1916.

Mizrachi. The Annual Conference of the "*Mizrachi*" was held at Chicago, May 26th–30th. The "*Mizrachi*" of America comprises one hundred and three associate-societies and twenty-four synagogues. The membership is six thousand.

Some of the principal American *Rabbis* attended the Conference.

A special Palestine Bureau was created. A new union, called "*Achi Samach*," was formed, for the encouragement of the sale of Palestinian products.

1916.

Bombay. A Meeting of the *Magen David* Congregation was held at Bombay. The proceedings were all in *Hebrew.* Sir Jacob Elias Sassoon, Bart. (1844–1916), was re-elected president.

May 28th and 29th, 1916.

Scandinavia. The Twelfth Annual Conference of Scandinavian Zionists was held at Copenhagen. Thirty-one delegates from all parts of the country were present. Various resolutions were passed, expressing confidence in the work of the Central Executive.

1916.

Switzerland. A Conference of the Swiss Zionist Federation was held at Berne on June 1st.

1916.

South Africa. The Annual Conference of the South African Zionist Federation was held at Johannesburg on April 30th. Over one hundred delegates were present.

1916.

Canada. "*Poalei Zion*" of Montreal had a series of Conferences on June 2nd–4th.

America. Conference of American Zionist Federation held at Philadelphia on July 2nd. Over five hundred delegates present.

July 8th, 1916.

Conference at New York of the "Young Judea." The membership is three thousand five hundred.

September 13th–15th, 1916.

Poland. A Zionist Conference was held in Warsaw, attended by one hundred and twenty-five delegates from Warsaw and the Polish provincial cities.

The following resolution was passed:—

"1. That the Central Committee establish a special Palestine Office, to gather information and material with respect to the present situation in Palestine and with respect to the possibilities for work after the war.

"2. That it elaborate this material and spread it within wide circles. Further, it has to organize pioneer groups, who are willing to go to Palestine,

as well as to work out a scheme for the preparation of these pioneers."

September, 1916.

Russia. "*Poalei Zion*" Conference—the first since the outbreak of the war. Resolution passed :—

"That we agitate among the Jewish masses instructing them the only solution for the Jewish problem is the creation of a Jewish Home in Palestine."

September 18th, 1916.

Conference of Zionist speakers, held at New York.

Bohemia. The Annual Conference of Bohemian Zionists was held at Prague on November 1st.

America. Zionist Students' Organization of America held its Second Annual Conference, November, 1916.

November 14th–19th.

America "*Poalei Zion*" Conference at Boston. Attended by one hundred and nine delegates from the United States and Canada.

(During the year two thousand new members had been enrolled. Juvenile Societies, with eighteen branches and over one thousand members, had been formed.)

1916.

England. On December 24th and 25th the Order of Ancient *Maccabeans* held their Annual Grand Beacon Meeting in Manchester. Resolution :—

"That this Grand Beacon Meeting reiterates its loyalty to the Zionist programme, as endorsed from Congress to Congress, and expresses the hope that the time may not be far distant when our brethren will be accorded full civil and political rights all over the world, and that the order co-operate with bodies that strive for the above objects."

1916.

Holland. The Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Dutch Zionist Federation was held at the Hague on December 24th and 25th, 1916.

About one hundred and twenty delegates were present, including representatives of the "*Poalei Zion*" and the Belgian Zionist Federation.

The Dutch Federation comprises twenty-six societies, with a total membership of one thousand six hundred and sixty.

Collections: Palestine Fund, 11,453 *fl.*; Central Fund, 913 *fl.*; National Fund, 10,709 *fl.*

1917. *Poland.* The Annual Meeting of the Warsaw Zionists, held on January 11th, attended by a thousand *shekel* payers.

1917. *America.* In March, a Conference of Jewish Socialist Workers was held in New York, and attended by four hundred delegates. The Basle programme was adopted.

1917. *Mizrachi.* Over two hundred delegates attended the "*Mizrachi*" Convention at Pittsburg, where the deliberations extended for over five days. Fifty of the most prominent orthodox *Rabbis* of the country attended. The "*Mizrachi*" has a hundred and nineteen branches in ninety-five cities spread over twenty-eight States.

1917. *America.* "Knights of *Zion*" held their Twentieth Annual Convention at Minneapolis and St. Paul. The "Knights of *Zion*" had seventy-six societies with a membership of four thousand two hundred.

America. Hebraists Convention took place in New York on February 10th, 11th and 12th. Many *Hebrew* scholars from all parts of the country were present.

America. The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Zionist Council of New York was held on February 16th, attended by eighty-eight delegates, representing thirty societies.

1917. *England.* The Annual Conference of the E.Z.F. was held in February in London. About sixty delegates were present.

1917. *Switzerland.* The Swiss Zionist Federation held a Conference at Berne on February 18th. Thirty-five delegates attended.

1917. *Russia.* On March 28th–30th there was held a Conference of the Central Institutions of the Zionist Organization. About fifty delegates attended.

Conference of all Russian Zionist Organizations, held in Moscow, April 3rd. Dr. E. W. Tschlenow presided.

1917. *Greece.* On April 9th a Mass Meeting, attended by over three thousand persons, was held at Salonica. After addresses delivered by several speakers, a resolution was passed urging the restoration of the oldest nation and its regeneration in Palestine.

1917. *Belgian Zionists.* On April 29th the Belgian Zionist Federation held a Conference at Scheveningen, Holland.

1917. *Australia.* Annual Meeting held at Sydney, March 18th.

1917. *England.* Special Conference E.Z.F. in London, May 20th.

1917. *Russia-Turkestan.* Early in May a Conference of Turkestan Zionists was held at Samarcand. The delegates were both *Ashkenazi* and *Sephardi.* Thirty delegates attended, besides delegates for the Bokhara Jews, and two hundred guests.

A Zionist Central Committee was formed for Turkestan.

1917. *Poland.* June 3rd–5th. Conference of Zionist Central Committee for Poland, held in Warsaw.

1917. *Russia.* On May 24th (O.S.) the Seventh Conference of Russian Zionists was held at Petrograd, and was attended by five hundred and fifty-two dele-

gates, representing one hundred and forty thousand *shekel* payers, from six hundred and forty towns and villages. Eleven delegates came from Siberia. Bokhara and Mountain Jews were represented. Twenty-four delegates were soldiers coming by special permission of the Commander-in-Chief, who got free passes. Five hundred guests came from the country and one thousand guests from Petrograd were present. Ninety representatives of Russian papers were present. The Foreign Secretary, Teretschenko, sent greetings and best wishes for complete success.

Dr. E. W. Tschlenow's speech was reprinted in half a million copies for the soldiers.

A meeting of Zionist Women was held in the hall of Kiew University in May. More than one thousand five hundred Jewish women attended.

1917.

In 1913 there were only twenty-six thousand *shekel* payers in Russia—now one hundred and forty thousand. Resolution passed :—

> "The Seventh Zionist Russian Conference proclaims its firm conviction that the nations, in settling the bases of the new national and political life, shall be conscious of the clearly manifested will of the Jewish people to colonize Palestine again as their national centre, and that they shall create conditions enabling the unhindered evolutions and concentration of all Jewish forces, for the purpose of bringing about a regeneration of Palestine."

A representative body of the Jewish people should be admitted to the approaching Peace Conference, which shall obtain attention for the historic and national rights of the Jewish people.

1917.

America. Independent Order "*Brith Shalom*" held their Thirteenth Annual Conference in Atlantic City on June 13th. Over six hundred delegates were present. The resolution passed commenced thus :—

"Whereas the Independent Order has adopted the Zionist platform in spirit and in fact, and has pledged itself to the furtherance of all principles it stands for, *etc., etc.*"

1917. *America.* The Twentieth Conference of American Zionists opened at Baltimore on June 24th. Over a thousand delegates were present.

1917. *America.* Twentieth Annual Convention of Progressive Order of the West was held at Detroit, Michigan. The Order has a membership of twenty thousand, and declared its allegiance to the Zionist cause.

1917. *America.* Conference of "Young Judeans." One hundred and twenty-five delegates present, representing five thousand members. The "Young Judeans" collected 3500 dollars for the Jewish National Fund.

1917. *England.* Union of Jewish Friendly Societies, comprising fifty thousand members, adopt the Basle programme.

Conference of the Order of Ancient *Maccabeans*, held at Manchester, July 17th. Membership of the Order 2200.

1917. *Canada.* The Fifteenth Annual Conference of Canadian Zionists took place at Winnipeg in July. Delegates from seventy-seven towns, of three hundred and fourteen Jewish organizations, attended.

The Governor of Manitoba came to the Conference, and expressed his sympathy with Zionism.

1917. *Russia. Poalei Zion.* Conference in Kiew—September 8th. More than one hundred and sixty delegates attended.

1917. *Greece. Salonica.* Great Meeting, attended by three thousand persons at Salonica, on 9th of *Ab.*

1917. *America.* The "*Mizrachi*" in America celebrated in August the Six-hundred-and-fiftieth Anniversary of the First Settlement in Palestine by *R'* Moses *ben* Nachman (*Ramban*). The "*Mizrachi*" started a Fund of 100,000 dollars, to aid Colonization and Industrial Development in Palestine.

1917. *Poland.* The Third Delegates' Conference of the Zionist Organization in Poland was opened in Warsaw on October 28th, 1917. More than three hundred and sixty delegates attended, representing forty thousand shekel payers.

1917. *Poland.* Fifth Conference of the "*Poalei Zion*" of Poland, was held in Warsaw. Over forty-four delegates, representing twenty-six towns, participated in the Conference. The Organization had forty-six district groups, with a membership of eight thousand.

1917. *America.* September 5th. Conference of *Rabbis* resolved to appeal to various powers, particularly President Wilson, asking them to give their consideration to the question of the Restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people.

1917. *England.* In October, Zionist Demonstrations took place all over the country. In seventy-one synagogues, one hundred and twenty-three lodges and associations, and in fifty-four Zionist societies, resolutions were passed requesting the British Government to use its best endeavours to bring about a Restoration of Palestine as a National Home for the Jewish people.

1917. *Holland.* Congress of Jews resident in the Netherlands, held in Amsterdam on November 18th, for considering emancipation of Jews, recognition of national rights in national States, and national concentration of the Jewish people in Palestine.

One of the most popular of Zionist funds is the Jewish National Fund. This Fund is outside the realm of discussion, and deals exclusively with hard facts, i.e., financial contributions from all parts of the world. The Jewish National Fund is in a very real sense an index of the people's will. It would seem that the terrible misery of the Jewish masses occasioned by so many expulsions, evacuations, and loss of life and property would have had the effect of, if not entirely cutting off this source of revenue, at least, seriously reducing it. In point of fact, the reverse is shown by the figures.

The income of the Fund during the last few months of the year 1914 and during the year 1915, was about two-thirds of the previous years. But in the year 1916 the National Fund received about 1,000,000 francs, which equals the amount in 1913. During the first half of 1917 the average monthly contributions were doubled. The latest date up to which exact figures for the various countries are available is September 1st, 1917. During the eight months from January to September, 1917, more than 1,300,000 francs had been recorded. During the last four months of the year approximately the same amount was received, that is, the contributions were doubled once more in relation to the immediately preceding rate. At the present moment the contributions to the National Fund amount to about 150,000 francs per month.

The results attained by the National Fund must be attributed to the general growth of the Zionist movement as well as to the effective organization of its propaganda, to the popularity of its fundamental idea—the acquisition of land as National property—and the importance attached by Jewry at large to the rôle that the National Fund will have to discharge in the forthcoming colonization of Palestine.

Contributions to the Jewish National Fund from the different countries in the year 1917 were as follows: Russia, Rbl. 475,312; United States, $73,502; Holland, Fl. 28,767; England, £1396 1s. 10d.; Argentina, Pesos 13,378; Canada, $4056; South Africa, £639 8s. 4d.; Switzerland, Frs. 11,572; Belgium, Frs. 8,329; France (including Tunis), Frs. 6,978; Egypt, £255 11s. 4d.; Greece, Frs. 6,425; Sweden, Kr. 2,542; Denmark, Kr. 2,447. Various countries, about Frs. 600,000. The total amounts to Frs. 1,747,278. At the rate of exchange before the war it would be Frs. 2,730,011.

THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

STATISTICAL TABLE OF ANNUAL INCOME IN FRANCS

Country.	1914.	1915.	1916.
United States	197,311	291,604	268,317
Russia	184,334	30,120	81,336
Holland	10,662	13,972	35,921
Argentine	4,196	4,334	22,807
England	24,655	12,061	20,766
Roumania	15,532	23,997	19,021
South Africa	27,511	21,905	15,001
Scandinavia	807	1,715	4,886
Canada	21,951	23,129	10,296
Switzerland	3,854	3,748	7,296
Greece	5,755	4,545	4,410
Belgium	10,472	—	4,161
Egypt	2,845	832	3,382
France	2,115	1,862	2,992
Far East	1,377	280	2,562
Australia and New Zealand	3,305	1,080	1,915
Italy	1,630	2,641	1,312
Portugal	—	280	937
Brazil	1,430	1,082	125
New Zealand	—	—	522
Other countries	224,962	197,597	425,110
	744,704	636,784	933,075

With regard to the Zionist Organization, it must be stated that some of its functions, particularly those which were centralized in the headquarters, such as the periodical meetings of the Greater Actions Committee and the permanent contact and co-operation between the members of the Inner Actions Committee, had to be suspended. The Zionist Congress, the chief organ of the movement, which elects the executive of all the officers of the movement, to decide all questions of policy, could not be held owing to the war, and as a result the position had to remain as settled by the Congress of 1913. As, however, the events of the war threw upon the Organization not less but very much more responsibility than previously, and confronted the existing executive with problems of the greatest urgency and importance, new

instruments had necessarily to be created to meet the new situation and to carry on the work of the movement.

In America, where the movement began to spread with great rapidity, the American Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs was formed in 1914, very soon after the outbreak of the war, and conducted the affairs of the movement with great skill. Their efforts in connection with Palestine relief were beyond all praise, and constitute one of the brightest pages in the history of the movement.

In Copenhagen, also, a Bureau was opened, which rendered invaluable services to the cause.

ZIONISM AND JEWISH RELIEF WORK

The greater part of the practical work of the Zionist Organization consisted of Relief Work for Jewish sufferers from the war. The terrible catastrophe which fell upon Russian Poland, Galicia, Bukovina, Lithuania, Zamut and Courland, affected the Jews in a unique way. Hundreds of towns and villages, in which Jewish inhabitants had dwelt and woven into their lives the threads of their own characteristic customs for many generations, in which they had faithfully preserved their ancient spiritual treasures in spite of misery and poverty, which had been a perennial source of inspiration and a rich storehouse for the Judaism of the whole world, which had nourished and sustained almost the whole House of *Israel* in the Diaspora, suddenly became a field of slaughter and the arena of the grimmest struggle in the world's history. Troops in numbers never seen before, with weapons of destruction, threatening to reduce the world to ashes, passed like angels of destruction to and fro over the battlefields, leaving not a stone intact, not a blade of grass, or a living man or beast. Thus far the wounds and misfortunes which befell the Jews were no different from the wounds and misfortunes of the other inhabitants. But there must be added the special Jewish affliction in these countries, the persecution and the fierce anti-Jewish feeling which were the special characteristics of the ancient regime in Russia, which was wont to take advantage of every opportunity of avenging itself on the Jews, attacking them and holding them up to scorn on every kind of pretext and false accusation. This made the war a specially terrible phenomenon for the Jews : it produced a war within a war.

The war called upon the Jews to make sacrifices in equal measure with all the other inhabitants of these countries;

their youth and their strength were laid on the altar of the land of their birth ; they also bore the burden of all the taxes and payments which the other inhabitants had to bear ; they put forward tremendous efforts as tradesmen and workers, as doctors and nurses ; they were active workers in all departments directly and indirectly connected with the war. Yet side by side with this they had to face an insufferable hatred, they had to wage a separate war with the powerful, who strove to reduce to nothingness the little remnant which the war itself could not utterly destroy.

That this impression became current among the Jews was inevitable, in consequence of an old phenomenon which appeared before them in a new guise. We refer to the curious mixture of expulsion and evacuation, of pogroms and slaughters, of which they were the victims. They were accustomed, from long and bitter experience, to expulsions from without the pale of settlement into the regions of the pale, from villages to towns, and to the suffering occasioned by the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Japanese wars ; but these expulsions occurred when conditions in Russia itself were almost normal, and when the Jews who were left untouched by the decree of expulsion were able to render assistance to their unfortunate brethren. The combination of the two forms of trials, of war and of persecution by their fellow-citizens, was more than even a nation inured to suffering could bear. It was as though this nation, which had been a wanderer from time immemorial, had only just begun its wanderings. They were no ordinary wanderers—not merely expelled and outlawed ; but they were taken and hurled as out of the middle of a sling from province to province and from district to district. Railway carriages were not enough to hold them, so they were transported in cattle-trucks, the doors of which were locked to prevent escape on the way. The cattle-trucks were not sufficient to cope with the numbers and horse-vans were impressed, and as the horse-vans were not sufficient, even though the Jews paid their last kopecks for places in them, they were sent on foot. Bands of wanderers—consisting of women, children, aged, weak, sick and infirm—were accordingly dragged, driven, knouted along every kind of road and over every kind of obstacle, not like cattle beneath the watchful eye of the herdsman, not even like animals led to the slaughter, on whom some mercy is taken because they can be used, but simply like wild beasts pursued by huntsmen ; whoever fell

by the way fell without attention, whoever fell sick was ruthlessly left behind. Families were split up, and that iron bond which unites parents and children was snapped ; infants died of starvation pressed against their mothers' shrivelled breasts ; weary old greybeards grew faint and stumbled on the way and died without the last consolation of old age, without seeing around them their offspring whose souls were bound up with their own ; tender infants were deserted without anyone to take pity on them, and the clamour went forth from one end of the earth to the other, " Where is my father ? " " Where is my child ? "

This tragedy was not included among the necessary tragedies of the war : it was a Jewish tragedy. When Belgium was ruined, her Jews too were ruined. Had the catastrophe to the Jews in Poland and Lithuania been of such a kind it would have found a place in the general history and not in the separate history of the Jews. When, however, bands of thousands of Jewish fugitives came to Warsaw from the inland towns, in rags and tatters, footsore, hungry and despairing, it was impossible to regard them simply as victims of the war, because it was only the Jews who came. They were not victims of the war, they were victims of the *Galuth*, these thousands and tens of thousands of Jews who were suddenly transplanted from the midst of their old homes in Lithuania. When whole congregations, including inmates of their Homes for the Aged, of their hospitals, and even of the asylums were evacuated, it was impossible to believe that this was military tactics or a measure of precaution, for it was only the Jewish congregations who were forcibly and suddenly removed in this extraordinarily cruel manner. In many places it happened that the expelled Jews before they left were able to see with their own eyes other people entering and taking possession of the shops which they had left behind them. There was no connection between these sufferings and the events of the universal war. These were incidents in the special campaign which had been waged against the Jews before the war. For centuries the Jews had been living in these places. Brest-Litovsk and Grodno were not only cities in which there were fortresses for the Czar's army and his *Tchinovniks*. They were also centres of Jewish life, wherein the *Torah* dwelt, cities of the Jewish " Council of the Four Provinces," cities which emanated intellectual light over all the Diaspora, cities with institutions of Jewish congregations, with *Yeshiboth*, with schools, with syna-

gogues and houses of learning, with old cemeteries, whose tombstones recorded the happenings to Jews for many generations. All that was destroyed and all the Jews who lived and thrived in them have been uprooted and scattered, and that which they left behind them wiped out, and no one knows if these towns will ever be rebuilt, and even if they are rebuilt will the Jews and their communities, with their learning and their traditions, ever be restored ?

Accordingly there was but one cry, one intense and bitter cry, which was heard from one end of the world of Jews to the other, a cry for help. " Save all who can yet be saved."

The Jewish people had realized that it was unwise to depend upon governments or to rely on philanthropic effort in general. The needs of the Jews were great and peculiar, so that only Jews themselves could help their brethren. This help appeared to be necessary in two directions : immediate pressing help and permanent prevention. Immediate pressing assistance consisted in sending money, provisions and clothes to save Jewish lives from hunger, disease and want, to help them to find work and means of livelihood in the places to which they have been driven, as well as in the places in which they have remained. But at the same time, people began to realize more and more that the real help for the Jews would be to rescue them from the unnatural conditions which cause them to be the scapegoat for whatever punishment comes upon the world. A people which dwells in its own land is also wont to be smitten by the sword and the fortunes of war, but it is not accustomed to complete destruction. When a nation has its own land and its own soil beneath its feet, to which it is attached, all the winds of Heaven cannot move it from its place, no weapon can permanently destroy it. A whole nation cannot be driven by oppressors from its country, and even though for generations the hand of the oppressor lie heavy upon it, the day is sure to come in which its fetters fall away, and once again it can breathe freely. Not so with a nation which floats in the air : it cannot rise in time of trouble, for every passing wind carries it away like chaff and makes it turn like the wheel of a windmill. Every page of Jewish history teaches this lesson, and the present war has served but to emphasize it. Therefore if we wish to prevent this evil and to obviate such convulsions in the future, we must establish for the remnant of this people a firm foundation and a safe shelter in the land of their fathers. Thus once again the

flame of war and the terrible sufferings of our brethren have revealed the truth of the Zionist idea in all its strength and clarity as being the only true solution of the Jewish problem, that problem whose consequences are written in the blood of myriads of our brethren.

History will relate that the present generation of Jews rose to the height of its responsibility in comprehending both these duties equally. Once again there was revealed the strength of the Jewish quality of mercy. The Jews of Russia and Poland did their duty. With their young ones and their elders they threw themselves into the work of relief : in many places it was the Zionists who were the most ardent in this work. The Zionist Organization had during the last generation become a school of discipline and communal work, from which came forth initiators and leaders. It is not our wish, however, to make in this respect any distinction between Zionists and non-Zionists. Many who stood far removed from the camp returned to their brethren : all sections of Jews united : the icy cloak of indifferentism was melted, the divisions between the observant and the Liberals were obliterated. The shadow of sectarian faction disappeared, and on the scene appeared one people. History will relate that American Jewry, that vigorous young branch of the Jewish tree, made a mighty superhuman effort and performed wonders surpassing the imagination. It was not charity, but greatness. Voluntary effort went as far as self-imposed taxation. The history of Jewish unity has never had a chapter more beautiful, more sublime, more uplifting. America was not alone—a similar spirit rested upon the Jews of every country, and not only with regard to relief work, but also in the more permanent work of prevention, which was Jewry's second duty. The second duty was to watch over and safeguard the Jewish colonies in Palestine, the colonies from which will spring the National Home. It was necessary to provide the Palestinian Jews with food, and to support the colonization—this small heritage of ours, this child of our sorrow, conceived in anguish and in holiness. The difficulties were enormous. Palestine was cut off from the whole world, by the sea on the West and the desert on the East, without a government able or willing to help ; the New colonization is a young plant needing tender care—the Old communities are poor and helpless. If in such circumstances Palestinian Jewry was not entirely wiped out, we must thank the Jewish nationalist heart, which was

awakened in our brethren in every country, and especially in America.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The downfall of the Czardom in Russia was undoubtedly one of the greatest events in the world's history. Russia entered into a period of revolution which seemed to bring with it all the blessings of right and liberty. The restrictions affecting nationalities and creeds were removed. But far from destroying Zionism, the new liberty gave it an immense stimulus.

In Moscow a Zionist District Committee was formed, comprising many Provinces: Astrakhan, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronesh, Kazan, Kaluga, Kostrooma, Kursk, Moscow, Nijni-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Smolensk, Tambov, Tula, Ufa, Jaroslav, and the Don District.

At Odessa, a Zionist demonstration took place. Entire battalions of Zionist soldiers bore through the town blue and white banners, with the motto :—

" Liberty in Russia, Land and Liberty in Palestine."

A hundred and fifty thousand men followed these banners, to which the Military Governor of Odessa insisted on showing honour publicly.

Zionist meetings were also held at Minsk, Saratov, Juriev, Kharkov, Nijni-Novgorod, Ekaterinburg, Homel, Proskurov, Baku Dubrovno, Riazan, Ekaterinoslav, Moscow, etc.

At Kieff, when the procession approached the Town Hall, the Zionist flag was hoisted on the balcony, where the "*Hatikvah*" was played by the municipal orchestra.

At Berdicheff fifteen thousand Jews marched through the principal streets carrying Zionist banners. The Municipality, the Administration Executive of the town, and the chiefs of Ukraine National Organizations, greeted the Zionist demonstrators.

In Turkestan and Bokhara the Zionist movement made remarkable progress. The entire *Sephardi* element has adhered to the movement. The *Ashkenazim* and *Sephardim* worked together peacefully at the great Zionist Conference held at Samarcand. A meeting of five thousand Jews was held there, and a resolution adopted in favour of a Jewish Palestine.

In Moscow, in the Great Hall, a Jewish Mass Meeting

took place. Dr. E. W. Tschlenow was elected president. The following resolution was adopted :—

"The Jewish Mass Meeting in Moscow salutes freedom with great joy. We are firmly convinced that the Constituent Assembly, which is to be elected by universal suffrage, will establish in Russia a thoroughly democratic administration, and that not only civil rights, but also national rights, national autonomy, and a free national evolution, will be secured to the Jewish as well as to all other peoples of Russia. The Meeting resolves to convoke a general Jewish Congress in Russia."

The Conference at Petrograd on May 24th, 1917, received official recognition. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Teretschenko, wished the Conference success in its deliberations.

Dr. Tschlenow delivered an Address, in the course of which he said, among other things :—

"We beg the Provisional Government to believe that it may fully depend upon our forces and our support in its heroic efforts directed toward the strengthening of the freedom and greatness of Russia.

"What is necessary, and what we strive for, is to create a national territorial centre for our scattered people. The construction of that centre is already begun, and it will continue. The centre will gradually be filled by the forces and means of the Diaspora.

"Who of you has not keenly followed for the last year and a half the life of the youngest branch of the Jewish people : the American ? Hundreds of thousands of working men are unified in their demand for national rights in the Diaspora and an autonomous centre in Palestine. The New York *Kehillah*, representing a million and a quarter Jews, comes forward with the same slogan. Finally, the powerful Congress movement, embracing the entire three million Jewry, is to close the coming autumn with most important decisions. Weigh all the facts, and you will agree that the harmony of which we dream is already coming to pass. With hope and with love we follow the work of our Trans-oceanic champions, and send to them our brotherly greetings.

"But what could not have been prophesied and what fills our hearts with untold joy and pride, is the attitude towards our ideal on the part of the broad stratas of Jewry, which has revealed itself since the time of the Great Revolution.

"From all corners of our great Russia come to us, together with cheers of joy over the emancipation, assurances of unshattered faith in the eternal ideal—the renaissance of our native Palestine. Old and young, rich and poor, from the front and from the rear, orthodox and free-thinkers, declare in one voice: 'Now, even now, freed from the chains of slavery, shall we be able zealously and gladly to give ourselves to the service of our ideals?'

"I cannot refrain here from underscoring, with the feeling of deepest recognition, the invaluable services which the Government of the United States has so nobly and warmly shown to our pioneers. The noble President of the United States has acted from motives of humanity and brotherly relation of peoples, but at the same time, also, from deep sympathy in our regeneration. The noble impulses of America have found a worthy instrument in the person of the former Ambassador Morgenthau, that faithful son of the Jewish people, whose services in these hard years Jewry will not forget.

"But all this time, while working and building, we have not lost sight of the basic point inscribed upon our banner—the public, legal character of the hearth which we are creating. We are convinced that the moment has come for reiterating our programme.

"We deem it necessary that the nations called upon to establish the standard of the future national political life should reckon with the definitely expressed will of the Jewish people, to populate and regenerate Palestine as its national hearth. We deem it further necessary that all obstacles should be removed from our path, and that guarantees and conditions should be created which will ensure the unobstructed and speedy development of our work in the land."

The Conference was attended by five hundred and fifty-two delegates from six hundred and forty towns. There were delegates from Turkestan, Bokhara, and the Crimea. In addition, there were present five hundred visitors from provincial towns and over one thousand one hundred visitors from Petrograd.

A unique historic document was placed before the Convention when the Chairman read the full text of the Military Order of the Day, issued and signed by General Alexeieff, Commander-in-Chief of the Western Front, permitting the Jewish soldiers to elect from their number delegates to the Convention, and furnishing passes and transportation to the delegates to facilitate their presence at the gathering.

The spokesman of the soldier-delegates read the following resolution, which had been adopted by his colleagues :—

" We—Jewish soldier-delegates from the Army—who participate in this Convention, avow to the Convention, and to the Jewish people :

" Hundreds and thousands of Jews are in battle in the Russian Army. In a time of outlawry and terrible persecution, under the burden of false accusations, the Jewish soldiers fulfilled their full military duty. In the ocean of blood poured out by the heroic Russian Army, there is no little of Jewish blood.

" Now, having become free citizens of Russia, and fully privileged members of the Army, the Jewish soldiers will continue their efforts in a new spirit of enthusiasm. Believing that the strengthening of the revolution, and the strengthening of the peoples in Russia can be accomplished only through the union of all the peoples and by a strong discipline in the free army, the Jewish soldiers declare triumphantly that they are prepared to follow the call of the revolutionary democracy to defend Russia against her enemies.

" We believe that the Russian democracy, which has assumed the task of freeing all the peoples of the world, will understand the strivings of our people, and will support Jewry in its efforts to create a national centre for the Jewish people, on its historic soil, Palestine."

The Conference carried the following resolutions :—

" Considering first that the Jewish people, in view of its disposition and dispersion all over the world, can recreate for itself conditions for the normal development of its national, cultural, and economic life, only through the restoration of a national autonomous centre in its historic home, Palestine,

" Secondly, that the Jewish nation has never severed its ties with its ancient home, and has always longed for it, and that its moral and historic right to Palestine is incontestable and irremovable,

" Thirdly, that the aspirations of the Jewish nation, so manifested, fully coincide with the great principle of self-definition, of freedom and independence for the development of all nations proclaimed by the democracies and governments of all countries :

"The Zionist Conference in Russia unanimously expresses its firm belief that when establishing the basis of the future national and political life, the nations will recognize and count with the clearly-stated will of the Jewish nation for the resettlement and rebirth of Palestine as its national centre, and will consequently create conditions guaranteeing the free and successful development of the concentrated Jewish forces and of the restoration of Palestine.

"To ensure the concrete and full manifestation of the will of the Jewish nation, the Conference considers it necessary first to organize among the Jews a referendum on the question; secondly, to lay before the All-Russian Jewish Congress the question of Jewish claims in Palestine; and thirdly, to claim the admission of a representative of the Jewish nation at the future peace conference, to be held upon the closing of hostilities, for the expression of the wishes of the Jewish nation, and for the defence of its historic and national rights and interests."

The same spirit was revealed also by the Jews of Poland. In May, 1917, a Zionist Conference was held in Warsaw, attended by nearly four hundred delegates representing a large number of committees, synagogues, societies and groups consisting of all classes of the Jewish population. A sort of plebiscite was arranged among the Jews of Poland, with a view to ascertaining their attitude towards Zionism. The plebiscite resulted in the acceptance of a resolution in favour of Zionism.

All these and many other facts prove that the Zionist idea has made great progress among the Jewish masses. But under the new circumstances Zionism required more than the usual propaganda: it required work, political work.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN ENGLAND AND THE ALLIED COUNTRIES

The introduction into this book of a comprehensive account of the various *démarches* on behalf of the Zionist cause recently undertaken in English political circles, and also in allied countries, is rendered difficult by the following considerations. In the first place, the publication of pourparlers which have taken place, and of schemes which have been, or are to be, submitted, is impossible, because they are still in progress, and their final issue is dependent on further

developments. In the second place, the author feels great embarrassment, being compelled to break the rule hitherto observed of avoiding any reference to his own share in the work of the movement. In this section, however, he has participated so directly in the *démarches* referred to that it was quite impossible to speak of them at all without referring occasionally to his share in the political activities.

A glance, however, at recent political efforts appeared indispensable, in order to bring the history of Zionism up to date. But there is no claim that the following account is more than an outline of the most important events. With these provisos we pass to the facts themselves.

It was at once clear that England was destined to play a most important part in Zionist politics. London from the beginning was the financial centre of the Zionist Organization and the Mecca of political Zionism. Even at the time of the *Chovevé Zion* Movement England was regarded, as it were, as the country that stands between the "*Galuth*" and "Salvation." When the idea of Palestine had begun to be popularized among the Jews of Russia and Poland—long before the name "Zionism" had become current—Disraeli's *Tancred* and George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* were translated into *Hebrew*. The name of Sir Moses Montefiore was in the mouth of all Jews in Eastern Europe, and his journeys to Palestine, in connection with his great plans, had long since grown legendary. English Jews were valued because of this famous individual; they were considered simply as national Jews, whether they really were so or not. From a distance the observer did not recognize the mediocrity, the parochialism and dissensions; he saw the summits only, and they appeared splendid. A man like Albert Goldsmid, who was an English colonel and also a national Jew, appeared to be a type such as could hardly be found in any other country. That was rich material for the Jewish imagination, which fed upon it and made it much greater than the truth. It was, however, not imagination, pure and simple; a sound political instinct was also at work here. The Jewish *Ghetto* had for long prophesied that it is England's destiny to decide the fate of Palestine, and however much one may smile at the speculations of *Ghetto* politicians, these had, nevertheless, in their quick-wittedness understood much that is sometimes hidden from professional politicians. Moreover, this was not the politics of the *Ghetto* only. Herzl did not know the *Ghetto*, and received no information from

it ; notwithstanding this, all roads led him to London. It was in London that he for the first time in his life publicly took part in Jewish life. At a later period again, the offer of Uganda was made by the English Government ; the El-Arish Expedition was organized by England. Zionist finance was English, and English was the Zionist political outlook.

In the pre-war period the Zionist Organization had everywhere sought connections. True to its programme, desiring a charter from the Ottoman Government, with the approval of the great Powers, it worked without intrigue and adventure, honestly anxious to get this charter with the approval of all nations. In this matter, England always took the first place. Herzl and his followers had worked zealously in England. This work was continued after Herzl's death. The author also, in his capacity as member of the Zionist Executive, visited this country several times. The impressions gained here were always stimulating and interesting, but the Zionist question was not prominent.

The question became prominent with the outbreak of the war. The thought lay uppermost, that the work must be carried on here in England, that, if possible, it must be concentrated here. If this thought was evident to the Zionists of other countries, was it any wonder that it deeply stirred the English Zionists ? Thus it happened that this thought found an excellent champion and representative in the person of Dr. Chaim Weizmann. He took counsel with his colleagues in England, and together with them began to consider the question of what was to be done in England, in order to make the political problem of Zionism a problem of the day. The idea that England was the most important centre, and offered the most promising prospect of success, was neither new nor the opinion of a single party ; it had become rather the property of the whole Zionist Organization. But it was now something entirely different from what it used to be formerly. Formerly Zionism was an abstract idea ; in spite of all Herzl's great achievements, the problem remained merely a project. It is the political problem we are talking about, because the intellectual and practical labour of Zionists for Palestine had been a reality during the whole time of the *Chovevé Zion* and the Zionist movements. Now, however, political Zionism has also become a reality. If the war has taught us anything at all it surely is this, that nothing is more fatal than an attitude of indifference

towards problems of international politics. The practical and intellectual members of the Zionist Organization, too, who used to look down upon politics, have changed their attitude towards them. Formerly, they may have been entirely or partially right—the intellectual were undoubtedly right in proclaiming that the spiritual in Zionism must be the soul of the whole movement, and the practical ones also were right in establishing the early colonies, and it is only a pity that more considerable progress was not made—but now all were agreed that, in consideration of the new possibilities, the movement must come into relation with the political forces, and the establishment of actual relations constituted a great many-sided and responsible work, which had to be carried out, at first in England, but also partly in other countries of the *Entente*.

One of the most distinguished representatives of the Zionist idea in this country is the Very Rev. Dr. Moses Gaster, the late *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' congregations in England, who from early youth occupied a respected and influential position, in the time of *Chovevé Zion* as well as in Zionism, and devoted himself also with great zeal to the political question of Zionism. He also represented the view that a wide field for political efforts lay open here, and he freely gave his time and his eloquence in the service of the cause. In this direction he was very active, especially in the earlier stages.

The Very Rev. Dr. Joseph Herman Hertz, Chief *Rabbi* of the United Congregations of the British Empire, has evinced a sympathy with the Zionist Movement which at certain pregnant moments was equivalent to declaring himself at one with Zionism. His affiliation with the Zionist idea goes back to *Chovevé-Zion* days, and subsequently he became one of the founders of the "South African Zionist Federation." The Spiritual Leader of British Jewry has ever been a sincere friend of the movement, and on various decisive occasions has championed the idea, defending it, explaining it, and encouraging it. In the new development, especially in the months preceding the "Declaration," his help in connection therewith has been of far-reaching and lasting importance.

The inspiring spirit and the driving force, he who most successfully had made many distinguished non-Jewish personalities familiar with Zionism and who championed with all his energy and enthusiasm a Zionist political pro-

gramme in England, was Dr. Chaim Weizmann. In the very earliest months of the war he began to collect the threads for the political work, to rouse the Zionist circles with which he was in touch, to revive old connections in non-Jewish circles and to form new ones, to prepare for negotiations—in a word, to open up the work that was destined later on to become a properly-organized programme. Herein he had the support of a group of enthusiastic and deeply sympathetic Zionists, and was strengthened and stimulated in his initiative by them. The first attempts to confer with the Government representatives about Zionism were made : the impressions were satisfactory. One foresaw that this contained the germs of promising possibilities. These impressions led to the conclusion that mere discussions alone were not sufficient, but rather that it was necessary to formulate plans. In order to formulate plans and in order to obtain authority from the Zionist Organization to submit these plans (for such appeared to be the next step) it would be necessary to establish a centre in London, and to obtain the necessary representative powers. It would also be necessary to write more about Zionism : to publish books, to undertake propagandist work—in another and more direct manner. The means were also considered to win over the non-Zionist, perhaps even the anti-Zionist, Jewish elements. All these aims were discussed, weighed, and elaborated by a small circle. It was not the whole of English Jewry, it was not even the then existing English Zionist Federation ; it was really a circle of a few Zionists, mostly intellectuals who corresponded with Dr. Weizmann, and met and took counsel with him.

From that time forward the Zionist idea began to occupy the attention of the English Press. The question became topical, the old English traditions found new expression. Most people had no conception that they were speaking in the spirit of old traditions—for few knew of this remote chapter in Engish history—but they did it unconsciously, which makes their action perhaps even more valuable. Many a journalist among the élite of the intellectuals not only gave assistance to the cause of Zionism in the Press, but went a step further, and helped vigorously in the political work. In connection with this matter the name of the doyen of English journalism, Mr. C. P. Scott, Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, may be especially mentioned. Since the very beginning Mr. C. P. Scott has given the whole

problem a very careful and sympathetic attention, and was an influential mediator between Zionists and leaders of British politics. He and Dr. Weizmann had conversations with some personalities, who strengthened them in their hopes that the ground was favourable for Zionism. Other Zionist workers in England also shared their view, and Dr. Gaster, too, in conjunction with Dr. Weizmann, had some important conversations with English leaders. The impressions which both had formed confirmed the hope that Zionism has a great future in England.

We can by this time, without committing any indiscretion, take this opportunity of mentioning one of the influential personalities who had given great and never-to-be forgotten services in the cause of the Zionist idea, that is the Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, late Home Secretary, who unites in himself the brilliant qualities of an English statesman with an enthusiastic attachment to Judaism, but had never yet taken an active part in essentially Jewish affairs. His wonderful energy, his distinguished talents and his patriotic zeal had for long been devoted to the services of the country, and both in the Asquith ministry and in Parliament he formed one of the most distinctive figures. Although he directed his activities exclusively to questions of Home administration, he turned his mind also from the commencement of the war to the great political problems of foreign politics, and when the opportunity was offered to become more acquainted with the Zionist idea, this idea won his sympathy, and he championed it with the full force of his convictions. It is sufficient to mention the words contained in his speech at the Demonstration of December 2nd at the London Opera House: "that he has stood for Zionism not only in the Cabinet, but also outside it." These were modest words. As a matter of fact, he has not only stood for Zionism, but he has also done much to elucidate Zionist questions. He merits truly a page of honour in the history of Zionism.

For the sake of historical accuracy, other distinguished persons must be mentioned as well. We refer to some members of the famous House of Rothschild. Volumes could be written concerning what Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild has done for colonization in Palestine. Far removed from political activity and unwilling to play any official part in the Zionist Organization, devoted with love and attachment to his country, France, and at the same time inspired with the loftiest sentiments for Judaism, this Nestor of true

philanthropy cherishes a love for the idea of regenerating Palestine that cannot be too highly valued. That he has made this ideal one of the most beautiful traditions of his family is shown by the fact that his son, James, has followed the example of his father. This stimulating and instructive example could not fail to influence the other branches of this great family also. The late Lord Rothschild of London, who stood at the head of organized English Jewry, was long regarded as an opponent of Zionism. But this opposition was not a matter of principle, it was simply determined by circumstances: the obstacles appeared to him insurmountable, and that was the only reason for his opposition. In view of the different circumstances caused by the war, he revised his former opinions, and shortly before his death he began to take an interest in Zionism. Following this lead, other members of this family also have taken up a favourable view towards Zionism, and this view grew to a complete alliance with the Zionist Organization on the part of the present Lord Rothschild.

In connection with this development, the very great services of Dr. Weizmann in this same direction must be mentioned. Shortly before the outbreak of war Dr. Weizmann had given much attention to the project of founding a University in Jerusalem. This project, which met with great approval, not only in Zionist circles but also elsewhere, brought him into closer relations with the House of Rothschild, and this did much to make the members of this family more closely acquainted with Zionism.

This was the position at the beginning of the war. The outlook was promising, and a sound start had been made. But all this was waiting for development, for deepening, for actualization. The English Zionist Federation, being a local organization, could neither speak in the name of the great masses of Zionists of the Entente countries nor could it undertake the great political labour of propaganda organization. Thus it happened that on the part of Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Gaster, and others, the invitation was sent forth to the main organization to delegate two of its representatives to London.

There was, however, still another matter which caused the coming of the delegates of the general Zionist Organization in London to appear necessary. Although the Organization remained uniform in its principles and aims, an actual collaboration of Zionists throughout the world in the pre-

existing form had to be set aside for the time being. The greatest numbers of Zionists live in Russia : there exist the persons who are especially called to make Palestine their home, and there also the majority of the most distinguished Jewish nationalists and the leading spirits of a *Hebrew* culture are most strongly represented. The great Jewish community in America, which unites the intensity of national consciousness of Russian Jews with the fresh spirit of liberty of the New World, constitutes even more and more a reservoir, not only of powerful material resources, but also of great organizing motive-power, of influential initiative and endeavour, which are doubtless destined to play a decisive part in the solution of the Zionist problem. When, in addition to these facts, it is realized that the great resources for the colonization of Palestine have been contributed from Paris, by Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild, where also the headquarters of the Jewish Colonization Association are situated, which has the disposal of the millions of the late Baron *de* Hirsch, and which, if the issues in Palestine are favourable, is destined to develop its colonizing activities in this direction : when finally the fact is remembered that London is the centre of all financial institutions, then it will be easily understood that the whole situation has brought England to a place of first importance in the matter of Zionist activities, that it seemed a logical necessity that certain representatives of the Organization had to move their residence and their work hither, so as not only to maintain what already existed, but also to prepare systematically the conditions for the new and rich possibilities, together with the distinguished personal factors already at work here.

In conclusion, one more circumstance must be mentioned, the importance of which is also not to be under-rated. Though for a long time the Zionist Organization had endeavoured to make Zionism the cause of the entire Jewish people, the consciousness of the need for unity grew as the war progressed. It was very desirable that those Jews who did not consider themselves organized Zionists, should co-operate in the realization of many practical plans. All the peoples involved in the war had managed to create among their parties a so-called "*Union Sacrée,*" and to form a united front. Why should this be impossible to the Jews?

Soon after the outbreak of the war, the Zionist leaders

in England had attempted to come to an understanding with those indifferent to their cause and with the so-called anti-Zionists, in order to render possible, without renouncing the principles of Zionism, collaboration in working out a practical scheme in Palestine.

All these motives led the leaders of English Zionism to request the general organization to delegate here two of their representatives—namely, Dr. Tschlenow of Moscow and the author, for the purpose of assisting in the important work to be done in this country. They arrived in London shortly before the end of the year 1914.

Space does not allow us to describe the work of these three years in detail ; we must therefore confine our attention to the chief features. In the course of the first few months the work consisted in a searching test of the attempts in hand : this test yielded a perfect agreement and a verification of all reports made. In the early months of 1915 there were new conferences with many leading personalities, with favourable results. In March, 1915, Dr. Tschlenow, Dr. Weizmann, and the author went to Paris, after Dr. Weizmann had previously visited Paris again and again on Zionist business. Attention was then confined to Jewish circles, and so far as non-Jewish circles were concerned a certain general enquiry appeared to be necessary. At the same time, attempts were made through conferences with a group of leading Jewish personalities in London who stood aloof from Zionism, to bring about an understanding. The Zionist delegation which was in charge of these negotiations and this correspondence was composed of Dr. E. W. Tschlenow, Dr. Moses Gaster, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, and the author. As an understanding just then appeared impossible, the negotiations were postponed until further notice. Dr. Tschlenow shortly afterwards left England, after a stay of five to six months, and returned to Russia. At the meeting of the Zionist Committee in Copenhagen and at the Zionist meetings that took place in Russia, Dr. Tschlenow was able to report that the political efforts in England had filled him with the best hopes. The Author remained in England and devoted himself, in addition to propaganda, to the political task in which Weizmann's unwearied efforts became more and more important. The period 1915–1916 was more one of preparation than one of execution : Zionism had to be strengthened from within, the societies in London and the Provinces had

to be maintained, new societies had to be created, pamphlets and books had to be written and published; externally, the work consisted in finding new sympathisers, and in an enlightening propaganda wherever a proper opportunity offered itself. The correspondence with the Zionist leaders and organizations in Russia and America became more active and the relations ever closer. In London a number of talented young Zionist writers and workers had grouped themselves round the leaders; many books and many pamphlets which were published during this period had won great popularity for the Zionist writers and publicists who had already proved their worthiness, such as Major Norman Bentwich, who subsequently became the first Procureur-General of Palestine under the British occupation, and Messrs. Paul Goodman, Albert M. Hyamson, Samuel Landman, Harry Sacher, Leon Simon; new personalities joined them, as, for instance, Semmi Tolkowsky and others. The temporary stay in London of many prominent Zionists of Russia and Palestine, such as Boris Goldberg of Wilna, and recently the agriculturist, Jacob Ettinger, and the manager of the Anglo-Palestine Company, David Levontin, who both came over from Palestine, and the great intellectual influence exercised by *Achad Haam,* who freely gave his invaluable advice in every important question—all these have done very much to make London the real centre of Zionist work.

Towards the end of the year 1916 several months were spent in drafting outlines and projects for the purpose of drawing up a Zionist programme which should be as clear as possible and correspond with the present conditions, in which efforts Dr. Weizmann and the author were supported by a number of notable colleagues. Already in 1915 the work had commenced on the projects and memoranda, the drafting of which received many contributions from several members; and the work was continued from that time onwards. A committee, consisting of Dr. Gaster, Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, Mr. Joseph Cowen, and the author, had towards the end of 1916 outlined a preliminary sketch of a programme which was afterwards discussed in a further committee. This programme was intended to serve as a foundation for the official representations which were then in view. At the same time, Dr. Weizmann was constantly occupied independently in preparing the ground for the coming official proposals, by conferences and propaganda;

this he was able to do, thanks mostly to his personal connections, though he always acted in conjunction with the author.

The 7th of February, 1917, constitutes a turning-point in the history. Shortly before this date Lieut.-Colonel Sir Mark Sykes, Bart., M.P., had communicated with Dr. Weizmann and the author on the question of the treatment of the Zionist problem. Sir Mark Sykes, who is a distinguished authority on oriental matters and who had earlier given attention to the Arab question, was entrusted with the study of the Zionist problem. In conjunction with a representative of the French Government, M. Georges Picot, he had devoted great attention to the question, and both had had first conversations with Dr. Moses Gaster. At the commencement of the year 1917 Sir Mark Sykes entered into closer relations with Dr. Weizmann and the author, and the discussions held with the latter led to the meeting of February 7th, 1917, which marks the commencement of official negotiations. Besides Sir Mark Sykes, the following took part in this meeting: Lord Rothschild, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Dr. M. Gaster (at whose house the meeting took place), Mr. James *de* Rothschild, Mr. Harry Sacher, Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P., Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and the author. The deliberations yielded a favourable result, and it was resolved to continue the work. For further regular consultations with Sir Mark Sykes and M. Georges Picot, the author was chosen. Discussions on questions connected with the Zionist programme took place. In consequence of these negotiations and of the great importance of the Zionist question to all the Governments of the Entente Powers, the author was called to Paris in March, 1917, by the French Government. On the 22nd of March he was received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, where he outlined the principles of the Zionist programme. He received the assurance that the French Government regarded the programme very favourably, and was authorized to inform the Zionist Organizations of Russia and America of this result by telegraph.

After a stay of one month in Paris, during which the author got into touch with the leading Jewish circles, he went to Rome, where he devoted himself to the same task. The conferences which he had with the leading Italian Jews led to the happy result that the programme laid before them by the author was accepted. With regard to the

question of the Holy Places, it was considered advisable to enter into negotiations with the Vatican. The Author had conferences with the Cardinals (especially with Cardinal Gasparri), and on the 10th of May he was received in an audience by the Pope. These conferences led to a most satisfactory attitude on the part of the Vatican towards Zionism. Between the 12th and the 18th of May, the author, together with the President of the Jewish Community in Rome, Commendatore Sereni, was received several times at the Italian Consultà, and by the then Prime Minister Boselli, and he was assured that the Italian Government, in conjunction with the Allied Powers, would support the Zionist programme. He was authorized, just as in Paris, to telegraph this result to the Russian and American Zionist organizations.

Having returned to Paris, the author was received on May 28th by the then Prime Minister Ribot, and after that remained another month, during which various negotiations were conducted. He then received a document addressed to him, a statement from the French Government, the text of which, translated from the French original, runs as follows :—

"PARIS, *June* 4, 1917.

"SIR,

"You were good enough to present the project to which you are devoting your efforts, which has for its object the development of Jewish colonization in Palestine. You consider that, circumstances permitting, and the independence of the Holy Places being safeguarded on the other hand, it would be a deed of justice and of reparation to assist, by the protection of the Allied Powers, in the renaissance of the Jewish nationality in that Land from which the people of *Israel* were exiled so many centuries ago.

"The French Government, which entered this present war to defend a people wrongfully attacked, and which continues the struggle to assure the victory of right over might, can but feel sympathy for your cause, the triumph of which is bound up with that of the Allies.

"I am happy to give you herewith such assurance.

"Please accept, Sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

(*Signed*) JULES CAMBON.

"M. N. SOKOLOW,
Hôtel Meurice, Paris."

From this statement it is clearly seen :—

(1) that hereby the question of Zionism is recognized as one of those concerning small and persecuted nations;
(2) that the principle of the recognition of Jewish nationality and its historical right to Palestine is here accepted; and
(3) that the French Government is prepared to support this movement.

In the meantime, the Zionists in England—and especially their political leader, Dr. Weizmann—had continued the work with great zeal in this country. After his return, the author again took a share in this work. The great development which the political and propagandist work had in the interval made in England, led to the establishment of a larger consultative committee and to the opening of new offices,[1] and a year earlier Dr. Weizmann had been elected President of the English Zionist Federation, and this did much to bring new life into the Federation. Two periodicals were founded, the monthly *Zionist Review*, in London, and the weekly *Palestine*, published by the British Palestine Committee, Manchester, and Zionism reached a popularity such as it never previously had in this country.

CONFERENCE OF ENGLISH ZIONIST FEDERATION IN 1917

A Special Conference of Delegates from the Constituent Societies was held in London on the 20th of May, 1917, with the President, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, in the chair. The Conference was called partly in consequence of the disturbing news that had been received from Palestine and partly in order that a communication on the political situation, as it affected the Jewish National Movement, might be made to the societies through their delegates. The Conference occupied the whole of the day and was very largely attended. It was opened by the Chairman with an address, in which he reviewed the situation. He said :—

" Grave and great events have taken place since we met last—events which will affect deeply the fate of Jewry all over the world. The first event of colossal magnitude was the Russian Revolution. By a miracle, in one night the chains and fetters which have enslaved a great nation of 150 to 160 millions for centuries have been broken, and a free Russia has emerged. It has become almost a current phrase

[1] Zionist Organization, London Bureau, Empire House, 175 Piccadilly, W.

in the Press that it was a ' bloodless ' revolution, but those who know Russia, those who have lived in Russia, know very well that although the last act of the drama was comparatively bloodless, much blood has been poured out during many years, and it was this outpouring of blood which has prepared the dramatic developments which we witnessed two months ago. And we Jews know that in this stream of blood there was a considerable fraction—a very considerable fraction—of Jewish blood. It was common knowledge in the years 1905 and 1906 that there was not a single Jewish family in Russia which had not paid the toll in the form of a son or a daughter or a relative to the Moloch of Russian Tsardom. All those Jews who have bought so dearly freedom for themselves and for the rest of Jewry, will go down in history as heroes, as saints, and our hearty congratulations and wishes go out to all those who have fought for the Russian Revolution, and to those who are going to carry on the work under the new régime. It is clear that an event like this cannot pass without convulsions. It is marvellous that things should go in Russia as they do now, but it is equally clear that the fate of Jewry, the fate of the Zionist Movement, largely depends upon stable conditions in that part of the world, and it will be, I am sure, an honourable task for the Zionist Organization all over the world, and especially for our friends in Russia, to contribute as much as it is in their power to the stabilization of conditions in Russia. Some of us—some of our friends even, and especially some of our opponents—are very quick in drawing conclusions as to what will happen to the Zionist Movement after the Russian Revolution. Now, they say, the greatest stimulus for the Zionist Movement has been removed. Russian Jewry is free. They do not need any places of refuge somewhere outside Russia—somewhere in Palestine. Nothing can be more superficial, and nothing can be more wrong, than that. We have never built our Zionist Movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. Those sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the ineradicable national striving of Jewry to have a home of its own—a national centre, a national home with a national Jewish life. And this remains now stronger than ever. A strong and free Russian Jewry will appreciate more than ever the strivings of the Zionist Organization. And truly we see it even now. Russian Jewry is formulating its national demands in a

proud, open, free way, which may well serve as an example and an encouragement to the free Western communities of Jewry. You have all read of meetings which have taken place all over Russia—of a meeting which took place only recently in Moscow, and was attended by seven thousand Jews. Many Western Jews could learn from these meetings how a free and proud Jew ought to speak. We therefore look forward with confidence to the future of Zionism in Russia.

"Now what are our hopes? How do we think they will be realized? Of course, I do not propose to prophesy in this assembly, but I shall try to outline, as much as it is possible to do so, what are our plans, and how we think we shall be able to carry them out. And before I do so let me do away with one or two what I may perhaps call misunderstandings, or what may be called wrong phrases. One reads constantly in the Press and one hears from our friends, both Jewish and non-Jewish, that it is the endeavour of the Zionist Movement immediately to create a Jewish State in Palestine. Our American friends went further than that, and they have even determined the form of this State, by advocating a Jewish Republic. While heartily welcoming all these demonstrations as a genuine manifestation of the Jewish national will, we cannot consider them as safe statesmanship. Strong as the Zionist Movement may be, full of enthusiasm as the Zionists may be, at the present time, it must be obvious to everybody who stands in the midst of the work of the Zionist Organization, and it must be admitted honestly and truly, that the conditions are not yet ripe for the setting up of a State *ad hoc*. States must be built up slowly, gradually, systematically and patiently. We, therefore, say that while a creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is our final ideal—an ideal for which the whole of the Zionist Organization is working—the way to achieve it lies through a series of intermediary stages. And one of those intermediary stages which I hope is going to come about as a result of this war, is that the fair country of Palestine will be protected by such a mighty and a just Power as Great Britain. Under the wing of this Power Jews will be able to develop, and to set up the administrative machinery which, while not interfering with the legitimate interests of the non-Jewish population, would enable us to carry out the Zionist scheme. I am entitled to state in this assembly that His Majesty's Government is ready to support our plans.

"I would further like to add that the support of the British Government, when given, will be in conjunction and agreement with the Allied Powers. Our friend, chief, and leader, Mr. Sokolow, who, owing to important Zionist duties, is prevented from attending this meeting, has been both in France and in Italy, and from both these Governments he has received assurances of full sympathy and full support. One of the important problems to be considered in connection with the future settlement of Palestine is the delicate question of the Holy Places. I need hardly say, in this Jewish assembly, that we Jews will be meticulously and scrupulously careful to respect the sentiments of any religious group or sect in Palestine. It is not for us to discuss how this complicated question, which forms an important point in international relations, is going to be settled. We trust to the fairness and justice of the nations which are going to build up a better world after this catastrophe, that they will see to it that the arrangements made are fair and satisfactory to everyone. We have assurances from the highest Catholic circles that they will view with favour the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, and from their religious point of view they see no objection to it, and no reason why we should not be good neighbours. And good neighbours I hope we shall be.

"Let us now turn our attention for a few minutes to the internal situation. Confident as we are of our final success, we cannot help feeling some disappointment at the fact that the whole of Jewry does not stand united at this present critical moment. Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not only a matter of regret, but it is a matter of deep humiliation to every Jew that we cannot stand united in this great hour. But it is not the fault of the Zionist Organization. It is, perhaps, not the fault of our opponents. It must be attributed to the conditions of our life in the Dispersion, which has caused in Jewry a cleavage difficult to bridge over even at a time like this. It is unfortunate that there still exists a small minority which disputes the very existence of the Jews as a nation. But there need be no misgivings on that account; for I have no hesitation in saying that if it comes to a plebiscite and a test, there can be no doubt on which side the majority of Jews will be found. And, ladies and gentlemen, I warn you that this test is bound to come—and come sooner, perhaps, than we think. You will have to show, and in this solemn hour I call upon you to prepare for

it, that with all your heart and mind you stand united behind those leaders whom you have chosen to carry out, at this critical hour of the world's history, this work. We do not want to give the world the spectacle of a war of brothers. We are surrounded by too many enemies to give ourselves this luxury. But we warn those who will force an open breach that they will find us prepared to stand up united in the defence of the cause which is sacred to us. We shall not allow anybody to interfere with the hard work that we are doing, and we say to all our opponents, 'Hands off the Zionist Movement!'"

The statement was received with repeated applause, and aroused great enthusiasm among the delegates, both immediately after its delivery and also in the course of the discussion which ensued.

ZIONISM AND PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND

All these signs of Zionist activity naturally could not avoid creating a certain opposition. The attempts to bring about agreement, made at the beginning of 1915, had led to nothing, and the Zionists, from their point of view, could not have thought ill of their opponents, if they had limited themselves to a discussion within Jewish circles. But the opposition went so far as to publish a document which reads as follows :—[1]

"In view of the statements and discussions lately published in the newspapers relative to a projected Jewish resettlement in Palestine on a national basis, the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association deem it necessary to place on record the views they hold on this important question.

"The Holy Land has necessarily a profound and undying interest for all Jews, as the cradle of their religion, the main theatre of Bible history, and the site of its sacred memorials. It is not, however, as a mere shrine or place of pilgrimage that they regard the country. Since the dawn of their political emancipation in Europe, the Jews have made the rehabilitation of the Jewish community in the Holy Land one of their chief cares, and they have always cherished the hope that the result of their labours would be the regeneration on Palestinian soil of a Jewish community, worthy of the great memories of their environment, and a source of

[1] The Times, May 24, 1917.

spiritual inspiration to the whole of Jewry. Accordingly, the Conjoint Committee have welcomed with deep satisfaction the prospect of a rich fruition of this work, opened to them by the victorious progress of the British Army in Palestine.

"Anxious that on this question all sections and parties in Jewry should be united in a common effort, the committee intimated to the Zionist organizations as far back as the winter of 1914 their readiness to co-operate with them on the basis of the so-called 'cultural' policy which had been adopted at the last two Zionist Congresses in 1911 and 1913. This policy aimed primarily at making Palestine a Jewish spiritual centre by securing for the local Jews, and the colonists who might join them, such conditions of life as would best enable them to develop the Jewish genius on lines of its own. Larger political questions, not directly affecting the main purpose, were left to be solved as need and opportunity might render possible. Unfortunately, an agreement on these lines has not proved practicable, and the conjoint committee are consequently compelled to pursue their work alone. They are doing so on the basis of a formula adopted by them in March, 1916, in which they proposed to recommend to his Majesty's Government the formal recognition of the high historic interest Palestine possesses for the Jewish community, and a public declaration that at the close of the war 'the Jewish population will be secured in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, equal political rights with the rest of the population, reasonable facilities for immigration and colonization, and such municipal privileges in the towns and colonies inhabited by them as may be shown to be necessary.'

"That is still the policy of the conjoint committee.

"Meanwhile, the committee have learnt from the published statements of the Zionist leaders in this country that they now favour a much larger scheme of an essentially political character. Two points in this scheme appear to the committee to be open to grave objections on public grounds.

"The first is a claim that the Jewish settlements in Palestine shall be recognized as possessing a national character in a political sense. Were this claim of purely local import, it might well be left to settle itself in accordance with the general political exigencies of the reorganization of the country under a new sovereign power. The conjoint

committee, indeed, would have no objections to urge against a local Jewish nationality establishing itself under such conditions. But the present claim is not of this limited scope. It is part and parcel of a wider Zionist theory, which regards all the Jewish communities of the world as constituting one homeless nationality, incapable of complete social and political identification with the nations among whom they dwell, and it is argued that for this homeless nationality a political centre and an always available homeland in Palestine are necessary. Against this theory the conjoint committee strongly and earnestly protest. Emancipated Jews in this country regard themselves primarily as a religious community, and they have always based their claims to political equality with their fellow-citizens of other creeds on this assumption and on its corollary—that they have no separate national aspirations in a political sense. They hold Judaism to be a religious system, with which their political status has no concern, and they maintain that, as citizens of the countries in which they live, they are fully and sincerely identified with the national spirit and interests of those countries. It follows that the establishment of a Jewish nationality in Palestine, founded on this theory of Jewish homelessness, must have the effect throughout the world of stamping the Jews as strangers in their native lands, and of undermining their hard-won position as citizens and nationals of those lands. Moreover, a Jewish political nationality, carried to its logical conclusion, must, in the present circumstances of the world, be an anachronism. The Jewish religion being the only certain test of a Jew, a Jewish nationality must be founded on, and limited by, the religion. It cannot be supposed for a moment that any section of Jews would aim at a commonwealth governed by religious tests, and limited in the matter of freedom of conscience; but can a religious nationality express itself politically in any other way? The only alternative would be a secular Jewish nationality, recruited on some loose and obscure principle of race and ethnographic peculiarity; but this would not be Jewish in any spiritual sense, and its establishment in Palestine would be a denial of all the ideals and hopes by which the revival of Jewish life in that country commends itself to the Jewish consciousness and Jewish sympathy. On these grounds the conjoint committee deprecate most earnestly the national proposals of the Zionists.

"The second point in the Zionist programme which has aroused the misgivings of the conjoint committee is the proposal to invest the Jewish settlers in Palestine with certain special rights in excess of those enjoyed by the rest of the population, these rights to be embodied in a Charter and administered by a Jewish Chartered Company. Whether it is desirable or not to confide any portion of the administration of Palestine to a Chartered Company need not be discussed, but it is certainly very undesirable that Jews should solicit or accept such a concession, on a basis of political privileges and economic preferences. Any such action would prove a veritable calamity for the whole Jewish people. In all the countries in which they live the principle of equal rights for all religious denominations is vital for them. Were they to set an example in Palestine of disregarding this principle they would convict themselves of having appealed to it for purely selfish motives. In the countries in which they are still struggling for equal rights they would find themselves hopelessly compromised, while in other countries, where those rights have been secured, they would have great difficulty in defending them. The proposal is the more inadmissible because the Jews are, and will probably long remain, a minority of the population of Palestine, and because it might involve them in the bitterest feuds with their neighbours of other races and religions, which would seriously retard their progress, and would find deplorable echoes throughout the Orient. Nor is the scheme necessary for the Zionists themselves. If the Jews prevail in a competition based on perfect equality of rights and opportunity they will establish their eventual preponderance in the land on a far sounder foundation than any that can be secured by privileges and monopolies.

"If the conjoint committee can be satisfied with regard to these points they will be prepared to co-operate in securing for the Zionist organization the united support of Jewry.

"(Signed) DAVID L. ALEXANDER,
President, Board of Deputies of British Jews
"(Signed) CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE,
President, Anglo-Jewish Association.

"LONDON, *May* 17, 1917."

On the day after the appearance of this Manifesto, *The Times* received more letters than it could make room to print from Jewish correspondents, "taking strong excep-

tion" to the statement of the Presidents. Mr. Elkan N. Adler at once resigned from the Conjoint Committee, and described the publication of the Manifesto as "inopportune, if not harmful." Mr. B. A. Fersht and Mr. S. Gilbert also resigned.

The Chief *Rabbi*, Dr. J. H. Hertz, wrote to *The Times*, expressing the following opinion :—

"I do not propose to advance any arguments contesting the extraordinary statement on Zionism and Palestine which you published on Thursday last, signed by Mr. D. L. Alexander, K.C., and Mr. Claude G. Montefiore. But, as Chief *Rabbi* of the United *Hebrew* Congregations of the British Empire, I cannot allow your readers to remain under the misconception that the said statement represents in the least the views held either by Anglo-Jewry as a whole or by the Jewries of the Oversea Dominions. Moreover, neither the Board of Deputies nor the Anglo-Jewish Association—on whose behalf their presidents signed the document in question—authorized its publication or had an opportunity of considering its contents.

"It is, indeed, grievously painful to me to write this in your influential columns. But I am impelled to do so in the interests of truth, and in justice to the communities of which I have the honour and privilege of being the spiritual head."

Dr. M. Gaster, the late *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' congregations in England, declared :—

"A settlement of the Jewish problem will, no doubt, form part of the general settlement which is to secure to the world a permanent peace resting on 'national liberty and international amity,' as Lord Robert Cecil only yesterday declared in the House of Commons. The Jew also wants a permanent peace resting on the same foundations, and he can only find it by the realization of the Zionist programme, a national autonomous life in the Holy Land, publicly recognized and legally secured. It embraces, of course, the religious as well as political and economic life, indissolubly united in the Jewish national consciousness."

Lord Rothschild replied to several of the objections to Zionism advanced by the two Presidents in a letter which stated :—

"In your issue of the 24th inst. appears a long letter signed on behalf of the Conjoint Committee by Messrs. Alexander and Montefiore and entitled 'The Future of the Jews.' As a sincere believer both in the justice and benefits likely to accrue from the Zionist cause and aspirations, I

trust you will allow me to reply to this letter. I consider it most unfortunate that this controversy should be raised at the present time, and the members of the Zionist organization are the last people desirous of raising it. Our opponents, although a mere fraction of the Jewish opinion of the world, seek to interfere in the wishes and aspirations of by far the larger mass of the Jewish people. We Zionists cannot see how the establishment of an autonomous Jewish State under the ægis and protection of one of the Allied Powers can be considered for a moment to be in any way subversive to the position or loyalty of the very large part of the Jewish people who have identified themselves thoroughly with the citizenship of the countries in which they live. Our idea from the beginning has been to establish an autonomous centre, both spiritual and ethical, for all those members of the Jewish faith who felt drawn irresistibly to the ancient home of their faith and nationality in Palestine.

"In the letter you have published, the question also is raised of a chartered company. We Zionists have always felt that if Palestine is to be colonized by the Jews some machinery must be set up to receive the immigrants, settle them on the land, and to develop the land, and to be generally a directing agency. I can only again emphasize that we Zionists have no wish for privileges at the expense of other nationalities, but only desire to be allowed to work out our destinies side by side with other nationalities in an autonomous State under the suzerainty of one of the Allied Powers."

Dr. Weizmann replied to two statements made by the anti-Zionists in a further letter which appeared in *The Times*:—

"I have no desire to ask for space in your columns to examine with what justification these two gentlemen and the school they speak for claim that they have always hoped and worked for a Jewish regeneration in Palestine. But I am anxious to correct two statements which might possibly generate serious misconception in the minds of those not well informed as to Zionism and Zionist projects.

"1. It may possibly be inconvenient to certain individual Jews that the Jews constitute a nationality. Whether the Jews do constitute a nationality is, however, not a matter to be decided by the convenience of this or that individual. It is strictly a question of fact. The fact that the Jews are a nationality is attested by the conviction of the over-

whelming majority of Jews throughout all ages right to the present time, a conviction which has always been shared by non-Jews in all countries.

"2. The Zionists are not demanding in Palestine monopolies or exclusive privileges, nor are they asking that any part of Palestine should be administered by a chartered company to the detriment of others. It always was and remains a cardinal principle of Zionism as a democratic movement that all races and sects in Palestine should enjoy full justice and liberty, and Zionists are confident that the new suzerain whom they hope Palestine will acquire as a result of the war will, in its administration of the country, be guided by the same principle.

"In conclusion I should like to express my regret that there should be even two Jews who think it their duty to exert such influence as they may command against the realization of a hope which has sustained the Jewish nation through 2000 years of exile, persecution, and temptation."

These letters of protest led to the publication of a leading article entitled "The Future of the Jews" in *The Times* of 29th May, which showed that this paper is firmly convinced of the justice of the Zionist cause. The article was of so much importance that it is quoted in full :—

"The important controversy which has sprung up in our columns upon the future of the Jews deserves careful and sympathetic attention. The war has given prominence to many questions that seemed formerly to lie outside the range of practical politics. None of them is more interesting than that of the bearing of Zionism—that is to say, of the resettlement of a Jewish nationality in Palestine—upon the future of the Jewish people. In the statement which we published last Thursday from the Conjoint Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association exception was taken to Zionist plans for the creation of a national Jewish community 'in a political sense,' and pointed arguments were directed against them. In the opinion of the Committee, such plans are 'part and parcel of a wider Zionist theory which regards all the Jewish communities of the world as constituting one homeless nationality, incapable of complete social and political identification with the nations among whom they dwell.' Against this theory the Committee 'strongly and earnestly protest,' on grounds which, in so far as they are set forth in the statement, are sufficiently clear. The Committee claim that they

are fully alive to the special meaning of Palestine for the Jewish race. They are anxious that in Palestine the civil and religious liberties of Jews should be secured. But they affirm that 'emancipated Jews' in this country have no 'separate national aspirations in a political sense.' Such Jews regard themselves 'primarily as a religious community,' and have always 'based their claims to political equality with their fellow-citizens of other creeds on this assumption.' They fear lest the establishment of a Jewish nationality in Palestine stamp the Jews as strangers in their native lands and undermine 'their hard-won position as citizens and nationals of those lands.' The Committee proceed to argue that since 'the Jewish religion' is 'the only certain test of a Jew, the Jewish nationality must be founded on, and limited by religion.' It follows, they believe, that a Jewish nationality would be obliged to 'express itself politically' by religious intolerance, and would thus undermine the very principle which Jews have invoked to secure their emancipation. The Committee further insist that the bestowal by Charter of 'certain special rights in excess of those enjoyed by the rest of the population' would be a questionable boon to a Jewish community in Palestine, because in all the countries in which Jews live 'the principle of equal rights for all religious denominations' is vital to them.

"It seems to us that in attempting to define Jewish nationality in terms of religion the Committee come dangerously near to begging the question which they raise; and no question can be solved by begging it. As Dr. Weizmann, the President of the English Zionist Federation, observes in the letter which we published yesterday, it may possibly be inconvenient to certain individual Jews that the Jews do constitute a nationality. The question is one of fact, not of argument, and the fact that the Jews are a nationality 'is attested by the conviction of the overwhelming majority of Jews throughout all ages.' This conviction, he rightly says, 'has always been shared by non-Jews in all countries.' But more immediately important than this discussion of a point which cannot seriously be disputed is the denial by eminent and influential Jewish leaders like Lord Rothschild and the Chief *Rabbi* of the title of the Conjoint Committee to speak for British Jewry, or, indeed, for 'the larger mass of the Jewish people.' Lord Rothschild writes: 'We Zionists cannot see how the establishment of an autonomous Jewish

State, under the ægis and protection of one of the Allied Powers, can be considered for a moment to be in any way subversive of the position or loyalty of the very large part of the Jewish people who have identified themselves thoroughly with the citizenship of the countries in which they live.' The Chief *Rabbi* insists that the statement of the Conjoint Committee does not represent in the least the views held 'either by Anglo-Jewry as a whole or by the Jewries of the Oversea Dominions.'

"Authoritative declarations such as these dispose of the contention that Zionism is not representative of Jewish aspirations. We believe it in fact to embody the feelings of the great bulk of Jewry everywhere. The interest of the world outside Jewry is that these aspirations, in so far as they may be susceptible of realization, should be fairly faced on their merits. It is too often imagined that the Jewish question can be solved by the mere removal of all artificial restrictions upon Jewish activities. Even a superficial acquaintance with the conditions of life in the congested Jewish communities of Galicia and Russia suggests the inadequacy of that solution. The truth is that the Jewish question cannot be exhaustively defined either in terms of religion or of race. It has important social, economic, financial, and political sides. The importance of the Zionist movement—apart from its territorial aspect—is that it has fired with a new ideal millions of poverty-stricken Jews cooped up in the *ghettoes* of the Old World and the New. It has tended to make Jews proud of their race and to claim recognition, as Jews, in virtue of the eminent services rendered by Jewry to the religious development and civilization of mankind. Only an imaginative nervousness suggests that the realization of territorial Zionism, in some form, would cause Christendom to round on the Jews and say, 'Now you have a land of your own, go to it!' The Jews who feel themselves to be British, French, or American would, doubtless, tend to identify themselves more than ever with the lands of their political allegiance and to become more and more a solely religious community. The rapid changes of nationality that have been so noticeable among Jews in the past would become increasingly discredited. The international solidarity of Jews would undoubtedly persist—though, with a lessening of the danger of religious persecution, the leading Jews of all countries might feel freer to make a public stand against tendencies

which sometimes bring the Jewish name into disrepute. We note with satisfaction the assurance of the Conjoint Committee that, if their specific misgivings can be removed, 'they will be prepared to co-operate in securing for Zionist organizations the united support of Jewry.' It is in this direction, we believe, that progress lies."

On the 1st of June *The Times* contained a letter adding the names of the Anglo-Jews who supported the view taken by the Conjoint Presidents. The letter read as follows :—

"SIR,—As the representative character of the Jewish Conjoint Committee has been publicly challenged, we, being Jews of British birth and nationality, actively engaged in public work in the Anglo-Jewish community, desire to state that we approve of, and associate ourselves with, the statement on the Palestine question recently issued by the committee, and published in *The Times* of the 24th inst.

Your obedient servants,

SWAYTHLING	ISRAEL GOLLANCZ
CHAS. S. HENRY	MICHAEL A. GREEN
MATTHEW NATHAN	H. S. Q. HENRIQUES
LIONEL ABRAHAMS*	JOSHUA M. LEVY
ISIDORE SPIELMANN	LAURIE MAGNUS
EDWARD D. STERN	EDMUND SEBAG-MONTEFIORE
ISRAEL ABRAHAMS	ARTHUR REGINALD MORO
LEONARD L. COHEN	PHILIP S. WALEY
ERNEST L. FRANKLIN	ALBERT M. WOOLF.

"*May 29th.*"

There were soon widespread signs that the congregations supposed to be represented by the Board of Deputies did not agree with the views expressed in the manifesto. Thus the seatholders of the New Synagogue, Stamford Hill, carried a motion calling upon their representatives at the Board of Deputies and the Conjoint Committee to resign. This was passed with only two dissentients. Synagogues in Manchester and Liverpool and the Committee of Deputies in Manchester, Yorkshire and Cheshire expressed regret at the action of the President of the Board of Deputies in "committing the Board to a policy for which the Board has given him no kind of authority." The Belfast Con-

* "Sir Lionel Abrahams signs subject to the opinion that, in view of the statement made by the President of the English Zionist Federation on May 20, a further attempt at co-operation between the Conjoint Committee and the Zionist organisations in the United Kingdom is now desirable."

gregation passed a similar resolution and also expressed confidence in Dr. Weizmann and the Zionist movement. Congregations in Birkenhead, Cardiff, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Limerick, Merthyr Tydvil, Middlesbrough, Newcastle, Newport (Mon.), Swansea and Wallasey took similar action. In Leeds a meeting was held representative of all the Jewish congregations and organizations ; in Manchester the Jewish representative Council condemned the action of the Conjoint Committee. Indeed, throughout the United Kingdom Synagogues, Friendly Societies, Jewish Charitable Organizations and nearly every kind of Jewish institution made a public protest against the Manifesto, and declared in favour of Zionism.

These widespread signs of dissatisfaction with the existing leadership of the body which had hitherto claimed to be the official spokesman for Jewish opinion in England, was destined to lead to a complete change of government in that body.

It is true that at the meeting of the Anglo-Jewish Association on June 3rd Dr. Gaster's resolution of censure was not put to the vote. But on Sunday, 17th June, at a meeting of the Board of Deputies a resolution of censure on the Conjoint Committee, calling upon the representatives of the Board to resign from the Conjoint Committee, was carried by fifty-six votes to fifty-one. Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques, the Vice-President of the Board, spoke in defence of the Manifesto. In his speech he said the Conjoint Committee had on the 17th May granted permission to the Presidents to publish the statement when they thought it advisable to do so, but he had himself been surprised that they had published it so soon. Mr. Gilbert said that in October he had asked if any Manifesto then existed or was contemplated and had been told that the suggestion was "malicious and wicked." Sir Philip Magnus, Bart., said he had heard of the Manifesto a week or so before Mr. Henriques. From these statements it becomes clear that the document was compiled by a few of those thoroughly Anglicized Jews who, themselves very comfortably off in England, and about equally ignorant of the main currents of life in that country and of the main currents of Jewish life anywhere, were in their complacent self-satisfaction of opinion that they expressed the views of English Jews, when in reality they did not in the slightest degree represent the views of the overwhelming majority.

In consequence of the vote of censure, the Honorary Officers, Mr. David L. Alexander, K.C., the President; Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques, M.A., B.C.L., the Vice-President; and Mr. Joshua M. Levy, the Treasurer, resigned.

The Board of Deputies later attempted to restore the irresponsible power of a non-elective and unrepresentative committee having power to speak for the Jews of England. This new Conjoint Committee was to consist of the Foreign Committees of the two bodies, the Board of Deputies and Anglo-Jewish Association, meeting together to deal with Foreign affairs affecting the Jews. "Except in matters of routine or urgency," the parent bodies have to be consulted before any action is taken. The question of Zionism was declared outside the province of the Joint Committee unless specially delegated to such Committee by both parent bodies. This scheme was adopted at a meeting of the Board of Deputies held on January 20th, 1918.

Meantime the question of a general manifesto in favour of Zionist aims, not only by organized adherents of the movement but by the Anglo-Jewish Community generally, having become of urgent importance, the Council of the English Zionist Federation issued an appeal to Jewish organizations throughout the country to convene meetings in order to pass resolutions in the following terms:—

> "(1) That this meeting being unanimously in favour of the reconstruction of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish People, trusts that His Majesty's Government will use its best endeavours for the achievement of this object.
>
> "(2) That this Mass Meeting pledges itself to support the Zionist leaders in their efforts towards the realization of the Zionist aims."

These resolutions were adopted at large meetings in London, at the Queen's Hall, Monnickendam Rooms, at the Marcus Samuel Hall, New Synagogue, and in Bethnal Green, and at important meetings in Birmingham, Cardiff, Leeds, Hull, Manchester, Swansea, Merthyr Tydvil and Bradford.

The following is the list, so far as we have been able to ascertain, of Synagogues and Institutions, which are known to have adopted these or similar resolutions.

Manchester. The Communal Council (representing 15,000 Jews, members of Synagogues, Trade Unions and Friendly

Societies), the Lancashire and Yorkshire and Cheshire members of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, a special meeting of representatives of Synagogues at the opening of the Kovna Synagogue; the following Synagogues: Rydal Mount *Hebrew* Congregation, *Kahal Chassidim*, *Beth Jacob*, United Synagogue and *Beth Hamedrash* and New Synagogue; the following Friendly Societies: Grand Council of the Order of Ancient Maccabeans, *Achei Brith* and Shield of *Abraham* (Frances Annie Frankenburg, King Edward the Seventh, Nathan Laski, and Dr. Herzl Lodges), Independent Order of *Achei Brith*, Order of Ancient Maccabeans (*Modin* No. 24, *Don* Isaac Abarbanel No. 11, *Rechobot* No. 29, Mount *Horeb* No. 9, Mount *Lebanon* No. 3, and *Mattathias* No. 14 Beacons), the Maccabean Club, the Order Shield of *David* (Broughton Lodge), and the Manchester and Salford Jewish Grocers' Association; and the following Zionist Societies: Manchester Zionist Association, *Poale Zion*, and Manchester Daughters of *Zion*.

Leeds. The Leeds Jewish Representative Council (representing all Synagogues, Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, and other Jewish organizations); the following Friendly Societies: Grand Order of *Israel* (Grosenburg Lodge No. 90 and Dr. Dembo Lodge No. 47), the Pride of *Israel* Independent Friendly Society, the Order of Ancient Maccabeans (*Massodah* Beacon and Mount *Sinai* No. 13 Beacon), and the Independent Order of *B'nei Brith* (Abraham Frais Lodge No. 35); the Leeds Jewish National Fund Commission, the Leeds Jewish Workmen's Burial Society, the Leeds Banner of Zion, and the Leeds Young *Shomerim*; and the following Zionist Societies: *Agudas Hazionim*, Ladies' Zionist League, Ladies' Association, and a Mass Meeting convened by the Joint Zionist Committee.

Liverpool. The following Synagogues: Central Synagogue (Islington), Shaw Street, *Nusach Ari*, (Great Russell Street), Devon Street, *Acheinu B'nei Yisroel*, Old Hebrew Congregation (Princess Road), *Beth Hamedrash Ayen Jacov*, Wallasey *Hebrew* Congregation, and Fountain Road *Hebrew* Congregation; the following Friendly Societies and Trade Unions: Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Mount *Nebo Erez Yisrael* No. 28 and Mount *Hermon* Beacons), the Amalgamated Orders of *Achei Brith* and Shield of *Abraham* (*Deborah* Lodge No. 70, Dr. Max Nordau Lodge No. 13, and The Very Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Hertz Lodge No. 76), the Grand Order of *Israel* (Rev. S. Friedeberg Lodge No. 80), the

Order of the Shield of *David* (Max Clapper Lodge No. 44), the Herzl *Hebrew* Friendly Tontine Society, the London *Hebrew* Tontine Society, the Montefiore *Hebrew* Tontine Friendly Society, the Order Shield of *David* Tontine Society (Joseph Morris Lodge No. 28), the *Hebrew* Brotherhood Tontine Society, the Brothers of *Israel* Tontine Society, the *Hebrew Somech Noflim* Society, the Liverpool Travellers' Friendly Society, the Jewish Students of Liverpool University, the International Society of Philology, Science and Fine Arts (Liverpool Branch), the *Hebrew* Higher Grade National League, the Talmudical College, the Jewish Literary Society, the Tailors' Employees' Association, the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, the United Garment Workers' Trade Union, the Anglo-Jewish Association (Liverpool Branch), the Wholesale Furniture Manufacturers' Association, the Ladies' *Bikur Cholim* Society, the Committee of the Association of Old Boys of the Liverpool *Hebrew* Schools; and the following Zionist Societies: Liverpool Young Men's Zionist Association, Liverpool Zionist Central Council, *Agudas Zion* Society, Liverpool Junior Zionist Association, and Liverpool Ladies' Zionist Association.

Glasgow. The Jewish Representative Council (representing all Glasgow Jewish Institutions, Synagogues, *etc.*); the following Synagogues: *Chevra Kadisha*, Garnet Hill, *Beth Hamedrash*, Langside Road, *Machzikei Hadath*, *Beth Jacob*, Queen's Park *Hebrew* Congregation, and South Portland Street; the following Friendly Societies and Trade Unions: Baron Günzburg Lodge, Lord Rothschild Lodge, Montefiore Lodge, Michael Simon Lodge, Dr. Hermann Adler Lodge, King *David* Lodge, Rev. E. P. Phillips Lodge, Odessa Lodge, Lady Rothschild Lodge No. 67, Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Leo Pinsker Beacon No. 12, and *Judas Maccabeus* Beacon No. 15), Grand Order of *Israel* (Dr. Herzl Lodge No. 12), and the Independent Friendly Society; and the following Societies: Jewish Young Men's Institute, Master Tailors' Federation, Jewish National Institute (Elgin Street), *Hebrew* Burial Society, *B'nei Zion*, Young Girls' Zionist League, Daughters of *Zion*, and Queen's Park Zionist and Literary Society.

Birmingham. The following Friendly Societies: Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Theodor Herzl Beacon), Order of *Achei Brith* and Shield of *Abraham* (Isaac Joseph Lodge), Lodge, Lord Swaythling Lodge, Rachel Mendlesohn

(Rev. J. Fink Lodge and Rev. G. J. Emanuel Lodge). Grand Order of *Israel* (Loyal Independent Lodge, Rev. A. Cohen Lodge, and David Davis Lodge).

Bristol. Mass Meeting of Bristol Jews, Oct. 21st

Cardiff. Mass Meeting of Jewish Community, Oct. 21st, 1917; Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Cardiff Branch).

Swansea. Mass Meeting, Oct. 15th (representing Synagogues, Friendly Societies and Zionist Societies), Swansea *Hebrew* Congregation, Swansea Junior Zionist and Literary Society.

Pontypridd. Mass Meeting of Jewish Community, 21st Oct.

Newport. Mass Meeting of Jewish Community, 21st Oct., 1917.

Merthyr Tydvil. Mass Meeting.

Durham. Zionist Society.

Maidenhead. *Hebrew* Congregation.

Birkenhead. *Hebrew* Congregation.

Bolton. Jewish Community, meeting 19th Oct., 1917.

Blackpool. *Hebrew* Congregation and Belisha Lodge.

Stockport. Jewish Tailors' Union.

Sunderland. Mass Meeting of Sunderland Community, 21st Oct., 1917.

Grimsby. *Hebrew* Congregation, and Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Mount *Zeisim* Beacon No. 7).

Hull. Mass Meeting of Jews of Hull, Oct. 14th, 1917.

Bradford. Zionist Society, Order of Ancient Maccabeans (*Jehuda Halevi* Beacon No. 30).

Newcastle-on-Tyne. Mass Meeting of all Jewish organizations, Oct. 21st, Ancient Order of Maccabeans (Mount *Gilead* Beacon), Grand Order of *Israel* (Duke of Northumberland Lodge No. 14).

Edinburgh. Mass Meeting of Edinburgh Jews, 21st Oct., Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Mount *Moriah* Beacon).

Sheffield. Mass Meeting of Sheffield Jews, 18th Oct., representing Sheffield *Hebrew* Congregation, Central Synagogue, *Talmud Torah*, Board of Guardians, Polish Refugees Fund, *Chevra Kadisha*, Master Tailors' Union, *B'nei Brith*, Grand Order of *Israel*, Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Levison Lodge), Sheffield Junior Zionist Association, and Worksop Jewish Community.

Nottingham. Mass Meeting, 21st Oct., representing Nottingham *Hebrew* Congregation, Palestine Association, Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Mount *Ephraim* Beacon), Independent Order *B'nei Brith* (Jacob Lasker Lodge),

Grand Order of *Israel* (David Snapper Lodge), United Garment Workers of Great Britain (Nottingham Branch).

Belfast. Belfast Synagogue.

Dublin. Mass Meeting of Dublin Jewry, 21st Oct.; Independent Order of *B'nei Brith* (King *Solomon* Lodge No. 17); Order of Ancient Maccabeans (Mount *Carmel* Beacon No. 10); *Agudas Hazionim;* and Dublin Daughters of *Zion.*

The Times, on Oct. 23rd, noticed these demonstrations of sympathy with Zionism under the heading, " Palestine for the Jews: British support of the proposal" · and on Oct. 26th, in an editorial strongly urged on the Government the necessity of making an announcement of its policy in favour of Zionism.

The anti-Zionist views of the representatives of a small section of English Jewry were not only in opposition to Jewish public opinion, but even more in striking contrast with non-Jewish opinion, as revealed by the press of the United Kingdom.

The Westminster Gazette, in its issue of August 26th, 1916, published an article on " Zionism," in the course of which the writer emphasized that :—

" All they ask for is for a home for the Jewish people—not for all the Jews of the world, but only for the nucleus of the Jewish people, and above all, for their special type of civilization, for Judaism. They have no desire to dispossess any other people. They point to a land, to the land which is historically theirs, which to-day is lying vacant for want of a people to rejuvenate it. There, they say, Judaism will find that freedom which is unattainable elsewhere: at their hands the land which has languished for centuries can again be restored to the circle of bountiful regions, and become as of old, a granary for other nations."

Lord Cromer, writing in the *Spectator* on August 12th, 1916, said :—

" What is it that Zionists want? The idea that they wish the Jews of all races to be congregated together in Palestine may at once be dismissed as absurd. Nothing of the sort is proposed. Neither do they want to establish a mere colony in the sense in which that term is usually employed. Zionism stands for a national revival."

The New Statesman, on July 8th, 1916, dealt editorially with " The Meaning of Zionism " :—

" The creation of an autonomous Jewish State in Palestine, or elsewhere—though only in Palestine is there any prospect of such a State—and its successful progress and development would raise the status of the entire Jewish people and restore self-respect to Jewry as a nation. It would thus be a large part of the solution of the Jewish question."

The Nation, in the course of a leading article, on June 2nd, 1917, on " What is a Jew ? ", considered Zionism as the new force, and said :—

" An assimilated Judaism has little to give to the world, save the individual talents of its adherents. Zionism, on the contrary, is a vivid, positive, picturesque element in the world, a distinctive tradition which adds something to the common stock. We hope to see it recognized, preferably under international institutions in Palestine, but we look askance at proposals to make it subservient to British ends of Empire and strategy.

" But the problem is far wider than Palestine. Zionism is really a challenge to the tolerance of Europe for the modern idea of nationality as culture. If that idea has vitality, the Zionism of the future will be recognized and accepted not merely in *Jerusalem* but in Warsaw and Vienna, in Paris and in London. If the West expects Austria and Russia to make terms with their many nationalities, it must in its turn hold out a welcome to Jewish nationalism."

In *New Europe*, on April 12th, 1917, a writer dealt with the problem of the Jews :—

" Whatever claim the Jews may make, it is clear that autonomous Jewry in Palestine must have an adequate guarantee of existence, whether by international pledge or by the protectorate of a Great Power."

The same periodical, in its issue of April 19th, had a long article on " Great Britain, Palestine, and the Jews." The writer gives his reasons for stating that a British Palestine must be a Jewish Palestine, the home of a restored Jewish people, the spiritual centre of the whole Jewish race. He shows what the Jew has already done in Palestine, and concludes :—

" Under a beneficent rule a Jewish Palestine would attract wealth and talent and labour from every Jewish community of the globe, and the progress of Palestine would be much more rapid still. Compared with its past Palestine is an

empty land, to which only the Jews can restore its ancient property and glory."

The *New Europe* devoted the first pages of its issue of September 27th, 1917, to an article on "Jewry's Stake in the War." The writer in speaking of Zionism, said :—

"The value of Zionism is, that it tends to bring the intense pride of the Jew in his own race, and in its all but unrivalled contribution to civilization, into harmony with its public bearing.

". . . The existence of a Jewish State would certainly react and react healthily upon the position of Jews who might elect to remain in the Dispersion. The Zionists would fain make of the Jewish name a clear title of honour."

The Weekly Dispatch of April 1st, 1917, in a leading article on "The New Crusade," said :—

"If any more romantic prospect than the spectacle of the British Standard flying above the temples and mosques of *Jerusalem* can be visualized, it is the restoration by Britain, which has always befriended the Jew, of the Jewish polity which fell to pieces in the reign of Hadrian.

"But sentiment must be based on practical considerations. To develop Palestine needs a skilled agricultural race. The dreamers of the *Ghetto*, yearning for the return of *Zion*, point to the Jewish farmers of Canada, America, and the Argentine in proof that the instinct of a pastoral people of Biblical time still survives in its sons."

According to *The Sunday Chronicle*, in an article, April 15th, 1917, on "British Policy in Palestine—A British Hebrew Necessity" :—

"There is no other race in the whole world who can do these services for us in Palestine but the Jews themselves. In the Zionist Movement, which has caught up within itself some of the best brains and the warmest hearts among the younger generation of Jews, we have the motive force which will make the extension of the British Empire into Palestine, otherwise a disagreeable necessity, a source of pride and a pillar of strength. A source of pride ; for after all, if we are fighting for oppressed and homeless nationalities in this war, there is none which has been so horribly oppressed in the past or for so many hundred years without a home of its own as the Jews.

"A pillar of strength ; for the fact that the Jews are not only of one nation but of all, will give to the power which is

sovereign of its capital *Jerusalem* a tremendous pull in the councils of the world."

The Times Literary Supplement of August 16th, 1917, had an article, "After Many Years," which sketched the history of the Jews in Palestine, and went on to say that :—

"The Palestinian Jew during the past decade has shown a certain capacity for self-government, and has successfully assumed many of the functions of administration which the neglect of Ottoman Mutessarifs had left unperformed. Under the influence of a renovated system of education, imparted in *Hebrew*, he was rapidly forgetting his German leanings or his Russian or Rumanian traditions, and was becoming a farmer of his own soil. If this process can be resumed and its scope widened after the war, Palestine may slowly grow from a State with the status say of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan—and develop into an autonomous protected State, with its own native sovereign and administration and forming part of the Empire in just the same way as do many States which are in full control of their internal liberties."

Common Sense, March 10th, 1917, dealt with the Jewish claim to Palestine, and declared that :—

"If, when we make peace, we are to make a just and lasting peace, the terms of the compact must run along the lines of nationality. In such a settlement the Jewish claim cannot be avoided, and we may hope that, as a consequence of the gentle pressure now being applied, the British Government will regard it as a duty to obtain a Hebraic Palestine as one of the terms of peace."

The Manchester Guardian, in an article on June 25th, 1915, on "Jews and the War," described the suffering of the Jews scattered amongst the nations, and defines Zionism as follows :—

"Zionism is, from one point of view, the effort of the Jewish spirit to establish a firm ground for its own continuance and development in a changed world, which threatens by degrees to overwhelm it. Such a movement was bound to come so soon as danger threatened a race-life so tough and enduring, and a spirit so distinctive and powerful, and it is, like other spiritual things, essentially independent of material means. But for the early realization of its immediate purpose material means are necessary, and

the future of Palestine thus becomes for the Zionist a matter of pressing and capital importance."

The Manchester Guardian, in a leading article on "The Future of Palestine," in its issue of October 1st, 1917, asks :—

"How can we as champions of the cause of nationality, refuse our sympathy to the attempt to end age-long exile of the Jewish people from their political home in Palestine ?"

The Liverpool Courier of April 24th, 1917, in a leading article, "Rebuilding Zion," said :—

"A British Palestine must be a Jewish Palestine. . . . Given the protection of the British flag, and the self-governing system of the British Empire, Palestine might soon become a new and living Zion. Such a consummation would be a triumph of the British spirit. It would be a worthy object to strive for in the great war, for it would fulfil a deep national aspiration among a disinherited people of extraordinary genius, and to that extent would add to the number and the weight of the blows we should deliver against anti-national Prussianism."

The Liverpool Courier of June 15th, 1917, on "The Future of Palestine" :—

"The Jews could make Palestine once more a land flowing with milk and honey. The country has enormous economic possibilities.

". . . It must be the business of the Allies, in pursuance of their policy of liberation, to restore to Palestine its liberties, and to provide a centre of nationhood for the Jewish race."

In a leading article on "The Land of Promise," *The Liverpool Courier*—October 19th, 1917—again dealt with the Jewish claims to Palestine, and says :—

"We may be as certain of a loyal Anglo-Jewry with a Jewish Homeland reconstituted, as we are to-day. Britain has always taken kindly to the idea of the Jewish Re-settlement, and the moment seems now at hand when an ideal—cherished both by Britain and by Jewry—is not unlikely to find realization."

The Glasgow Herald, May 29th, 1917, in an article on "*Zion* Re-edified," dealt fully with the anti-Zionist manifesto, and said of the Zionists :—

"They are looking forward now not to a re-edified Zion which the breath of a Turkish Sultan could tumble into ruin,

but to the establishment of a Jewish State, under the suzerainty of some strong Christian power.

" Jews in every land have felt that what has been the dream of long ages of exile and persecution may at last become a reality on which their eyes shall gaze."

The Yorkshire Post, April 12th, 1917, gave the history of " Jewish Colonization in Palestine," and concluded that :—

" Thus there is some foundation for the claim that in the settlement after the war provision should be made for the unhampered continuance and extension of the colonization of Palestine by the Jews ; and should that develop in process of time into the establishment of a Jewish nation there, it will be a result by no means inconsistent with the ideals for which Great Britain and her Allies are fighting."

The Contemporary Review of June, 1917, had a short note on the " Jewish Claim to Palestine " :—

" Evidently the principle of nationality is itself considered sacred ; it is an asset to the world, and it carries its rights, moral rights, which are none the less rights, if they cannot be enforced by the sword.

" The cynic might, perhaps, find more justification had Israel ever forgotten or waived his claim to the Holy Land ; but a continuous chain of aspiration and prayer, and even of political activity, binds him to the soil from which he was driven early in the Christian Era."

The Review of Reviews, September, 1916, thus defined Zionism :—

" Zionism means a complete Jewish, spiritual and national, rebirth in the ancient land—a re-settling of Jews in their own ancient home. To the idealist it is much more even, it is love for the Land of the *Shekinah* and the Holy Spirit, a mystic rapture of the whole Jewish soul in the quest of re-discovering the ' Fountain of Living Waters.'

" To this end it is necessary for the Jewish people to have a home in Palestine secured by public laws."

The military correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* on March 30th, 1917, discussed the question of what should be done with Palestine when liberated, and came to the conclusion that :—

" There can be little doubt that we should revive the Jewish Palestine of old, and allow the Jews to realize their

dream of *Zion* in their homeland. All the Jews will not return to Palestine, but many will do so. The new Jewish State, under British or French ægis, would become the spiritual and cultural centre of Jewry throughout the world. The Jews would at least have a homeland and a nationality of their own. The national dream that has sustained them for a score of centuries and more will have been fulfilled."

In a leading article in the same issue on " The Victory in Palestine " we read :—

" The project for constituting a Zionist State there under British protection has a great deal to commend it. The restoration to Judaism of what must always be the ideal focus of its persistent national and spiritual life would be a noble addition to the programme for emancipating small nations."

The Daily News, in a leading article, on October 17th, on the " War and the Jews," dealt with the claim of Zionists in all lands to be a nation, and the desire to see the land of their fathers restored to them. The article concluded :—

" In a word, we are not sure that Zionism would not prove the solution of the obstinate problem of this wandering race that has perplexed the world for so many centuries. Whatever the decision of the Allies in regard to Palestine, it can hardly fail to improve the conditions and enlarge the liberty of life in Palestine, and if the Jews in large numbers choose to take advantage of the fact, the object of Zionism will in due time be accomplished, and the Jewish nation will live again under its own vine and fig-tree. When that happens, the Jewish problem that afflicts the rest of the world will tend to disappear."

CO-ORDINATION OF ZIONISTS' REPORTS

The months August–November, 1917, were an exceedingly busy time for Zionists in England. They had to defend themselves against the attacks made against them not only in manifestoes, but also behind the scenes. They had to continue the pourparlers and to endeavour to obtain some acceptance of their principle. Dr. Weizmann and the author were actively and energetically assisted in their endeavours not only by a group of representative Zionists of England, but also by a considerable number of Zionists abroad. They were helped, above all, by American Zionists. Between London, New York, and Washington there was constant communication, either by telegraph, or by personal visit, and

as a result there was perfect unity among the Zionists of both hemispheres. The strength of conviction, the enthusiasm, the spirit of sacrifice, the enterprise, and the industry and energy of American Zionists, displayed by them in the last few years deserve more than a page of honour in the history of Zionism; they deserve a volume to themselves. The statesmanship, the genius for organization, and the beneficent personal influence of the Honourable Louis D. Brandeis, Judge of the Supreme Court, has raised, strengthened, and secured in every direction the position of American Zionism not only in America, but also has increased its prestige and dignity abroad. His well-weighed counsel, his great experience, his calm judgment, which unites deep democratic principles with the sense of responsibility of a national leader, were an important factor in the conduct of Zionist politics. In this matter he was supported by a number of zealous, expert and devoted fellow-thinkers. The older American Zionists, who had maintained for many years a Zionist Organization with great trouble and exemplary steadfastness, were now, since the outbreak of the war, considerably strengthened by a number of Zionist leaders from Europe. At the head of the latter—who, in the meantime, have become thoroughly Americanised—stood Dr. Shmaria Levin, a member of the "Inner Action Committee"; who, in addition to his distinguished services as a publicist and propagandist, in which directions he displayed a vigour scarcely ever equalled and certainly excelled by no one, also freely gave his knowledge and advice in the discussion of political questions. To this group, enlarged by the leaders newly arrived from Europe, was added another most valuable group, of strongly Zionist feeling, coming from Palestine. After the enforced exile of a number of distinguished pioneers of colonization and of national Hebrew culture from Palestine, many of them went to America to dedicate themselves there to the work of propaganda. Dr Ben-zion Mossinsohn, Mr. Israel Belkind and Mr. Menachem Mendel Scheinkin —to mention only the best known—have worked zealously in America for the popularizing of the Palestine idea. The oratorical skill of Mossinsohn was most valuable. A number of distinguished workers belonging to the *Poale-Zionist* Federation also made their headquarters in America, where at the same time the orthodox Zionists of the *Mizrachi* Federation had made note-

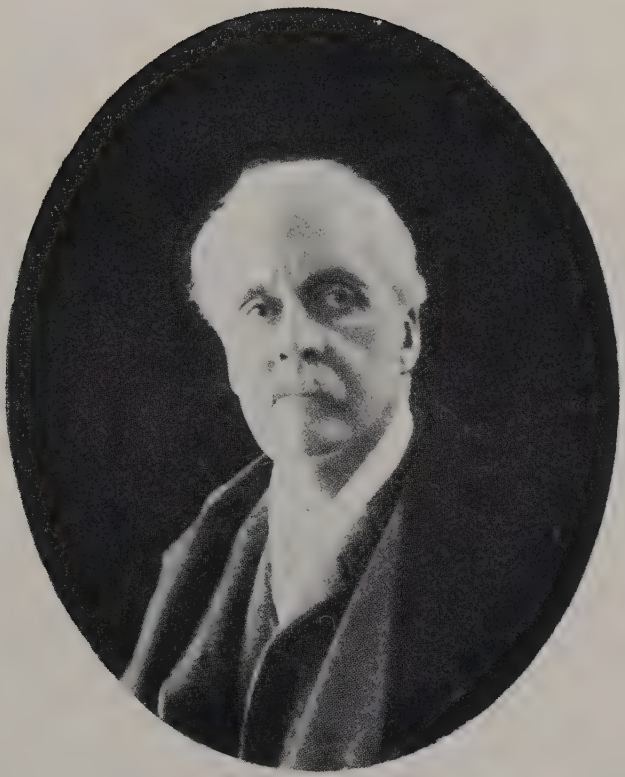
worthy progress in the organizing of their forces and in the winning of new members, especially through the efforts of Mr. Belkind. The Jewish Press in America, a popular actor of most widespread dimensions, devoted its main attention to Zionism. With very few exceptions the organs of different opinions vied in the publication of Zionist views and in the promoting of the national Jewish idea, in which matter the non-Jewish Press from time to time gave energetic assistance. The publication of *Hebrew* literature and press-matter, which previously was too little in evidence in America, was stimulated by the *Hebrew* authors and journalists recently arrived from Russia and Palestine, who founded new *Hebrew* weeklies (*Ha'toren*, *Haibri*) and established houses for the publication of *Hebrew* books. The pioneer and veteran leader of the idea of the renaissance of the *Hebrew* language as the everyday speech in Palestine, namely, Elieser Ben Jehuda of *Jerusalem*, found supporters and friends in America, who made it possible for him to establish his residence during the war in New York, and there to continue his life-work, the compilation of a great *Hebrew* dictionary. The rise of the national idea found striking expression in the agitation for the holding of a Jewish-American Congress, an idea which was violently opposed by the anti-Zionists, but was carried by an overwhelming majority. Nationality and democracy—these were the battle-cries of the supporters of the Congress, which carried away the Jewish-American masses with irresistible force.

The separate Zionist federations "*Mizrachi*" (containing Orthodox Jews) and "*Poale Zion*" (containing Socialists) have naturally been sorely affected by the war, which greatly impeded their work. They, too, however, have been able to keep up the contact between the various sections of their federations and continue their activities. The "*Mizrachi*" has been particularly active in America. The central office of the "*Poale Zion*" has been transferred to the Hague, though its main activities have been carried on in America. In close co-operation with the office of the Federation, the "Jewish Labour Correspondence Bureau" has issued bulletins giving information about Palestine, and the conditions of Jews in various countries, with special reference to labour questions and the needs of the Jewish wage-earner.

This was the *milieu* in which the political work of the London Zionist centre found great sympathy and ready assistance. The circle grew constantly, new elements joined

the older experienced ones: the worthy Elisha Levin-Epstein, who gave himself entirely to relief work and who for this purpose undertook the most difficult journeys during the course of the war, never lost sight of his leading idea, namely, Zionism. Mr. Nathan Straus, who but a few years ago took up the Palestine scheme, placed himself in the front rank of the promoters of Zionism; *Rabbi* Stephen S. Wise, one of the most popular of American orators, who many years previously had attended the Zionist Congress as delegate and afterwards left the Movement, returned with renewed strength to labour in the work of propaganda and in the development of the organization with those well-tried fighters, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Professor Israel Friedlænder, Miss Henrietta Szold, Professor Richard Gottheil, Mr. Jacob *de* Haas, Mr. Louis Lipsky, and many others. It was a great pleasure to welcome into the Zionist camp a galaxy of new forces of great influence, such for example as Judge Julian W. Mack and Professor Felix Frankfurter. In synagogues and workshops, in the universities and in the clubs of the Associations for Mutual Assistance—everywhere Jewish national life began to throb more strongly than ever. The sphere of Zionism seemed to grow day by day: the great expansion which the Zionist university movement of young men, the "*Menorah*," had shown, pointed to a great future national development.

Every idea born in London was tested by the Zionist Organization in America, and every suggestion from America received the most careful attention in London. Many Zionist representatives came from America to London, and others visited America. The negotiations in political circles in England and France were known in America, every success was welcomed there with enthusiasm, and often, also, received further support. Every opportunity was there taken advantage of to hold discussions, not only with the representatives of the Government and the political parties, but also with distinguished statesmen who were staying in America as visitors. The visit of Mr. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, gave an opportunity to the prominent Canadian Zionist leader, Mr. Clarence *de* Sola, for a most encouraging conversation, in the course of which the noble intentions of the British Government were expressed. Similar interviews took place on various other occasions. The real work, of course, could only be carried on in London; but it must be observed that the interest, the goodwill,



Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, M.P.

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and the helpful efforts on the part of the Zionist organizations in the United States, Russia, Canada, and other countries, have been of considerable value.

In September, 1917, Dr. Tschlenow again came to London, attracted by the importance of the Zionist affairs which were in negotiation. After more than two years of absence, although in uninterrupted contact with London, the work was too advanced, and his health too poor to allow him to be so active as he was at the beginning. But he participated with his advice and influence, and he lived to experience some great moments.

THE BRITISH DECLARATION AND ITS RECEPTION

November 2nd, 1917, marks the end of a chapter in Zionist history : it is Declaration Day.

The following are the terms of the letter to Lord Rothschild in which Mr. A. J. Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared the sympathy of the British Government with Zionist aspirations and its favourable attitude towards the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people :—

" Foreign Office,

" *November* 2, 1917.

" DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,—I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet :

" ' His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

" Yours sincerely,

" (*Signed*) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR."

It was at once clear that a great moment in the history of the Jewish people had arrived through this Declaration. Our

ancient home has again arisen for civilization. For nineteen centuries it has been made a desert, for nineteen centuries the Jewish people deprived of their own land sought everywhere a place where they could have freedom of the spirit and room for their work, and generation after generation prayed and dreamt of the return to *Zion*. Generation after generation drew from this source strength to live and to struggle. Now the dreams of our ancestors are becoming reality. The testament of Herzl was approaching fulfilment. The British Government has spoken in solemn terms to the Jews of the world. The time has arrived to create anew a Jewish homeland on the ashes of the past, to rebuild a national centre and to proceed to work in freedom in a free Jewish land.

Mid storm and fire the people and the land seemed to be born again. The great events of the time of *Zerubbabel* (*fl.* 536 *b.c.e.*) *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* repeated themselves. The Third Temple of Jewish freedom is rising before us. The first stones were laid long ago by our heroic pioneers in hard struggle against obstacles without number. They created the first nests of culture in Palestine. With their blood and work they have shown the world that the Jewish people has not only historical claims on the land of its ancestors, but also priority in actual fact in the work of its rebirth. These leader heroes, the fathers of political Zionism, bravely proclaimed to the whole world the right of the nation to a free life in the homeland, and organized productive work in Palestine.

Great new horizons of free national constructive work are revealed before our eyes. The fate of the Jewish land depends not only on the powerful protection of Governments, but first and foremost on the steadfastness and capacity for sacrifice of the Jewish people itself. *Zerubbabel's* call to the Jews of the Diaspora was heard once more—to return to the ancient land, to grasp the ploughshare and the hammer, and to forge their own destiny.

The Press was without exception most sympathetic.

" Epoch-making is perhaps not too strong a term to apply to Mr. Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild. At any time a formal endorsement of Zionism by a Great Power would command attention if couched in such terms. But at the present moment, when *Gaza* and *Beersheba* have fallen to British armies and the distant thunder of our guns is heard in *Jerusalem* itself, the declaration has a significance that cannot be mistaken.

H. Walter Barnett and Co., Ltd.

Gen. Sir EDMUND H. H. ALLENBY

"From the Jewish point of view such a restoration opens the door of wonderful possibilities; the hopes that have never been lost during eighteen centuries of the dispersion will return within the region of fact and accomplishment. Scarcely less important should be the consequences for Europe. . . . The family of nations would be enriched by the return of one of its oldest and most gifted members to a regular and normal place within the circle." (*Daily Chronicle*, Nov. 9th.)

". . . In deciding to give the Zionists their chance, the British Government have done a bold thing and a wise thing; and as an honestly inspired and intelligent disinterestedness is sounder policy than the most crafty selfishness, they have incidentally struck in this dark hour a very heavy blow for the cause for which the free peoples of the world are fighting. Considered merely as a gesture, what is there in the war to compare in effectiveness to this decision? . . . The promise of the restoration of Palestine will count for more in the judgment of the world than all the desolation wrought by the German legions among the nations whom they have trodden under foot." (*Daily News*, Nov. 10th.)

"The restoration of Palestine to the Jews will fulfil the centuries old desire of that ancient people. Moreover, it will give them a home for the development of an individual culture, and will not affect other than beneficially the rights which they have won as citizens of the countries in which they have made their homes. Moreover, it will provide refuge for the persecuted, and a centre of Jewish life to which all the race will naturally turn. Then it will be well for the Allies' interests in the Mediterranean that so important a place should become permanently neutralized and stand no risk of falling into the hands of the Powers which might make a mischievous use of it." (*Pall Mall Gazette.*)

"Mr. Balfour's announcement on the subject of Zionism, which forms an extraordinarily appropriate pendant to General Allenby's brilliant operations in Southern Palestine, marks the conclusion of a strenuous struggle behind the scenes between the International Jews, to whom this country is much more useful than they are to us, and the National Jews, who are among our most valuable compatriots. For once the right side has gained the day, and the Zionist aspirations of the Chosen People receive for the first time the formal endorsement of a British Government." (*The Globe.*)

"No more appropriate moment could have been seized by the British Government to declare itself in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people than the present time, when our Twentieth Century Crusaders have just carried *Gaza*, the ancient Philistine stronghold, and are pressing on to the capture of the Holy City from the hands of the infidel. British interests have for long made it plain that some buffer state must arise between Egypt and a possibly hostile Turkish Government, and Zionism appears to provide the solution." (*The Evening Standard.*)

"Nearly two thousand years after the Dispersion, Zionism has become a practical and integral part of all schemes for a new world-order after the war. . . . There could not have been at this juncture a stroke of statesmanship more just or more wise. No one need to be told that it will send a mystical thrill through the hearts of the vast majority of Jews throughout the world. . . . It is no idle dream which anticipates that by the close of another generation the new *Zion* may become a State, including, no doubt, only a pronounced minority of the entire Jewish race, yet numbering from a million to two million souls, forming a true national people, with its own distinctive, rural, and urban civilization, its own centres of learning and art, making a unique link between East and West. Jews who dwell elsewhere will none the less be animated by a new interest, sympathy, pride, and will be able to contribute powerful help. So much for that aspect. We need hardly point out that for all the higher purposes of the Allies the importance of Mr. Balfour's declaration is immediate and great. From the United States to Russia, new enthusiasm for the general cause of liberty, restoration, and lasting peace secured by many new international links, moral and practical, will be kindled amongst the extraordinary race, whose influence everywhere is out of all proportion to its numbers." (*The Observer.*)

". . . A large and thriving Jewish settlement in the Holy Land, under the supervision of Great Britain, our Allies, and America, would make for peace and progress in the Near East, and would thus accord with British policy. It is not to be supposed that Palestine could ever support more than a small proportion of the Jewish race. There are probably more than twelve million Jews in the world, of whom far more than half live in Russia and Austria. Genera-

tions may pass before Palestine is capable of maintaining with comfort a million Jewish inhabitants, though it is, as Mr. Albert Hyamson says in his very able new book,[1] a 'land laid waste' and not by any means a rallying point for Jews all over the world, and it would confer a benefit also on the Christian and the Moslem worlds, which are equally interested in the Holy Land and its undying religious memories." (*The Spectator.*)

"Mr. Balfour's declaration translates into a binding statement of policy the general wish of British opinion. It emphatically favours 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.' If we were to analyse this sentiment we should find at its core the simple and humane instinct of reparation. Our own record towards the Jewish race is, from Cromwell's day downwards, one of relative enlightenment; but it is on the conscience of all Christendom that the burden falls of secular persecution which this enduring race has suffered. One of our solidest reasons for welcoming the Russian Revolution was that it had freed the whole Alliance from complicity in the sins of one of its chief partners towards the Jews. To end this record by restoring the dispersed and downtrodden race to its own cradle is a war aim which lifts the struggle in this region above the sordid level of Imperial competition." (*The Nation.*)

"The British Government's declaration in favour of Zionism is one of the best pieces of statesmanship that we can show in these latter days. Early in the war *The New Statesman* published an article giving the main reasons why such a step should be taken, and nothing has occurred to change them. The special interest of the British Empire in Palestine is due to the proximity of the Suez Canal. The present has killed the idea that this vital artery ought to be used as a line of defence for Egypt, and there is a general return to the view of Napoleon (and indeed history long before his time) that Egypt must be defended in Palestine. To make Palestine once more prosperous and populous, with a population attached to the British Empire, there is only one hopeful way, and that is to effect a Zionist restoration under British auspices. On the other side of the account it is hard to conceive how anybody with the true instinct for nationality and the desire to see small nations emancipated

[1] "Palestine: The Rebirth of an Ancient People." By Albert M. Hyamson. London, 1917.

can fail to be warmed by the prospect of emancipating this most ancient of oppressed nationalities." (*The New Statesman.*)

" The forty-six Jewish colonies, with their co-operative societies, their agricultural schools, and their experimental station for agriculture, seem to have prospered before the war. Their wine and oranges were one-fourth of the total export trade of *Jaffa*, and while the war has set back their development the Turks are likely to have been less destructive than the Germans in France. Their labour—one of the chief difficulties foreseen by critics of Zionism—is partly Arab, but largely supplied by Jews from Russia, Roumania, and the Yemen. With sufficient capital—already furnished in part by Zionist organizations—the removal of the blight of Turkish rule, and the coming shortage of all food products, the economic future of a Jewish Palestine should be bright." (*The Economist.*)

" The movement towards Palestine will be slow, and none of those who have sanctioned the great experiment may hope to live to judge it by the fruits ; but it is satisfactory to remember that the British Government's decision meets with the approbation of many Great Powers. President Wilson views the Zionist programme with the keenest sympathy, and has appointed a Jewish Commission to study in Palestine the question of a Jewish State. The Russian Revolutionary Government has declared its willingness to support the Jewish claim to Palestine, and even permitted a Zionist Conference to be held in Petrograd. Those who should be well informed say that the Pope is not opposing the Zionist ideal, and that the French Government favours it ; one and all seem to be agreed that when this war is over the horrors of the Jewish situation as it affects the vast majority of the race must come to an end. The persecution and repression practised in Russia and Roumania down to little more than a year ago cannot go on in a world made fit for all to live in. . . . What will be the spiritual effect of this return to Palestine upon the pious Jew, who for two thousand years has said, *If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning ;* upon the other class of Jew who will recover his Judaism when it has a centre, a point of focus ; and upon the non-Jew to whom the return to Palestine is the fulfilment of prophecy and the foreshadowing of the Millennium ? " (*The Graphic.*)

" We speak of Palestine as a country, but it is not a country. . . . But it will be a country ; it will be the country

of the Jews. That is the meaning of the letter which we publish to-day written by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild for communication to the Zionist Federation. It is at once the fulfilment of an aspiration, the signpost of a destiny. Never since the days of the Dispersion has the extraordinary people scattered over the earth in every country of modern European and of the old Arabic civilization surrendered the hope of an ultimate return to the historic seat of its national existence. This has formed part of its ideal life, and is the ever-recurring note of its religious ritual. . . . For fifty years the Jews have been slowly and painfully returning to their ancestral home, and even under the Ottoman yoke and amid the disorder of that effete and crumbling dominion they have succeeded in establishing the beginnings of a real civilization. Scattered and few, they have still brought with them schools and industry and scientific knowledge, and here and there have in truth made the waste places blossom as the rose. . . . The British victories in Palestine and in the more distant eastern bounds of the ancient Arab Empire are the presage of the downfall of Turkish power; the declaration of policy by the British Government to-day is the security for a new, perhaps a very wonderful, future for Zionism and for the Jewish race. . . . In declaring that 'the British Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object,' the Government have indeed laid down a policy of great and far-reaching importance, but it is one which can bear its full fruit only by the united efforts of Jews all over the world. What it means is that, assuming our military successes to be continued and the whole of Palestine to be brought securely under our control, then on the conclusion of peace our deliberate policy will be to encourage in every way in our power Jewish immigration, to give full security, and no doubt a large measure of local autonomy, to the Jewish immigrants, with a view to the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State." (*Manchester Guardian.*)

The Manchester Daily Dispatch published a sympathetic interview with Sir Stuart Samuel, Bart., on the subject of the pronouncement of the Government.

Both *The Liverpool Courier* and *The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* devoted leading articles to the subject on the 9th of November. The former said :—

"Mr. Balfour's letter stating the attitude of the British Government towards the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine may well be regarded as one of the most historic documents in the 5678 years of Jewish history. Its terms are eminently well considered, and the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home is to be accomplished on lines which are reasonable and just. Indeed, we note with satisfaction that the points to which we have already made reference in our consistent advocacy of the claims of Zionism (which has been thrust to the fore by world-shaking events of the past year or two) have been covered by the terms of the Government declaration. . . . Zionism has made a great step forward, and the world has now reason to look forward to the rise of an old-new nation in its natural home, where some of its ancient greatness may be revived in a national sense."

The views of *The Post* took the following form :—

"The important official letter from Mr. Balfour, as Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild, as representing the Jews, more than justifies the suggestion we lately made in a leading article that our Government might be expected to encourage the Jewish national aspiration for a home in Palestine. We further said at that time that a 'Palestine re-peopled by a Jewry bound to the Allies, and not least to Britain, by ties of affection for righting the oldest national wrong, would be a friendly neighbour to Egypt and to the newly enfranchised territories abutting upon the Holy Land.'"

The Edinburgh Evening Dispatch expressed the following views :—

"The aspirations of the Jewish race to return to the Holy Land seem not unlikely of fulfilment. Scattered over the face of the earth, they daily turn their eyes towards Jerusalem and pray for the day when they will be restored to the land of their origin. We are fighting to-day not for aggrandizement, not for the acquisition of territory, but for the liberation of peoples crushed by the tyrant, and there is no just and reasonable demand which would not be sympathetically considered by the British Government. Our progress in Palestine has awakened in the breasts of the 'chosen people' fresh hopes of re-establishment in their Fatherland."

The Glasgow Herald, writing in a similar vein, said :—

"From their aeroplanes British aviators may have ob-

tained a glimpse of the white domes and towers of the Holy City, high upon the crest of the Palestinian ridge. That possibility is symbolic of the effect upon the Jewish world of the British Cabinet's declaration in favour of Zionism. What has long been the dream of virtually the whole Jewish race—even of those whose inward despair expressed itself outwardly by a cynical dismissal of Zionism as the mirage of over-heated fancy—has now taken definite shape on the horizon of practical politics."

In the further article in the same issue the Government adoption of the Zionist policy was further commented upon :—

" With singular timeliness, for it coincides with the victories of *Gaza* and Tekrit, Mr. Balfour has written a letter to Lord Rothschild announcing the adhesion of the British Government to Zionism. With the reservation of the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and without prejudice to the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country, Palestine, when it has been conquered, is to become a national home for the Jewish people. With numerically small exceptions this decision—on which we comment more fully elsewhere—will be accepted with joy by all the Jews of the Dispersion throughout the world. It will have an immediate political effect in America and in Russia, no less than in Poland and Hungary. It will tell to the advantage of the Allies even in Bagdad. In the Levant generally it should unite the Jews with the Arabs, Greeks, and Italians in revolt against the Turks. But its great ultimate influence, as all will pray, will be to affect for the better in many subtle ways the relations of Christian and Jew throughout the world. If that should happen one of the most insidious diseases from which civilization has suffered will have been cured."

According to *The Aberdeen Free Press* :—

" This is the first time that any Government has definitely put itself in touch with Zionist ideals, and the new departure is as important as it is timely."

". . . In many ways the moment appears to be a peculiarly favourable one for preparing to launch the scheme for providing ' a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine ' in the sphere of the practical. The Zionist idea has passed through many changes, and may pass through many more. . . . Never until now have time and place and

opportunity been in accord with the dream of returning and building up *Zion*. Mr. Balfour's letter, read in the light of General Allenby's march upon *Hebron*, may well sound like the long-postponed answer to the prayer of the exiled and persecuted race, '*Next year, O Lord, in Jerusalem!*'" (*Scotsman.*)

The Dundee Advertiser also put itself in line with its contemporaries which commented on the Government's pronouncement :—

"Palestine will, therefore, be a suitable field for immigration, and by tradition and inclination the Jews are the people to occupy it. Already before the war a number of colony settlements had been established, chiefly by Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, and without exception these settlements were thriving. One and all they were agricultural, and contradicted the prevailing belief that the Jew is bound to become a trader or an artisan, and will never undertake the tillage of the soil. The Jewish colonies were models of up-to-date agricultural enterprise, in which the best scientific knowledge of irrigation and dry-farming was applied. A very pleasing prospect is therefore opening up. . . . . In the fulness of time a new page in the history of the Holy Land is being opened by Allenby's army."

The Irish Times expressed its views in the following passage :—

"These fortunate circumstances invest with especial significance the important declaration of British policy in Palestine which we printed yesterday. . . . In this endorsement of Zionist aspirations at a moment when Jerusalem can hear the distant thunder of British guns the Government has declared a policy of great and far-reaching importance. It is at last an attainable policy, and it is from every point of view a desirable policy. From the British point of view the defence of the Suez Canal can best be secured by the establishment in Palestine of a people attached to us, and the restoration of the Jews under British auspices can alone secure it in this way. From the European point of view it would be a great gain that the Jews should become, in the words of *The Jewish Chronicle*, 'a nation, and not a hyphenation.'"

A leading article in *The Western Daily Press* ran in part as follows :—

". . . There is no other solution so much demanded by historical association and living sentiment as that, if it be possible, the Jewish people should retake possession of the small but intensely interesting country over which they ruled, with some interruptions, for nearly two thousand years. Mr. Balfour's declaration has delighted many influential British Jews. It can hardly fail to delight equally the Jews of Poland and Russia, who have suffered so much from the 'religious' bigotry of ignorant people, and the Jews of Germany and Austria, often very wealthy and influential, will be forced to ask themselves why they are at present helping to preserve Turkish rule over a country which the British are anxious to restore to the Jewish race."

The Hull Daily Mail said :—

" It is a wise and sagacious offer, and has given great satisfaction in Jewish communities. It will be a great thing if Palestine is delivered from the blighting, blasting influence of the Turk, and he must never again be given possession if it is finally won from his grasp. The Jews were a pastoral people, and, once they were in possession, this land, under the blessing of Providence, would again flow 'with milk and honey,' and blossom as the rose under the protecting hand of Britain and other guaranteeing Powers."

And *The Newcastle Daily Journal* :—

" The Zionist project has, at last, the prospect of achieving its purpose, under the very highest auspices, humanly speaking. It looks like a first step towards the restoration representatively of the long-persecuted and widely-scattered Jewish race."

Other provincial newspapers that commented on the Government's announcement were *The Dublin Express*, *The Northern Whig*, *The Belfast Newsletter*, *The Bulletin*, *The South Wales Daily News*, and *The Northern Daily Telegraph*.

The African World also welcomed the proposals wholeheartedly :—

" The announcement yesterday that the British Government 'view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people' and the Cabinet's intention to further the scheme cherished by Zionists is an event of world-wide importance. A home for Jews on the

soil traditionally sacred to them, and under British auspices and protection, is the happiest outcome of the dream of ages."

The Shipping World said :—

" For a number of decades there has been a movement, partly idealistic, partly practical, for restoring the Jewish race to their ancient territorial home. That movement is known as Zionism, and is strongly supported in the Jewish communities both in Europe and in America. Assisted by funds subscribed by the wealthier members of the race, some settlers had already formed under Turkish rule Zionist settlements in the Holy Land. But colonization under Turkish tolerance is a precarious thing. Now appears the dawn of promise, and Mr. Balfour has just addressed a letter to Lord Rothschild expressing the sympathy of the Cabinet with Jewish Zionist aspirations. The Government favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object. What form the endeavour is to take is, at this point, left obscure, purposely, no doubt. But we may in this hint perhaps see the nucleus of a free State where the children of Israel, gathered once more from the ends of the earth, shall again possess the land of their ancestors and live free from alien oppression."

The Near East devoted its leading article to " The Land of Promise " :—

" On the other hand, Palestine is for all true Jews a spiritual centre, and deep down in their being they associate with it, if not their own individual place of residence, at least the home of a sufficient number of Jewish people to make it the focus of Jewish life and Jewish civilization. Such a Jewish commonwealth can only grow up to fulfil its destiny under the protection of a strong and ordered State, which will guarantee it immunity from outside interference, security of life and property, and the impartial administration of justice. For its own material development it must look to itself, and in this connection it will be recalled that Jewish agricultural and urban settlements already exist in Palestine, and are a nucleus ready to hand for the new commonwealth. They point to the probable lines on which the development of the country will take place, expedited or retarded, according to the degree of assistance on which Zionism can count. The valley is full of bones, and, lo !

they are very dry ; many stages have to be passed through before these dry bones stand upon their feet, an exceeding great army. Of Palestine it will then be true that ' This land that was desolate is become like the Garden of *Eden*, and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced and are inhabited.' Towards that consummation it would seem that Great Britain in the dispensation of Providence will have played no small part."

Palestine, the organ of the British Palestine Committee, was, not surprisingly, filled with enthusiasm and eloquence, for the Government pronouncement is the culmination of all its efforts :—

" The decision of the British Government marks a turning-point in the history of the Jewish people, and will, we believe, be for ever memorable in the history of the British Empire. . . . The declaration is complete in form and substance. It can provoke no opposition from any quarter, and it will bind the Jews of the world in sympathy to the country which has thus taken the lead in their national redemption. . . . And when the Declaration becomes an act, when a Jewish Palestine from being an aim becomes a fact, then all the complex of strategic, political, and commercial interests which are concentrated for the British Empire in the Suez Canal and Palestine will have found their solution. This declaration is a memorable event in the history of the British Empire as it is in the history of the Jewish people and of humanity. We may be of good hope that it will at no very distant date become a fact, for the army of England has even now battered in the gates of Palestine. The statesmanship of this declaration of the Jewish nation's right to Palestine is a statesmanship of deed, not of words."

The Church, Catholic, and Nonconformist papers have devoted much space to the Government decision. In the opinion of *The Challenge* :—

" If there is a considerable part of the Jewish people eager to make Palestine again their home, then we are glad that the Allied Governments should have made it possible for them to do so, supposing that the course of the war leaves that possibility still open. It must be for the Jewish people themselves to decide how much or how little advantage they will take of the offer which is made to them. Meanwhile no one can avoid feeling a thrill at a prospect so closely

affecting the destiny of the chosen race. That wonderful people pursues its way through all the history of the world, and whatever concerns them is of universal interest."

According to *The Christian* :—

" By this dramatic declaration an age-long dream comes within the view of actual fulfilment. It ought to be apparent to everybody that the persistence of a people like the Jews during two thousand years—a fact unparalleled in history—despite every attempt to crush them, holds a meaning far deeper than that which the secular historian offers. The purposes of God are being worked out, and we can begin to see light."

In *The Church Family Newspaper* the Rev. E. L. Langston, under the heading " Jews and Palestine : Epoch-making Announcement," said :—

" The declaration of His Majesty's Government as to the future of Palestine must have far-reaching and vital effects. . . ."

In the words of *The Catholic Times* :—

" The settling down of Jews from Great Britain, America, and the Continent of Europe in the Holy Land is something like a romance of a war in the main features of which scarcely any romantic element has, so far, appeared."

The Christian Commonwealth said :—

" The historical interest and the religious importance of this promise will appeal nearly as much to non-Jewish people as to the Jews themselves. . . . We may yet live to see Palestine become the centre of trade and travel for the three continents of the Old World. The early colonization movement has crystallized into something more dramatic—the re-establishment of a whole people on the soil of the land where their national history began. Their long exile is drawing to an end. From this redeemed and rejuvenated people what new message may we not expect, seeing that their faith has so manifestly been justified and the vision of their prophets realized ! "

" We are quite unable to find words," said *The Life of Faith*, " wherewith to express the wonderful importance of the above declaration made by His Majesty's Government. . . . It is not too much to say that this great declaration contains the making of history, even as it forms a new epoch

for the Jewish race. . . . We welcome the declaration all the more because we, too, have an inborn love for the Holy Land, and because we can so deeply sympathize with the Jewish people, whose passionate affection for the land of their fathers has never been torn from their hearts, in spite of centuries of persecution and wanderings. There is, after all, some little excuse for the sentimental yearnings of the Rabbis who expressed their heartfelt passion in such sayings as :

" ' The very air of Palestine makes one wise.'[1]

" ' To live in Palestine is equal to the observance of all the commandments.'[2]

" ' He that hath his permanent abode in Palestine is sure of the life to come.' "[3]

The Methodist Times said :—

" Naturally this declaration, which will be celebrated in history, has given the liveliest satisfaction to Jewry throughout the world. The pledge is as sagacious as it is opportune." And prints in addition a long article by Mr. C. W. Andrews, entitled : " Palestine for the Jews : the Triumph of Zionism."

And in the words of *The Sunday School Chronicle* :—

" For two thousand years the Jews have been wandering among the nations. It looks as though a new day were dawning for them and for the world. . . . Apart from the moral significance of such a return, an independent Jewish State would make the Holy Land a centre of commercial and political influence of far-reaching importance to the British Empire and to the Far East."

The British Weekly, *The Church Times*, *The Christian World*, *The Inquirer*, and *The Guardian* also commented editorially on the Government's pronouncement.

The Jewish Chronicle, in a leading article, said :—

". . . It is the perceptible lifting of the cloud of centuries, the palpable sign that the Jew—condemned for two thousand years to unparalleled wrong—is at last coming to his right.

(1) אוירא דארץ ישראל מחכים .
בבא בתרא ד'קנח ע'ב :

(2) . . . ישיבת ארץ ישראל שקולה כנגד כל המצות שבתורה :
ספרי דבי רב פסקא ראה פ' :

(3) " . . . כל מי שקבוע בארץ ישראל . . . יהא מובטח שבן העולם הבא הוא : "
תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת שקלים פרק שלישי :

The prospect has at last definitely opened of a rectification of the Jew's anomalous position among the nations of the earth. He is to be given the opportunity and the means whereby, in place of being a hyphenation, he can become a nation. Instead of, as Jew, filling a place at best equivocal and doubtful, even to himself, and always with an apologetic cringing inseparable from his position, he can—as Jew—stand proud and erect, endowed with national being. In place of being a wanderer in every clime, there is to be a home for him in his ancient land. The day of his exile is to be ended. In this joyous hour we English Jews turn with feelings of deepest pride and reverence to great and glorious Britain, mother of free nations and protectress of the oppressed, who has thus taken the lead in the Jewish restoration. The friend of our people for generations, who has raised her voice times out of number for our suffering martyrs, never was she truer to her noble traditions than to-day—never more England than now ! In the time to come, when Jewry, free and prosperous, lives a contented and, as we all hope, a lofty life in Palestine, it will look with never-failing gratitude to the Power which crowned its centuries of humanitarianism by a grand act that linked Jewish destinies with those of the freest democracy in the world."

The Jewish people all over the world was deeply impressed by the Declaration. As the correspondent of the *London Jewish Chronicle* puts it, " The Jewish masses were literally dazzled." A great demonstration, unparalleled for enthusiasm, occurred at Petrograd, and was addressed by M. Boris Goldberg and M. Aleinikoff, who styled England the " advanced guard of humanity." He spoke in the highest praise of the English Labour Party for its sympathetic attitude toward the movement, and of the American Zionists for their defence of the Jewish colonies in Palestine since the outbreak of the war. Tributes were paid to the memory of Dr. Theodor Herzl and other leaders of the Movement who have passed away, of the British soldiers killed in the Campaign in Palestine, and to the *Hashomerim* who have died in defence of the Jewish colonies. Two soldiers, Levitzky and Kotlarevsky, greeted the Declaration on behalf of the Jewish Soldiers' Union.

Tremendous enthusiasm prevailed throughout Russian Jewry because of the British Declaration ; and reports received from Moscow, Minsk, Ekaterinoslav, Kieff, Kharkoff, Odessa and Kherson are to the effect that tens of

thousands of Jews who had hitherto been either neutral or inimical, joined the Zionist Movement. Special services of thanksgiving were held in many synagogues and many mass meetings, vieing with one another in enthusiasm, were held almost everywhere. Many organizations of Jewish youth signified their intention to make whatever sacrifices might be demanded of them for the Zionist ideal. The Russian Press, with practical unanimity, spoke of the great importance of the Declaration, and described it as a momentous event for the Jews, offering the longed-for opportunity to build a national Jewish homeland in Palestine.

The enthusiasm in America found expression in thousands of telegrams, public meetings, resolutions, thanksgiving services. At the Baltimore Zionist Conference on December 15th a resolution was passed thanking the British Government for the Declaration, which stated, " Deeply we rejoice in the triumph of the British arms in Palestine, and the taking over of Palestine as another step in the march of the Allied Forces which is to establish throughout the world the principle of the liberty of smaller nationalities." In all other countries the Declaration was discussed by public opinion in a most favourable sense.

On November 18, 1917, a reception was held by the English Zionist Federation at which Lord Rothschild officially communicated to the Federation the Declaration of the English government. Hundreds of congratulatory telegrams received from all parts of the world aroused enthusiasm. Lord Rothschild, Dr. Tschlenow, Dr. Weizmann, Mr. James de Rothschild, and the author delivered addresses in commemoration of this historic event in the life of the Jewish people.

LONDON OPERA HOUSE DEMONSTRATION

Some account must be given of the Demonstration at the London Opera House of the 2nd December held in order to express gratitude to the British Government. This great demonstration was attended by thousands of persons. The resolution read by Lord Rothschild, who presided over the meeting, expressed gratitude from all sections of Anglo-Jewry for the Government declaration in favour of establishing in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people. Every member of the audience seemed to feel the greatness of the occasion.

Lord Rothschild said they were met on the most momentous occasion in the history of Judaism for the last eighteen hundred years. They were there to return thanks to His Majesty's Government for a declaration which marked an epoch in Jewish history of outstanding importance. For the first time since the Dispersion the Jewish people had received its proper status by the Declaration of one of the great Powers. That Declaration, while acknowledging and approving of the aspirations of the Jewish people for a National Home, at the same time placed Jews on their honour to respect the rights and privileges not only of their prospective non-Jewish neighbours in Palestine, but also of those of their own people who did not see eye to eye with the Zionist cause. Feeling as he did that the aims of Zionism were in no way incompatible with the highest patriotism and loyal citizenship of the Jews in the various countries in which they were dwelling, he would like the meeting in passing the resolution which would be submitted to them to assure the Government that they would, one and all, faithfully observe both the spirit and the letter of their gracious declaration. He felt sure that the principal aim of the Zionists was to provide a National Home for those portions of the Jewish people who wished to escape the possibilities in the future of such oppression and ill-treatment as they had endured in the past, and he therefore held that all and every section of opinion in the Jewish people could work together for the establishment in Palestine of such a home, so as to make it a triumphant success.

It had often been said that the repeopling of Palestine by the Jews was bound to fail in so far as they were not an agricultural people, but they might dismiss that fear from their minds in view of the success of the great Jewish agricultural colonies which were established in Palestine before the war. The only thing necessary to achieve success in the movement was a thoroughly up-to-date organization for the development of the land, and for the guidance and selection of the settlers, who must act as pioneers. The aims of what now appeared to be antagonistic bodies of opinion, seemed to him to be so similar that he felt sure that when those objects had been properly examined in the light of experience they would find, sooner or later, that a common ground would present itself for all of those professing these apparently divergent opinions to work together in a common effort to make the re-settlement of

Palestine a great and lasting success. Lord Rothschild then moved the following resolution :—

> " That this mass meeting, representing all sections of the Jewish Community in the United Kingdom, conveys to His Majesty's Government an expression of heartfelt gratitude for their Declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. It assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action in support of the national aspirations of the Jewish people has evoked among Jews the most profound sentiments of joy. This meeting further pledges its utmost endeavours to give its whole-hearted support to the Zionist cause."

The Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, P.C., K.C., M.P., who was received with loud cheering, said : " I have come here with the greatest possible pleasure at the request of those who represent, or who have led the representation of the Zionist movement of this country, to offer to you, and to all Zionism, my hearty congratulation on the event which you are celebrating to-day. And perhaps you will allow me to mention in connection with these congratulations, not only your Chairman, but also Mr. Nahum Sokolow and Dr. C. Weizmann, who have done so much for the cause that we all have at heart this afternoon. Surely all of us must feel what a very striking gathering the present one is. The keynote of our meeting this afternoon is liberation. We welcome among us not only the many thousands of Jews that I see, but also representatives of the Arabian and Armenian races who are also in this great struggle struggling to be free. Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judea for the Jews. Yes, and let us add, if it can be so, let Turkey, real Turkey, be for the Turks. I should like to be allowed to say that the part that this country is taking in this movement is not a new thing. I venture to claim for this country that in supporting Zionism it has been merely carrying out its traditional policy. To me, at any rate, it seems that there are two great foundations upon which the policy of this country has always been based. I believe that they are often described by the two words ' Liberty and Justice.' Perhaps, more accurately they may be called the supremacy of the Law and Liberty, for, be well assured, if we are ever to

obtain that security which we have been recently told is so important for us, if we are ever to lift European civilization and national relations in Europe out of the anarchy in which they at present are, it must be by the same means by which we have secured liberty and happiness in each country, namely, by the supremacy of Law. And it was because the invasion of Belgium, the lawless invasion of Belgium, was felt by the true instincts of the British people to be an attack upon the principle of Law, because they recognized that that was a real blow at the heart of civilization, that they felt then, and they feel now, that until that outrage has been expiated it is impossible even to think of talking of the terms of peace. As for the second foundation of which I have spoken, and which has more practical bearing on our proceedings this afternoon, may I say this, we hear a great deal of a new word : ' self-determination.' Well, I don't know that it is a new thing. It certainly is not new in the British Empire. The Empire has always striven to give to all the peoples that make it up the fullest measure of self-government of which they are capable. We have always striven to give to all peoples within our bounds complete liberty and equality before the Law. We are adjured to respect the principle of self-determination, but I say that the British Empire was the first organization to teach that principle to the world, and one of the great causes for which we are in this war is to secure to all peoples the right to govern themselves and to work out their own destiny, irrespective of the threats and menaces of their greater neighbour. One of the great steps—in my judgment, in some ways the greatest step—we have taken in carrying out this principle is the recognition of Zionism. This is the first constructive effort that we have made in what I hope will be the new settlement of the world after the war. I do not say that that is the only thing involved. It is not only the recognition of a nationality, it is much more than that. It has great underlying ideals of which you will hear this afternoon, and of which it would be impertinent of me to speak. It is, indeed, not the birth of a nation, for the Jewish nation through centuries of oppression and captivity have preserved their sentiment of nationality as few peoples could ; but if it is not the birth of a nation, I believe we may say it is the re-birth of a nation. I don't like to prophesy what ultimate results that great event may have, but for

myself I believe it will have a far-reaching influence on the history of the world and consequences which none can foresee on the future history of the human race."

The Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P., who received an enthusiastic welcome, said: "I rejoice whole-heartedly in the pronouncement that has been made by the British Government with respect to Palestine. It is a policy which for nearly three years I have urged in the Cabinet and out of the Cabinet at every opportunity that arose. The fears and the doubts which this policy has evoked are, I firmly believe, unfounded. Three conditions must indeed be observed in any new development that may take place in Palestine. In the first place, there must be full, just recognition of the rights of the Arabs, who now constitute the majority of the population of that country. Secondly, there must be a reverent respect for the Christian and Mohammedan holy places, which in all eventualities should always remain in the control and charge of representatives of those faiths. In the third place, there must be no attempt now or in the future to establish anything in the nature of political authority from Palestine over the Jews scattered in other countries of the world, who must probably always remain the great majority of the Jewish race. There should be no disturbance, large or small, direct or indirect, in their national status or in their national rights and duties in the countries of which they are, or should be, full and equal citizens. On all these matters there is no divergence of opinion in any quarter, and the controversies that have taken place, I venture to think, are disputes over differences that do not exist. The reason why, for my own part, I support the policy which we are here to-day to approve and celebrate, are chiefly these. First, it may be that the genius of the Jewish race will again be able to give the world a brilliant and distinctive civilization. The richness of mankind lies in its diversity. We do not want the world to be like some great library, consisting of nothing but innumerable copies of one and the same book. The Jewish mind is a distinctive thing. It combines in remarkable degree the imaginative and the practical, the ideal and the positive. This combination of qualities enabled it for one thousand five hundred years in Palestine to produce an almost unbroken series of statesmen and soldiers, judges and poets, prophets and seers—thinkers and leaders who have left for all time their impress upon the world. The Jewish

mind is tenacious and persists, and now, when all the powerful Empires that over-ran that land have been overthrown and almost forgotten, the Jewish people exists and is more numerous to-day than it ever has been at any period of its history. Who knows, I say, but that if it again finds a spiritual centre of its own, soundly based on an industrious population, untrammelled, self-contained, inspired by the memories of a splendid past, it may again produce golden fruits in the fields of intellect for the enrichment of the whole world. And my other reason is this: If this comes to be, what a helpful effect it would have upon the Jewish proletariat that will still remain scattered in other countries of the world. I see in my mind's eye those millions in Eastern Europe all through the centuries, crowded, cramped, proscribed, bent with oppression, suffering all the miseries of active minds denied scope, of talent not allowed to speak, of genius that cannot act. I see them enduring, suffering everything, sacrificing everything in order to keep alight the flame of which they knew themselves to be the lamp, to keep alive the idea of which they knew themselves to be the vessel, to preserve the soul of which they knew themselves to be the body; their eyes always set upon one distant point, always believing that somehow, some day, the ancient greatness would be restored; always saying when they met in their families on Passover Night, "Next year in Jerusalem." Year after year, generation following generation, century succeeding century, till the time that has elapsed is counted in thousands of years, still they said, "Next year in Jerusalem." If that cherished vision is at last to be realized, if on the Hills of Zion a Jewish civilization is restored with something of its old intellectual and moral force, then among those left in the other countries of the world, I can see growing a new confidence and a new greatness. There will be a fresh light in those eyes, those bent backs will at last stand erect, there will be a greater dignity in the Jew throughout the world. That is why we meet to-day to thank the British Government —our own Government—that has made all this possible, that we shall be able to say, not as a pious and distant wish, but as a near and confident hope:

"לשנה הבאה בירושלם." "Next year in Jerusalem!"

The Chief Rabbi said it was indeed a rare privilege to take part in that wonderful meeting called together to express the heartfelt thanks of British Jewry for the striking

sympathy of His Majesty's Government with Jewish aspirations. The epoch-making Declaration on Palestine was an assurance given by the mightiest of empires that the new order which the Allies are now creating at such sacrifice of life and treasure shall be rooted in righteousness, and broad-based on the liberty of, and reverence for, *every* oppressed nationality. It was a solemn pledge that the oldest of national tragedies shall be ended in the coming readjustment of the nations which shall console mankind for the slaughter and waste and torment of this terrible world-war.

In the face of an event of such infinite importance to the Jewish people, ordinary words of appreciation or the usual phrases of gratitude were hopelessly weak and inadequate. For the interpretation of their true feelings to-day they must turn to Scripture. Twenty-five hundred years ago Cyrus issued his edict of liberation to the Jewish exiles in Babylon ; and an eye-witness of that glorious day had left them in the 126th Psalm a record of how their fathers received the announcement of their deliverance :—

> "When the Lord brought back those that returned to Zion,
> We were like unto them that dream.
> Then was our mouth filled with laughter,
> And our tongue with singing ;
> Then said they among the nations :
> 'The Lord hath done great things with these.'
> The Lord hath done great things with us ;
> We are rejoiced."

Theirs was a similar feeling of joy and wonder. With them likewise it was the astonishment of the nations, the reassuring approbation of statesmen and rulers that caused them to exclaim : "We will see it done, and done consummately, the thing so many have thought could never be done ! "

The spirit of the Declaration was that of absolute justice, whether to Jews out of Palestine, or to non-Jews in Palestine. They especially welcomed in it the reference to the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. That was but a translation of the basic principles of the Mosaic legislation. But it was the substance of the Declaration—the promise of a National Home for the Jewish people—that filled their souls with gladness. For only on its own soil could the Jewish people live its own life, and make, as in the past it had made, its characteristic and specific contributions to the spiritual treasure of humanity.

After the proclamation issued by Cyrus, the mass of the Jewish people still remained in Babylon. All told, only forty-two thousand men, women and children took advantage of the king's proclamation and followed Ezra back to Zion, the land of their fathers. But that handful of Zionists and their descendants, because living on their own soil, changed the entire future of mankind. They edited and collected the Prophets, wrote some of the fairest portions of the Scriptures, formed the canon of the Bible, and gave the world its monotheistic religions. Now, as then, שאר ישוב "A remnant shall return." But now, as then, it was the national rejuvenation of that remnant that is to open a new chapter in the annals of the human spirit.

Difficulties? Of course there were difficulties. The task of laying the foundations of a new Israel must be one of long toil and severe trial. But a people that for twenty-five centuries had stood victoriously against the storm of time, possessed vitality enough, patience enough, idealism enough, with the help of God, to rise to the level of this unique, world-historic opportunity.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Mark Sykes, Bart., M.P., said: "My lords, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to say, before I say one other word, that the reason I am interested in this movement is that I met one some two years ago who is now upon this platform, and who opened my eyes as to what this movement meant. He is on the list of speakers; you will hear him presently; his name is known to most in the records of Zionism: I mean Dr. Gaster. I speak as one from without, as a watcher, but I feel, as everyone present must feel, that this meeting here to-day marks not a turning-point in the history of your own race, but I think certainly a turning-point in the history of the whole world. When one thinks of the years that have passed, of the immense spaces of history which stand between what was—and now is—promised, one is truly dazzled by the possibilities and prospects which open before us. I see, speaking to you as a watcher—now you, in a sense, are perhaps watchers also—perhaps you see something, perhaps you see three nations stricken with plague, cumbered with ruin, and Europe a welter of blood. Perhaps you see these three nations, and you realize that it may be your destiny to be a bridge between Asia and Europe, to bring the spirituality of Asia to Europe, and the vitality of Europe to Asia. That I firmly believe is the mission of Zionism. I see here something which is

greater than a dream or a League of Nations. It is a league of continents, a league of races, and finally a league of ideals. That is a great vision. That is what I believe lies before you, but no one present realizes more than I do—I know the ground, some of it—and boldly I dare to say that there lie before you dangers, difficulties, possibly obstructions, but, ladies and gentlemen, your time of probation has been long, you are schooled in adversity, you can look to difficulties with calm, and you will overcome them. I do not look for a sudden magic transformation, but I believe you are beginning a great beneficial and irresistible transition. That is what you are beginning. Now, I believe, I hope you are going to set up a power that is not the domination of blood, not the domination of gold, but the domination of a great intellectual force. I believe you will see Palestine the great centre of ideals, radiating out to every country in the world where your people are, and if there is one thing that gives me pleasure to be here to-day, it is to feel that at this turning-point of your history, when the Government made its Declaration, you not only thought of yourselves but you thought also of others, and you will always look back with joy to the fact that when the promise, when the hope was held out to you of redemption, you thought not only of yourselves, but thought of your fellows in adversity, the Armenians and the Syrian Arabs. It is said that the Jewish people have a long memory. I believe that you remember Cordova, where your influence on modern civilization was at its zenith, and I think you remember what you owed to the Arabs in Cordova. You remember in the days when the Jews were so oppressed in Russia what you owed to the Armenians, who were your companions in oppression. These tragedies are very different in their nature, and three tragedies destined to unite in one triumph. If all three hold together, the realization of your ideal is certain. There are evil people who will desire that you should fail. If these three forces should be dismissed, there will be the danger of any one of them becoming the prey of a political adventurer, militarist, or the financier. For Palestine to be a success you must have a satisfied and tranquil Syria. For liberty to be certain in Palestine, you must have guarantees that no savage races shall return there. You want to see Armenia free because you want to know that all people are free. You want to know the Arab is free, because he is, and always will be, your neighbour. Lastly,

I would also say this : I look forward through difficulty and through pain to see Armenia free, and to prove the inevitable triumph of right over the greatest might there may be. I look to see the Arab civilization restored once more in Bagdad and in Damascus, and I look to see the return of Israel, with his majesty and tolerance, hushing mockery and dispelling doubt ; and all three nations giving out to the world the good that God has infused into them."

Dr. M. Gaster said he stood before them not as a new Zionist, but as an old friend. He stood before them, the old Zionist, deeply imbued with the spirit of faith, believing in the truth of the word of God and the glorious promise in store for our people, a dreamer of visions, if they would. People had mocked at their visions and ideals, at their aspirations and their hopes, and yet they continued their work, unswerving in their enthusiasm. What appeared to so many as a dream had now become a reality—and they were gathered there to begin to reap in joy what they had sown in tears and sorrow. He had originally acclaimed Herzl as the leader of the movement, and he had had to bear the burden of the difficulties, but he had been true to the trust and had kept the flag of Zion flying, and it was now for him, and for all of them, a day of joy to see the fruits which they had so long wished for. They had come together to thank the British Government for *le beau geste*, in the inimitable French, for their declaration of sympathy with their national aspirations. But Zionism was neither a local question nor did it affect English Jewry, except in a very small proportion. It was a movement which affected the whole of the race. Every Jew, therefore, wherever he might be, was united in that sentiment of gratitude. They were there, representing the feeling which animated the Jews of all the world. Therein lay the greatness of the British Government—that it had lifted the problem from its local geographical character and given to it that universally valued importance which they attached to it. But what Zionism stands for must be clearly apprehended, and also what the Declaration of the British Government was expected to embody. The term "National Home" was a circumlocution of the original word which formed part of the Basle programme, the foundation-stone of Zionism, and that word had been chosen when no definite political meaning could be assigned to it. Circumstances had changed. It was for them to give to the word its

true original meaning. What they wished to obtain in Palestine was not merely a right to establish colonies, or educational, cultural, or industrial institutions. They wanted to establish in Palestine an autonomous Jewish Commonwealth in the fullest sense of the word. They wanted Palestine to be Palestine of the Jews and not merely a Palestine for Jews. They wished the land to be again what it was in olden times and what it had been for Jews in their prayers and in their Bible—a land of Israel. The ground must be theirs. They stood, indeed, as a people for the same programme as British statesmen were standing to-day in a larger sphere. Jews stood for reparation, restitution, and guarantees, and it was in the very application of those principles that the greatness and importance of the Declaration of the British Government stood out so luminously. England owed to Jews no reparation. Here they had liberty, full freedom, equality of right and equality of duty, and they had risen to the responsibility which had thus been placed upon them. For many of them there had their children now fighting the battles of England. But the British Government had now made itself the champion of reparation to the Jewish people for the wrongs done to them by the world. It had made itself a champion, too, of the restitution of the land to our nation for whom it is the old inheritance, and it had given them a guarantee —security of tenure, independence, right and freedom of action as a people, in their ancient land. The establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in the land of their fathers would also consolidate and clarify the position of the rest of the Jews throughout the world. He believed that a new world was to arise in which the Jew as Jew would find himself a free man. In conclusion, he reminded them of an old legend which told that when the Temple was destroyed the stones were split into splinters and each one entered the heart of a Jew. It was this memorial of our fallen nation which the Jew carried in his bosom, and which bent his back. But they were coming together once again as a nation in Palestine, and they would take the splinters of the stones from out of their hearts—" and," exclaimed Dr. Gaster, " I feel the stone in my heart already loosening."

Sheikh Ismail-Abdul-al-Akki then addressed the meeting. He spoke in Arabic, which was translated by Mr. Israel Sieff, who mentioned that the speaker was under sentence of death by the Turkish Government for having joined the Arab

national movement. Sheikh Ismail said he desired to tender deep gratitude to the British nation and the British Government for affording his countrymen and himself help and asylum in their hour of persecution. His country was held in chains by the Turks, who were supplied with German gold, and he looked with confidence to England and France to deliver them from bondage, as he believed in the ultimate good over evil, and was confident in the victory of the Allies. He not only spoke as an Arab, but as a "Moslem" Arab, having studied five years in theological schools and being granted a degree, and it was the duty of every Moslem to participate in the movement for the liberation of their countrymen. The meeting was to celebrate the great act of the British Government in recognizing the aspirations of the Jewish people, and he appealed to them not to forget in the days of their happiness that the sons of Ishmael suffered also. They had been scattered and confounded as the Jews had been, and now began to arise, fortified with the sense of martyrs. He hoped that Palestine would again flow with milk and honey.

M. Wadia Kesrawani, another Arabian representative, spoke in French, also to the effect that his countrymen appealed to England and France for their liberation, and applauded the Declaration of the Government.

Mr. Israel Zangwill, in supporting the resolution, said. "In my capacity of President of the Jewish Territorial Organization, I have been honoured with an invitation to appear on your platform on this momentous occasion. In that capacity I have often criticized your leaders. But to-day I am here not for criticism, but for congratulation and co-operation. I congratulate them, and especially Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, upon their historic achievement in the region of diplomacy. To see that this is followed by a similar achievement in the more difficult region of practice is the duty of all Israel. Particularly is it the duty of the Ito, founded as it was to procure a territory upon an autonomous basis. For the Ito to oppose any really practicable plan for a Jewish territory would be not only treason to the Jewish people, but to its own programme. And as a first-fruit of the friendly negotiations with Zionism, which began in July, I am happy to be able to join with you this afternoon in welcoming the sympathy of the Government with Jewish aspirations."

Mr. Zangwill, of whose speech the above were the

opening words, spoke at great length, and with even more than his usual brilliancy. It is with great regret that we are unable, owing to lack of space, to include the rest of his oration, with the exception of the concluding paragraph, which ran as follows :—

"And though our goal be yet far, yet already when I recall how our small nation sustained the mailed might of all the great Empires of antiquity, how we saw our Temple in flames and were scattered like its ashes, how we endured the long night of the Middle Ages, illumined by the glare of our martyrs' fires, how but yesterday we wandered in our millions, torn between the ruthless Prussian and the pitiless Russian, yet have lived to see to-day the bloody Empire of the Czars dissolve, and the mountains of Zion glimmer on the horizon. Already I feel we may say to the nations : Comfort ye, comfort ye, too, poor suffering peoples. Learn from the long patience of Israel that the spirit is mightier than the sword, and that the seer who foretold his people's resurrection was not less prophetic when he proclaimed also for all peoples the peace of Jerusalem.'"

Capt. the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., said he was particularly glad the Zionist Declaration had been made by the British Government at a moment when British arms were saving that land, because it showed that the British Government was not out for gain. The Jewish claim to Palestine was, to his mind, overwhelming, and he rejoiced to see what an overwhelming mass of British representative opinions in the House of Commons was now supporting the movement. He supported it as a member of the Church of England, as Sir Mark Sykes had supported it as a Roman Catholic. In the return of Palestine to be the Jewish home, he held out the hand of friendship to the Zionists, who sought to bring it into effect. He felt that behind it all was the finger of Almighty God. From the moment he met their Zionist leaders, whether in Egypt or in this country, he felt there was in them something so sincere, so British, so straightforward, that at once his heart went out to them. They had in their leader in this country a man of great qualities, a statesman who had shown a skill, a determination, and a patience which had endeared him to everyone. He (the speaker) had done what little he could to help forward the movement, and in the future, if they were looking out for a friend, they could count him as one of them.

Mr. H. N. Mostditchian, a member of the Armenian delegation, said he availed himself of the opportunity of giving their Jewish brethren the heartiest greetings of the Armenians and sincerest congratulations for the dawn about to break upon the glad valleys of their ancestral land. He made a comparison of the two nations, who had gone through the same persecutions, but who notwithstanding were not willing to die, and had not died, and who stood to-day hand-in-hand on the eve of a new era, when both of them would be able to live once more their national lives, of which they had given good evidence in the past. They all knew that Armenia was one of the first countries mentioned in the History of the Jews, and there had reigned one thousand two hundred years ago a Dynasty of Armenian Kings who had in their veins a good deal of Jewish blood. After the loss of their independence the Jews had continued to live a life of captivity and exile, and the Armenians, after the loss of their independence, had suffered the same exile. It was not the time to say what the Armenians had suffered during the last three years, a state of things to which the worst pogrom was a heaven, but they, as well as the Jews, looked towards ' to-morrow ' with great fervour as a result of the Declaration. They had waited long enough with their Jewish brethren, for centuries and centuries, and these two nations, as well as the Arabs, would make Palestine another promised land and a garden of Eden —a centre to which humanity might look up.

The author then proceeded to read a statement in behalf of the Executive of the Zionist Organization. The text of that statement is given later.

Mr. James de Rothschild said he stood there as the son of one who had spent his life in endeavouring to bring about what they were celebrating that day. Jewish ideals up to that time had been met at the gate, but they could not get through. With one stroke of the pen the English Government had flung open these gates. Therefore in every Jewish heart gratitude was overflowing, and they must not forget that all their aims of the future had been strengthened by the country whose Government had framed the generous and just Declaration.

Dr. Ch. Weizmann, President of the English Zionist Federation, referred to the many good and brilliant words which had been said about the Jews, and he hoped that the Jews of to-day

and the Jews of to-morrow would rise to the occasion in the needed power and dignity, and give their answer to the great resolution, not only in words, but in deeds. It was a fact, and no metaphor, that twenty centuries looked to see if their actions were worthy of the opportunity which the British Government had given them. The present generation had upon its shoulders the greatest responsibility of the last two thousand years, and he prayed that they might be worthy of that responsibility.

He then called upon the meeting to rise, and with hands uplifted to take the old historic oath—each man and woman of them—

אם־אשכחך ירושלם תשכח ימיני.[1]

The meeting rose *en masse*, repeating the words of the psalm amid great enthusiasm, which culminated in the singing of "Hatikvah" (the Jewish national song) and "God Save the King" by the Precentors' Association.

Lord Rothschild, in rising to put the resolution, said it was a great honour for all of them to feel that they as Jews had met with a sincere welcome that day from representatives of no fewer than five different religions. He then read the resolution, which was carried with acclamation, the whole audience rising.

Among those who sent messages to the meeting were the following :—

From the Right Hon. VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODEN, K.G.[2]

I am in entire sympathy with the Declaration made by Mr. Balfour, and am very glad that this has been announced publicly as the view of the British Government.

From the Right Hon. WALTER LONG, M.P.[3]

Mr. Long desires me to thank you for your letter of the 14th ult., and to say that he wishes all success to the Zionist movement.

From the Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.[4]

Labour recognizes the claims generally of Jews in all countries to the elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship, that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation's territory. Further, it trusts that an understanding may be reached at

[1] "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning." (PSALM CXXXVII. 5.)

[2] Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1905–1916.

[3] Secretary of State for the Colonies. [4] Member of the War Cabinet.

the close of the war, whereby Palestine may be set free and form a State under an International Agreement, to which Jewish people may return and work out their own salvation without interference by those of alien race or religion.

From the Right Hon. the MARQUESS OF CREWE, K.G.[1]

I have long hoped that it would be possible to make such a Declaration; and it is now pronounced in terms that should be equally welcome to those Jews who have found happy homes on friendly shores, and to those who have longed for the re-establishment of their race in the ancient land. Within its borders even now triumphs are being won, and noble lives laid down, for the common cause of which this hope forms part.

From the Right Hon. VISCOUNT BRYCE.[2]

For years past, and especially since my visit to Palestine in 1914, I have been in cordial sympathy with the movement for re-establishing the Jewish population in its ancient home, and rejoice to see that His Majesty's Government have recently expressed their approval of the idea, which will, I hope, take practical shape in measures to be put through after the war is over. It will be a great benefit to the Jewish race everywhere to have this ancient home to look to as the centre of its national life, even though a comparatively small part of the race can actually find room to dwell in Palestine. The country seems to have been recently terribly devastated, but when its resources have been developed, it can support a much larger population than it has under the blighting rule of the Turk. Syrians, Arabs and Armenians are also interested in being delivered for ever from the alien domination of the Turkish invaders.

From the Right Hon. the EARL OF SELBORNE, K.G., G.C.M.G.[3]

I warmly and altogether adhere to the policy of His Majesty's Government, in sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations as announced by Mr. Arthur Balfour.

From the late JOHN EDWARD REDMOND, M.P.[4]

I am in complete sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations as I understand them.

[1] Secretary of State for India, 1910–1915.
[2] H.M. Ambassador at Washington, 1907–1913.
[3] High Commissioner for South Africa, 1905–1910.
[4] Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

From the Right Hon. LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.[1]

I am in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and sincerely trust the policy will be successfully carried out.

From the Right Hon. JOHN HODGE, M.P.[2]

I fully sympathize with the view expressed in Mr. Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild, and further, may I express the hope that the end of the war may speedily see the realization of the Zionist dream.

From LORD HUGH CECIL, M.P.

. . . I very cordially sympathize with the purpose of it, and heartily rejoice that there is good prospect of securing to the Jewish people a National Home in their own country.

From LORD SYDENHAM of Combe, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I.[3]

. . . I am in fullest sympathy with the object, and I am glad to know that Palestine may again become the National Home of the Jewish people. This would be one of the many happy results which, we may hope, will arise from the appalling sacrifices and the abiding sorrow which the war has brought upon the world.

From the Right Hon. LORD EMMOTT, G.C.M.G.[4]

. . . The movement for the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people is one which has my most cordial sympathy, and I sincerely hope that your demonstration may be a success.

From the Right Hon. LORD TENNYSON, G.C.M.G.[5]

. . . It seems to me that the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people would make for the peace of the world. This Jewish State should be, as George Eliot finely says, "a republic where the Jewish spirit manifests itself in a new order founded on the old."

From the Rt. Rev. JAMES COOPER, D.D., Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The Church of Scotland cordially endorses the Declaration of the Cabinet in favour alike of the establishment in Pales-

[1] Secretary for Scotland, 1895–1903.
[2] Minister of Pensions.
[3] Governor of Bombay, 1907–1913.
[4] Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1911–1914.
[5] Governor-General of Australia, 1902–1904.

tine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and of the maintenance of the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in a land so dear to Christians and Jews, rejoices in the prospect of this double honour being given to Great Britain, and prays that it may usher in a day of the richest blessings to the whole Israel of God.

From His Excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha, President of the Armenian National Delegation.

On the occasion of the Zionist meeting, organized by your Committee, I am happy, as President of the Armenian National Delegation, to renew the sincere congratulations of the Armenians for the Declaration which His Britannic Majesty's Government has made to you. We participate in a great measure in the joy which the powerful support gives you which permits us to hope that in the day of victory of those who are fighting for the liberation of oppressed peoples, the Armenian aspirations will be realized at the same time as the Jewish people will attain the reconstruction of its nationality and the realization of its historic claim to the soil of its ancestors.

The *Jewish Chronicle* gave a list of several hundred Jewish institutions in England which sent congratulatory messages to the meeting, as well as of an immense number of such institutions which were represented at the meeting in person.

An overflow meeting, over which Mr. P. Horowitz presided, was held in the Kingsway Theatre, which was crowded in every part. Among those who addressed the audience were the Chief Rabbi: Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Dr. Selig Brodetsky, Dr. David Jochelmann, and Mr. Israel Cohen.

In the course of his observations, Lord Lamington, who was very cordially received, expressed his pleasure at the opportunity afforded him to express his sympathy with and support of the Zionist movement. He cordially agreed with the statement made by Lord Robert Cecil at the Opera House, that the Declaration represented the first act of constructive statesmanship which the allied nations had so far carried out on the basis of the great principles of freedom and justice for the smaller nationalities, for which they stood. The Declaration was as much in the British interest as in the Jewish interest. Both races, as well as the East in general,

stood to gain, and gain substantially, from an active British and Jewish co-operation in the Near East.

A resolution in identical terms with that carried at the London Opera House was passed with much enthusiasm.

The Author's statement ran as follows :—

The Zionist Organization in the Entente countries which I have the honour of representing is filled with feelings of the deepest and keenest satisfaction caused by the Declaration of His Majesty's Government of November 2nd. The Zionist masses are grateful to His Majesty's Government for their official and formal statement of their intentions in clear and unmistakable terms. Posterity will praise the qualities which are revealed by this historic document ; the strength of will, the sentiment of uprightness, the unshakable fidelity to the spirit of Justice, and the beneficent and generous sympathy for the oppressed.

But the feeling of joy evoked by the Declaration is much more than the legitimate satisfaction aroused by the successful result of our representations to the British Government. Quite apart from and above all written conventions, we realize that the Declaration symbolizes that harmonious union of spiritual ideals and political considerations which have made and will make of the Zionist Movement a precious instrument working for civilization and for the brotherhood and emancipation of all oppressed peoples and for their final deliverance from the sad heritage of age-long hatreds and misunderstandings, which have dismembered them and subjected them to the forces of oppression.

Three problems confront the world at this hour : the problem of nationality, the problem of territory, and the problem of liberty. Nationalities are being reconstituted ; peoples are seeking one another, joining together, or separating from one another ; territories are being redistributed ; the spirit of freedom is spreading, seeking incarnation in new forms, and giving a new lease of life to ancient peoples. Everywhere is instability, ferment, movement ; from all sides are heard complaints, demands, claims ; all things are being recast in new moulds ; everywhere new groupings are forming round new interests. The world is fighting for the untrammelled self-expression of nations and races, for an unaggressive international order ; the hundreds or thousands of years' old aspirations, purposes, and aims of nations have become the demands of the moment and the programmes for the future. He only would be certain of harvesting

nothing who had not sown during the present world storm. In this noise, in this welter, in this struggle, ancient Judea awakes, claiming her right to live again. This right is inalienable and unalterable. All the force of the indestructible Jewish race is in it. All the sadness of the two thousand years of Jewish martyrdom is in it. Is this right to be denied because of its being so old ? Humanity, real humanity, will not extinguish old rights. It has not extinguished it in the case of Greece ; neither will it extinguish it in the case of Judea.

History has demonstrated that a nation deprived of its heritage and liberty, which is determined to live and regain her lost country, no matter how long she suffers, cannot be exterminated by any conceivable means employed by her persecutors. And the Jewish people is determined to live and to work for all that is good and ennobling, believing firmly that justice would be but a word of mockery if the sun of liberty could not shine over it again.

In the midst of universal war, amid grief and desolation which go beyond the most tragic imaginings, Great Britain has proclaimed the idea of creating a centre of the arts of peace, and a model of justice. The idea is not only extremely practical, it is profoundly poetical. We are living in the most critical time in history. It is our fate to be spectators of and actors in the greatest drama ever known to humanity. The present war will take its place in history as one of the events which irrevocably divide two epochs. The Jewish people is fortunate in being able to consider itself one of the models which have inspired the noble initiative of Great Britain and her Allies. It is still more fortunate in having been found worthy of the generous protection of His Majesty's Government, manifested in so striking a manner by the recent Declaration. And what glory awaits, on the other hand, Great Britain and her Allies, if they will be instrumental in the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine !

What is it that we wish to preserve in our National Home ? Our own precious heritage. You all know it. The sacred Jewish home-life, the intimately personal sentiment of our qualities and of our inner freedom. That is our heritage which we have been able to preserve intact during the eighteen centuries of our Dispersion, untouched by the ambition and hatred which sought to undermine them. We wish to live and to live by our labour and untiring efforts.

We want to be invigorated by that force which the children of the soil absorb from contact with it. We want to give form and visibility to our mental conceptions. We desire to perform Israel's allotted part in the purpose of the eternal progress of humanity in all branches of life, in all human activities. The Jewish National Home will stand out in the world as an inspiring symbol of the triumph of justice over tyranny, as a proof of the right of nationality to be itself. It will be a priceless monument to the future at a time when ruins of the past are everywhere, and the whole world stands in need of rebuilding.

Our object in establishing the Jewish National Home on the sacred soil of our fathers is to carry on the noblest traditions of our race in all their beauty and plenitude. Judea it was which revealed to humanity the path of progress, it was Judea which taught the greatest and noblest lessons in the life of nations—the lessons of Freedom and Right—and it is Judea which will become a centre of liberty and a blessing for the nations. Palestine is not to be weighed down by military powers. She is a home for a small and free nation, and not for a troop of subjects. The glory of invaders is to be conquered by humanity. The glory of tyrants is to yield to civilization. The glory of the land of shadows is to receive the lamp of light. The cloud passed and the star reappeared. And this star is not one of wrath. Nor is it one of hatred, or fanaticism. Christendom has its great sanctuaries in Palestine. Islam has there some of its important sanctuaries. All our glorious holy places are there. They will be respected and safeguarded with reverence and devotion, in peace and mutual love. But around the places of worship life will spring—honest, simple, pure life. We are a peaceful people. We are going to cultivate the soil ; we are going to cultivate our ideas. Our future is the ploughshare, and not the sword ; the book, and not the bullet. The beneficent spiritual influence of a regenerated Palestine is undoubted ; its future, which is boundless, belongs to you ; each of you already possesses a portion within himself. Let us but work together so that our people may preserve and improve its title to be considered the conscience of the human race.

We realize, however, that our position needs to be clearly defined. We must be fully conversant with every side of the problem. Vague complaints or expressions of yearning are not enough. There is, first of all, the problem

of Emancipation. We have been accused of endangering by our aspirations towards a National Home the position of the Jews in the various countries of the world. We have racked our brains in trying to discover how the establishment of a National Home in Palestine could possibly harm the emancipation of Jews in the world. We have failed to solve this mystery. The British Government in their Declaration have put to flight this fear, which is a pure figment of the imagination without foundation in theory or fact. It would undoubtedly be a great elevation of the Jewish character in the eyes of the world at large, could the Jews prove themselves capable of conducting a Commonwealth harmoniously and successfully ; and we are sure they will be able to do so. This is our belief, our ambition, our Jewish optimism. It is because we believe in Israel's genius that we are Zionists. This will help emancipation. The Jews of the various countries who do not wish to participate actively in the work, who do not desire to take advantage of the right to settle in Palestine, can remain where they are at the present time. We are not emigration agents. We are apostles of a historic ideal, and we want the Jewish people to help in its realization.

It would be a crime at a stage of Jewish history like the present to paralyse by internal dissension a movement which may be productive of so much good. This should not be. Unity of Judaism before all, above all ! The majority will support the efforts of their fellow-Jews with great enthusiasm for Judaism, and those who refuse to take any part (a type which is doomed to disappear, like the mammoth, from the face of the earth) must keep the peace. The least we can demand of them is not to disturb us or hinder us in our efforts. Where is the Jew who could neglect this duty which is inspired no less by reason and well-understood interest than by conscience and honour ? Where is the Jew who would fail to offer the tribute of his humble share of effort, of help, and of faith to the old land of Israel, now so downtrodden, but all the greater and more beautiful, as its sufferings and trials—so heroically endured—are approaching their end and leading to its renascence which, far from being a mere satisfaction of national egoism, is an exaltation of the noblest Jewish and human ideal ?

The attempt has also been made to put forward the non-Jewish population of Palestine and the neighbouring countries as an obstacle in our way. The breath of intriguers

tends to poison every noble aspiration ; they seek to create among us also a spirit of dissension, a spirit of destruction. We are firmly resolved to refuse them this satisfaction. In vain do they raise this kind of bogey. The deep sense of the realities before us guards us from any error of this kind. We have work to do which will prevent our interests from clashing with those of the Arabs. Are we, then, anti-Semitic ?

The relations between the Jews and the Arabs have hitherto been scanty and spasmodic, largely owing to mutual ignorance and indifference. There were no relations whatever between the two nations as such because the oppressive bureaucracy did not recognize either of them, and whenever points of connection began to develop they were destroyed by intrigue to the detriment of both nationalities.

We believe that the present hour of crisis and the opening of a large perspective for epoch-making developments offers a fruitful opportunity for a broad basis of permanent, cordial relations between the peoples who are inspired by a common purpose. We mean a real *entente cordiale* between the Jews, the Arabs, and the Armenians. Such *entente cordiale* has already been accepted in principle by leading representatives of these three nations. From such a beginning we look forward with confidence to a future of intellectual, social, and economic co-operation. We are one with the Arabs and Armenians to-day in the determination to secure for each of us the free choice of their own destinies. We look with fraternal love at the creation of an Arab kingdom re-establishing the ancient Semitic nationality in its glory and freedom, and our heartfelt wishes go out to the noble, hardly-tried Armenian nationality for the realization of their national hopes in their old Armenia.

Our roots were united in the past, our destinies will be bound together in the future.

This is our declaration to our future neighbours. And now, one more word to our brethren. We Jews, we who hoped for a better future, an era in which moral rights would count, what were we before the present situation ? Dreamers and madmen. Material power believed itself unconquerable. It produced an atmosphere of indifference in which all hope seemed Utopian. We slept in the general decadence. Now we arise, endowed with an unconquerable moral force

by the Declaration of His Majesty's Government. Our first and immortal leader, Theodor Herzl, insisted, many years ago, in having the institutions of Zionism established in this great, blessed country, for which every Jew has a warm corner in his heart. Was he a statesman or a prophet? I think he was both a statesman and a prophet. There is an old Talmudical saying:—

הניחו להן לישראל אם אין נביאים הן בני נביאים הן:
פסחים סו: (1)

Twenty years ago 220 Jews from all the countries of the world met at the First Zionist Congress at Basle. They possessed, though everything else was wanting, that wonderful power of improvising things. And such was the power of right these 220 men, having nothing to support them but the goodness of their cause, made headway against millions of opponents among their people. During the long duration of the struggle, a struggle without truce, where all the strength and rage was on one side and all the right on the other, not a single section of those 220 men failed to respond to the call of duty, and, although divided in their views, not one section drew back from the fundamental national idea, not one gave way. They increased in numbers and they increased in activity. Let me, at this solemn hour, render honour to those men, to that insulted, calumniated and misunderstood Zionist Organization which always stepped gallantly into the breach, which never took rest for a single day, and which defended Zionism even when abandoned and momentarily hopeless, and that not only with tongue and brains, but also with heavy sacrifices. Thanks to them we exist, and thanks to the progress we made here new life and new energy will enter not only into our Zionist Organization, but into the whole Jewish people. Mr. Balfour has sent the Declaration to Lord Rothschild for the Zionist Organization. We received and accepted it joyfully; but, I am afraid—or I am rather glad—that we shall have to re-address it to the Jewish people, and I hope they will receive and accept it as joyfully as ourselves, the Zionists. This is perhaps the greatest achievement of the British Government that before having given us Palestine they already gave us something which is very precious and very necessary—Jewish unity. History will

[1] "Leave Israel alone!—If they are not Prophets, they are the sons of Prophets."—*Pesachim*, 66*a*.

record that Mr. Balfour was the greatest peace-maker among the Jewish people, greater than many Rabbis and Conjoint Committees.

We were divided, distracted; and now we are indissolubly united, all one band of brothers in arms for Liberty! I welcome the representatives of the Jewish Territorial Organization, with their famous leader, Israel Zangwill. I welcome the oldest Jewish organization of this country, the Board of Deputies, and all other organizations which are represented at this meeting. The opponents of yesterday are our allies of to-day, and the opponents of to-day will be our allies of to-morrow, if they will read the signs of the time. Much is still to be done in this direction, but much has already been done. Yes; this is the miracle which has brought about our spiritual rebirth.

What does this mean if not that wrong has always feet of clay: that right, truth and liberty are from this time forward the true paths of the earth, the only ways which no physical force will ever dishonour?

Friends, brothers, our new society makes of you new men. This is a day of alliance and of reconciliation. Old words—Virtue, Love, Liberty—which had lost their brightness by long disuse have regained their lustre as on the day when they were first engraved on the heart of man. Awake from the long night. It is a new dawn which arises. The Jewish people which has endured, and will still endure, with great firmness of heart the heaviest sacrifices, rising to the heights of the great arguments of this War of Nationalities, affirms that it is ready and determined to work with all its power and full loyalty for Governments and peoples until the realization of its destiny. May this destiny be one in which Liberty will triumph—one from which man and humanity, the individual and the Nation, will derive benefit, one bringing to the Jewish people as to every oppressed people the possibility of living and of realizing its ideal. It is in this spirit that the Zionist Organization recommends to you the resolution.

On the 14th of December the Zionist representatives, Lord Rothschild, Mr. James de Rothschild, Dr. E. W. Tschlenow, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and the Author, were received by the War Cabinet. They offered to the British Government the gratitude of the Jewish people for the Declaration of the 2nd November and at the same time expressed their congratulations on the occasion of the capture of Jerusalem.

Mr. Bonar Law, who replied to the deputation on behalf of His Majesty's Government, thanked them for the kind sentiments they had expressed.

The following Manifesto was issued shortly after the British Declaration :—

To the Jewish People.

The 17th of *Marcheshvan*, 5678 (2nd November, 1917), is an important milestone on the road to our national future ; it marks the end of an epoch, and it opens out the beginning of a new era. The Jewish people has but one other such day in its annals : the 28th August, 1897, the birthday of the New Zionist Organization at the first Basle Congress. But the analogy is incomplete, because the period which then began was Expectation, whereas the period which now begins is Fulfilment.

From then till now, for over twenty years, the Jewish people has been trying to find itself, to achieve a national resurrection. The advance-guard was the organized Zionist party, which in 1897 by its programme demanded a home for the Jewish people in Palestine secured by public law. A great deal was written, spoken, and done to get this demand recognized. The work was carried out by the Zionist Organization on a much greater scale and in a more systematic manner than had been possible for the *Chovevé Zion*, the first heralds of the national ideal, who had tried to give practical shape to the yearning which had burnt like a light in the Jewish spirit during two thousand years of exile and had flamed out at various periods in various forms. The *Chovevé Zion* had the greatest share in the practical colonization. The Zionist movement wrestled with its opponents and with itself. It collected means outside Palestine, and laboured with all its strength in Palestine. It founded institutions of all kinds for colonization in Palestine. That was a preface, full of hope and faith, full of experiments and illusions, inspired by a sacred and elevating ideal, and productive of many valuable and enduring results.

The time has come to cast the balance of the account. That chapter of propaganda and experiments is complete, and the glory of immortality rests upon it. But we must go further. To look back is the function of the historian ; life looks forwards.

The turning-point is the Declaration of the British

Government that they " view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object."

The progress which our idea has made is so colossal and so obvious that it is scarcely necessary to describe it in words. None the less, a few words must be addressed to the Jewish people, not so much by way of explanation, as to demand the new and greater efforts which are imperative.

The outstanding feature of the Declaration is, that what has been a beautiful ideal—and according to our opponents an empty dream—has now been given the possibility of becoming a reality. The aspirations of 1897 now find solid ground in the British Government's official Declaration of the 2nd November, 1917. That in itself is a gigantic step forward. The world's history, and particularly Jewish history, will not fail to inscribe in golden letters upon its bronze tablets that Great Britain, the shield of civilization, the country which is pre-eminent in colonization, the school of constitutionalism and freedom, has given us an official promise of support and help in the realization of our ideal of liberty in Palestine. And Great Britain will certainly carry with her the whole political world.

The Declaration of His Majesty's Government coincides with the triumphant march of the British Army in Palestine. The flag of Great Britain waves over Jerusalem and all Judea. It is at such a moment, while the army of Great Britain is taking possession of Palestine, that Mr. Balfour assures us that Great Britain will help us in the establishment of a National Home in Palestine. This is the beginning of the fulfilment.

To appreciate and to understand accurately is the first essential, but it is not all. It is necessary to go further, to determine what is the next step. This must be set forth in plain words.

The Declaration puts in the hands of the Jewish people the key to a new freedom and happiness. All depends on you, the Jewish people, and on you only. The Declaration is the threshold, from which you can place your foot upon holy ground. After eighteen hundred years of suffering your recompense is offered to you. You can come to your haven and your heritage, you can show that the noble blood of our race is still fresh in your veins. But to do that you must begin work anew, with new power and with new means

—the ideas and the phrases and the methods of the first period no longer suffice. That would be an anachronism. We need new conceptions, new words, new acts. The methods of the period of realization cannot be the methods of the time of expectation.

In the first place, the whole Jewish people must now unite. Now that fulfilment is displacing expectation, that which was potential in the will of the Jewish people must become actual and reveal itself in strenuous labour. The whole Jewish people must come into the Zionist Organization.

Secondly, a word to our brothers in Palestine. The moment has come to lay the foundations of a national home. You are now under the protection of the British military authorities, who will guard your lives, your property, your freedom. Be worthy of that protection, and begin immediately to build the Jewish National Home upon sound foundations, thoroughly Hebrew, thoroughly national, thoroughly free and democratic. The beginning may decide all that follows.

Thirdly, our loyal acknowledgment of the support of Great Britain must be spontaneous and unmeasured. But it must be the acknowledgment of free men to a country which breeds and loves free men. We must show that what Great Britain has given us through her generosity, is ours by virtue of our intelligence, skill, and courage.

Fourthly, we must have ample means. The means of yesterday are ridiculously small compared with the needs of to-day. Propaganda, the study of practical problems, expeditions, the founding of new offices and commissions, negotiations, preparations for settlement, relief and reconstruction in Palestine—for all these, and other indispensable tasks, colossal material means are necessary, and necessary forthwith. Small and great, poor and rich, must rise to answer the call of this hour with the necessary personal sacrifice.

Fifthly, we need discipline and unity. This is no time for hair-splitting controversy. It is a time for action. We ask for confidence. Be united and tenacious, be quick but not impatient, be free men, but well-disciplined, firm as steel. From now onwards every gathering of Jews must have a practical aim, every speech must deal with a project, every thought must be a brick with which to build the National Home.

These are the directions for your work to-day.

Worn and weary through your two thousand years of wandering over desert and ocean, driven by every storm and carried on every wave, outcasts and refugees, you may now pass from the misery of exile to a secure home ; a home where the Jewish spirit and the old Hebrew genius, which so long have hovered broken-winged over strange nests, can also find healing and be quickened into new life.

M. Sokolow.
E. W. Tschlenow.
Ch. Weizmann.

DECLARATIONS OF THE ENTENTE GOVERNMENTS

After this most important achievement which is considered as the foundation-stone of future policy in and regarding Palestine, it was found necessary to come into closer political relations with the other Entente countries, in the light of the new situation created by the British Declaration.

Negotiations were carried on with the proper authorities in the French and Italian Governments : the negotiations were crowned with success, and the official endorsements by France and Italy of the British Declaration were communicated to the world in the following official documents :—

The following is the text of the French Government's Declaration communicated in a letter to the author :—

République française.

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères :
Direction des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales.

Paris, *le 14me février*, 1918.

Monsieur,

Comme il a été convenu au cours de notre entretien le Samedi 9 de ce mois, le Gouvernement de la République, en vue de préciser son attitude vis-à-vis des aspirations sionistes, tendant à créer pour les juifs en Palestine un foyer national, a publié un communiqué dans la presse.

En vous communiquant ce texte, je saisis avec empressement l'occasion de vous féliciter du généreux dévouement avec lequel vous poursuiviez la réalisation des vœux de vos co-religionnaires, et de vous remercier du zèle que vous apportez à leur faire connaître les sentiments de sympathie

que leurs efforts éveillent dans les pays de l'entente et notamment en France.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma consideration.

(*Signed*) PICHON.

M. SOKOLOW,
Hôtel Meurice, Paris.

Le Communiqué.

Monsieur Sokolow, représentant des Organisations Sionistes, a été reçu ce matin au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères par Monsieur Stéphen Pichon, qui a été heureux de lui confirmer que l'Entente est complète entre les Gouvernements français et britannique en ce qui concerne la question d'un établissement juif en Palestine."

[*Translation.*]

République française.

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères :
Direction des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales.

Paris, 14*th February*, 1918.

SIR,

As arranged at our meeting on Saturday, the 9th of this month, the Government of the Republic, so as to make definite its views on the subject of Zionist aspirations with regard to the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, has sent a communication to the Press.

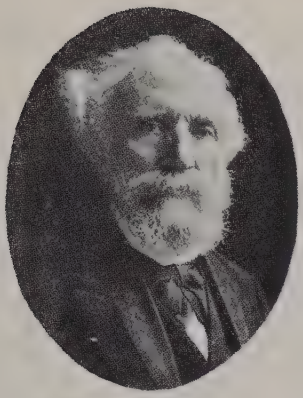
In sending you this text, I wish to take the opportunity of congratulating you on the splendid devotion with which you are furthering the aspirations of your co-religionists, and of thanking you for the way in which you have made known to them the sympathy with which all the countries of the Entente, and especially France, are watching their efforts.

Please accept assurances of my most cordial sympathy.

(*Signed*) PICHON.

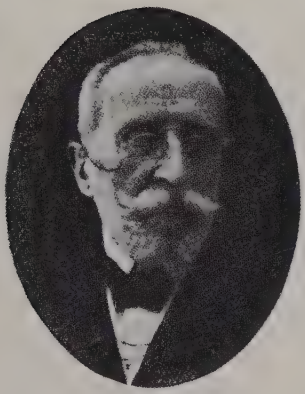
M. SOKOLOW,
Hôtel Meurice, Paris.

Mr. Sokolow, representing the Zionist Organizations, was this morning received by Mons. Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was happy to inform him that there is complete agreement between the French and British Governments in all matters which concern the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

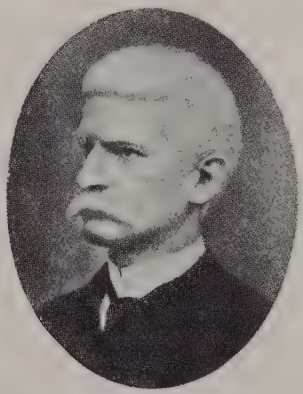


A. F. J. Ribot

Jules M. Cambon
Henri Manuel, Paris



Paolo Boselli



Baron Sidney Sonnino

S. J. M. Pichon
Henri Manuel, Paris

G. E. B. Clemenceau
Henri Manuel, Paris

The following is the Declaration which was made by the Italian Government to myself as representative of the Zionist Organization, through the Italian Ambassador in London :—

LONDRA,
li 9 *Maggio*, 1918.

PREGIATISSIMO SIGNORE,

D'ordine di Sua Eccellenza il Barone Sonnino, Ministro per gli Affari Estri del Re, ho l'onore d'informarla che, in relazione alle domande che gli sono state rivolti, il Governo di Sua Maestà è lieto di confermare le precedenti dichiarazioni già fatte a mezzo dei suoi rappresentanti a Washington, l'Aja e Salonicco, di essere cioè disposto ad adoperarsi con piacere per facilitare lo stabilirsi in Palestina di un centro nazionale ebraico, nell' intesa pero che non ne venga nessun pregiudizio allo stato giuridico e politico delle già esistenti comunita' religiose ed ai diritti civili e politici che gl' Israeliti già godono in ogni altro paese.

Gradisca, Pregiatissimo Signore, gli atti della mia Distintissima considerazione.

(*Signed*) IMPERIALI.

SIGNOR NAHUM SOKOLOW,
35–38 Empire House,
175 Piccadilly, W. 1.

[*Translation.*]

ITALIAN EMBASSY, LONDON,
9*th May*, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR,

On the instructions of His Excellency, Baron Sonnino, His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to inform you that with reference to your representations His Majesty's Government are pleased to confirm the Declaration already made through their representatives in Washington, The Hague, and Salonica, to the effect that they will use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Centre, it being understood that this shall not prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the legal or political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Pray accept, my dear sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

(*Signed*) IMPERIALI.

M. NAHUM SOKOLOW,
175 Piccadilly, W. 1.

In President's Wilson's address to Congress of January 8th, 1918, a speech commonly regarded as a complete statement of the objects for which the Allied Powers were fighting, the twelfth of the articles in the programme of the world's peace was stated thus :—

" The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but *the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development*, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees."

This statement was regarded by Zionists as signifying the sympathetic attitude of the American Government, and especially of its President, to the Zionist movement. President Wilson is regarded as the spokesman of the Entente principles, and it is well known to Zionists that his attitude is favourable to the realization of Zionist aims, because the latter are in complete harmony with the principle of justice to small nationalities, of which President Wilson is the clearest and most outspoken exponent. His address makes no specific reference to the Jewish question or to Palestine, but his intention is perfectly clear.

In August, 1918, President Wilson wrote the following letter :—

" I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist Movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the Declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries. I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the foundation of the *Hebrew*

Dover Street Studios

President

THOMAS WOODROW WILSON

University at *Jerusalem* with the promise that that bears of spiritual rebirth."

Public opinion in America regarded this letter as a precious document embodying full American support of the Zionist aims, in harmony with the British Declaration.

Many opportunities have been taken by British statesmen to refer to the British Declaration in terms which show that they attach the very greatest value to it. Thus, the Rt Hon. George N. Barnes said, in a speech delivered on the 14th of July, a full extract of which appears below :—

" The British Government proclaimed its policy of Zionism because it believed that Zionism was identified with the policy and aims for which good men and women are struggling everywhere. That policy is the policy of the Allies in the war. It is the policy to which we are pledged ; it is the policy which we believe accords with the wishes of vast numbers of the Jewish people, many of whom have cast wistful eyes to Palestine as again destined to be their national home."

Lord Robert Cecil, in regretting his inability to be present at the meeting held on July 14th to welcome the American Zionist Medical Unit, wrote :—

" The Zionist movement represents a great ideal which may have incalculable consequences for the future welfare of the world."

The Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, in his address to a deputation of the Medical Unit (given in full further on), said :—

" The destruction of Judea that occurred nineteen centuries ago is one of the great wrongs which the Allied Powers are trying to redress."

Mr. Lloyd George wrote to the Author, on the 29th of June, in connection with the Government declaration safeguarding the rights of the Roumanian Jews :—

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., and the enclosure. Mr. Lloyd George wishes me to thank you for what you say in regard to the friendship which exists between this country and the Jewish people, of which there has lately been such abundant evidence, and to reiterate the hope

that the triumph of the Allies' cause will make possible the realization of your people's aim to establish for themselves once again a national home in Palestine.

Yours faithfully,

(*Signed*) F. L. Stevenson.

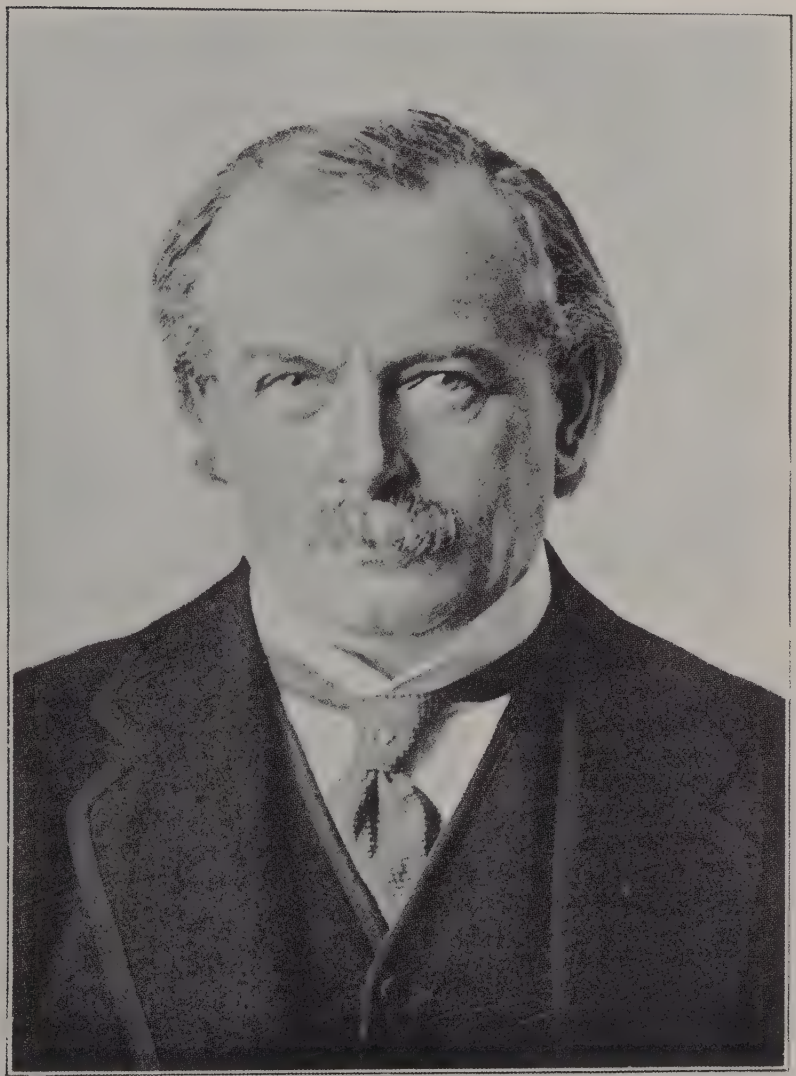
N. Sokolow, Esq.

On Wednesday, September 11th, the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, visited Manchester for the purpose of receiving the freedom of that city and of other towns. The Zionists took the opportunity of presenting to him the following address :—

"The undersigned representatives of the Jewish Community of Manchester, headed by our distinguished Zionist leader, Mr. Nahum Sokolow, gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of your visit to Manchester to place on record the gratitude which the Jewish people feels for the interest shown by the Government, of which you are the head, in the fulfilment of Jewish national aspirations.

"We are confident that the Government's historic declaration of 2nd November, 1917, expresses not only its own considered policy at the present time, but the permanent attitude of the British nation to our people. We look forward to the early fruition of the hopes which we build on that declaration, and we know that in the brighter days of peace the restored and revived *Hebrew* nation will show in practical form its regard for Great Britain and for the British tradition of help and justice to small nations. For the sake of the Jewish nation and of the cause of the free peoples throughout the world, struggling to escape from the pitiless desire for conquest of the German people, who have been intoxicated with the belief that their army can override all obstacles and all rights, we trust that Great Britain and her Allies will, at an early date, see the downfall of the German power as an indispensable preliminary to the commencement of the new era of peace and justice, foretold by our national prophets and seers in that great Jewish Bible which has become part of the patrimony of the peoples of this great Empire.

"We venture to think that among the many triumphs which it will be your privilege to recall in after days you will remember, with, perhaps, a unique pride and pleasure, that it was under the guidance of your statesmanship that Great Britain extended its right hand in friendship to the Jewish



Vandyke, photo.

Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George

people to help it to regain its ancient national home and to realize its age-long aspirations."

The Zionists' address was signed by Mr. E. H. Langdon, the *Rabbi* Dr. Berendt Salomon, Mr. Nathan Laski, J.P., Mr. S. J. Cohen, Councillor S. Finburgh, Mr. L. Friedson, Captain Dulberg, and Mr. Simon Marks.

Mr. Lloyd George gave the following reply :—

"It is with feelings of the greatest satisfaction that I accept the address which you have done me the privilege of presenting to me. The aspirations which you share with multitudes of your race scattered throughout the world found a natural response in the minds of those responsible for the government of this country, because they are in permanent accord with the sentiments of the people of Great Britain. I have to-day had the honour of receiving addresses from the representatives of three elements most intimately concerned in the establishment of a rule of order and justice in an area which has hitherto been the prey of tyranny and outrage. The fulfilment of the historic hopes and aspirations to which you refer in your address is, I believe, an essential corollary to the necessary enfranchisement of the oppressed peoples of the Near East."

Considerable interest was taken everywhere in the evidences of the effect produced in America by the political success of the Zionist movement. The Zionists of America, unable to participate in many of the Zionist activities of the day, owing to the fact that America was not at war with Turkey, conceived the idea of helping in the reconstruction and extension of the Jewish colonies after they were relieved from disasters due to the war, by sending a Medical Unit to the Holy Land.

The Unit was organized by and at the expense of American Zionists, the principal promoters being a group of women Zionists who are banded together under the name of the *Hadassah*. It consisted of about forty-five persons—doctors, nurses, mechanics, chemists, specialists, secretaries, dentists, a social expert, an administrator, and a representative of the *Hadassah*. The Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs in America voted a sum of fifty thousand pounds from their Palestine Restoration Fund for its equipment. The plans in Palestine will necessarily depend upon the conditions prevailing in that country at

the time of the arrival of the Unit, but the present intention is to set up a central hospital of one hundred beds in *Jerusalem,* a branch hospital in *Jaffa,* as well as dispensaries and a nursing school, and several travelling hospitals, which will be equipped for service in the colonies and wherever needed and will be supplied from permanent dispensaries in the large cities. A hospital in *Jerusalem,* originally owned by a German society, the *L'maan Zion,* was handed over to this Unit, as well as the *Shaare Zedek* Hospital. In connexion with the equipment of these " Red Cross " ambulances for the relief of civilians, the *Hadassah* collected quantities of clothes, bed-linen and towels, as well as medical stores for the use of the destitute of Palestine. Eighty-six cases, containing twenty-four thousand garments, one thousand pairs of boots, thirteen thousand men's socks, and two tons of soap, have been sent out. Mrs. Mary Fels contributed largely to this stock.

The Unit is under the general control of Mr. Levin Epstein, Treasurer of the American Zionist Organization.

On its way to Palestine the Unit passed through London, where it was welcomed by a great meeting at the London Opera House, on July 14th. The Right Hon. George N. Barnes, a member of the War Cabinet, in a speech then delivered, said :—

" Palestine has for three hundred years been under the tyranny of Ottoman oppression, and I take it that it is now ready for the word of the teacher, and the knowledge of the scientist, to make the desert places again into smiling villages. Our visitors will take part in that transformation. They will link together the knowledge, the science, and material resources of the present and the future. It is a great thought and a happy augury that the first definite act of Zionism is to go East and to take part in the realization of a great ideal for the uplifting of all the people, irrespective of class or creed, or condition of any kind whatsoever. That is indeed a great ideal, and I congratulate our visitors in being pioneers in its achievement. They are going to help to lay in Palestine that basis of sanitation and conditions of healthy life which are the chief foundations of civilization. It is a work not only of interest to the Jewish race ; it is a work which is of interest and value to the whole world, because the prosperity of Palestine is the concern of us all. Irrespective of race or religion, we look to Palestine as the Holy Land. From it there came those great moral inspira-

tions which still guide the life and conduct of half the world. From it there issued forth those wondrous influences of which the mind of man can scarcely yet conceive the full meaning. It has been the inestimable privilege of the Allies in this war to have rescued this land, consecrated by religion and history, from the sacrilegious hands of the German and the Turk, who have slain and enslaved the people. It will be their greater privilege to rebuild the holy places, to create conditions under which opportunities will be given to all peoples to live together in tolerance and mutual help. It will be the aim of Zionism once more to make Palestine a fountain of knowledge and idealism, and by the creating of places of knowledge and education, open to all, again to clothe ancient truths in modern garb. The British Government proclaimed its policy of Zionism because it believed that Zionism was identified with the policy and aims for which good men and women are struggling everywhere. That policy is the policy of the Allies in this war. It is the policy to which we are pledged ; it is the policy which we believe accords with the wishes of vast numbers of the Jewish people, many of whom have cast wistful eyes to Palestine as again destined to be their national home. Using the word in its largest and best sense, they are going on an errand of mercy, being the harbingers of health and happiness to a people who have been long oppressed and heavy laden. They have, I doubt not, many difficulties in front of them—perhaps a long road to travel, but I feel sure they will be borne up by the consciousness of what they are doing, and that they have the good wishes of all good men and women."

In addressing the Unit in Paris, *M.* Tardieu, High Commissioner of the Government of the French Republic in the United States, said :—

" Vous savez avec quel intérêt sympathique le gouvernement français a suivi le progrès de l'idéal sioniste. De cet intérêt, le gouvernement français a donné des preuves dès le printemps de 1916, aussitôt que l'amélioration de la situation en Palestine nous a permis de regarder du côté de l'avenir. J'ai à peine besoin, ensuite, de vous rappeler la déclaration publique et officielle que le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, *M.* Pichon, publiait si heureusement l'année dernière. S'il existe une nation naturellement faite pour comprendre la cause des Juifs et l'idéal juif, cela a été assurément toujours la nation française."

Shortly before they left England the American Zionist Medical Unit were received by Mr. Balfour, who said he was very happy to be able to address the deputation of the Unit on their way to Palestine, where they were going to contribute their share to the beginnings of a great National undertaking. The far-reaching importance of the idea represented by Zionism was not sufficiently understood; the influence of that great National revival would be felt not only by those Jews who would settle in Palestine, but also by Jewry in every country of the world, and even by the other nations of humanity, for though Palestine was but a small country, the good which it had done for mankind was immeasurable. The destruction of Judea nineteen centuries ago was one of the great wrongs which the Allied Powers were trying to redress. This destruction was a national tragedy. It deprived the Jews of the opportunities enjoyed by other nations, to develop their national genius and their own spirit to the full extent of which it was capable. The Jews occupied a unique position among nations of the present day, because they lacked that element of nationality which appeared to be indispensable to a complete National life—to the possession of a National Home. The present moment witnessed the entrance on the world's stage of great and important National factors, and he felt sure that among these the Zionist idea, which had already accomplished so much in Palestine, would play a noble and beneficial part. He congratulated the members of the Unit on their great humanitarian mission. He knew they were moved by a high idea and not by any self-seeking. Nothing, he said, could be accomplished in this world except under the inspiration of a great ideal. He wished them Godspeed and complete success.

Direct evidence of the spread of Zionism in America was furnished by a resolution of the American Jewish Committee, a body which has hitherto been held to represent the assimilated American Jews and to be hostile to Jewish nationalism, at a special meeting held on Sunday, April 28th, which was attended by, among others, Mr. Jacob Schiff, Mr. Louis Marshall, Dr. Cyrus Adler, ex-Judge Mack, and ex-Judge Sulzberger.

The Committee declared by the resolution that it could not be unmindful of the fact that there are Jews everywhere throughout the world who, moved by traditional Jewish

sentiment, yearn for a Home in the Holy Land for the Jewish people. This hope, which has been nurtured for centuries, had the Committee's whole-hearted sympathy. When therefore, the British Government made the Declaration which is now supported by the French Government, that it views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, the announcement was received by the members of the Committee with profound appreciation.

The Committee regards as of essential importance the conditions annexed to the Declaration, "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The latter of these conditions corresponded entirely with the general principles on the basis of which the Committee had ever striven to attain civil and political rights for Jews the world over, and with the ideals of all American Jewry.

The opportunity foreshadowed by Mr. Balfour's letter was welcomed by the Committee, which would help to the best of its power to realise in Palestine, placed under such protectorate or suzerainty as the Peace Congress may determine, the objects set forth in the Declaration; and the Committee resolved to co-operate with all those who, attracted by religious or historic associations, shall seek to establish in Palestine a centre for Judaism for the stimulating of our faith, the pursuit and development of literature, science, and art in a Jewish environment, and the rehabilitation of the Land.

The British and Italian Governments indicated to the Zionist Organization their interest in the welfare of the Jewish people by the opinion they expressed with regard to the clause in the Rumanian-German Treaty referring to Jewish rights. Ever since the Treaty of Berlin, the position of the Rumanian Jews had been one of the scandals of Europe. That Treaty forbade all legal discriminations on account of religious faith. This clause was made a useless "*scrap of paper*" by Rumania considering its Jews "aliens not subject to alien protection." The Jew has been prevented from living in country districts or owning land outside towns. This does not prevent it from being a standing accusation against the Jews of Rumania that they do not

work as agricultural labourers. They have been excluded from the civil service and the liberal professions ; they have been disfranchised ; factories and mills were forbidden to employ more Jewish workers than one quarter of their entire staff. Yet the Jews in Rumania by no means gave rise to this state of affairs by obvious separatism ; the younger generation all spoke Rumanian, both at home and in intercourse with the outer world, and they wore no distinctive dress.

It should be stated that the Rumanians are a peasant people ; the landowners, all Christians, are largely an absentee class, spending their money in Western Europe. Anti-Semitism has been a convenient safety-valve for diverting the discontent of the peasants from the real authors of their misery.

These anti-Jewish laws have caused an immense exodus of Jews from Rumania.

Rumania continued its anti-Jewish policy during the war. Rumanian Jews were registered and supervised as aliens, because, owing to defective registration, they could not prove that they were born in Rumania. Many elderly persons were born in places where no registers were kept. There were no registers before 1866, and it was only in 1880 that the whole country began to keep such registers. This brings us directly to the Jewish clause of the treaty with Germany. The German Government had led the Jews in Germany to believe that it would protect the rights of Jews in the treaty. But the treaty merely stated that those Jews hitherto considered aliens were to be naturalized by law if they could prove that they and their parents were born in Rumania, or that they had taken part in the war, either in active service or in army service (*Hilfsdienst*). Such a clause could only open the way to further equivocations. By the addition of this clause to the general statement that differences of religious faith shall have no influence on the legal rights of inhabitants, and in particular on their political and civil rights, the treaty of 1918 actually went back from the position taken by the treaty of 1878. It is not even found possible to make the officers of a regiment in Rumania give a Jewish soldier the paper necessary to prove that he has served in the army.

The letters to the Author, in which the two *Entente* Powers (England and Italy) expressed their desire to rectify this unjust state of affairs, are as follows :—

FOREIGN OFFICE,
June 15th, 1918.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 3rd instant, relative to the question of Jewish rights in Rumania, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Balfour to state that His Majesty's Government fully realize that the enfranchisement promised to the Jews in Rumania under the recent treaty is less liberal than that by which the former Rumanian Government had publicly pledged themselves. They take this opportunity of assuring your Organization that they are most anxious to do everything in their power to secure a just and permanent settlement of the Jewish question in that country.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
(*Signed*) W. LANGLEY.

N. SOKOLOW, ESQ.,
35 Empire House,
175 Piccadilly, W. 1.

The Italian Ambassador, the Marquis Imperiali, honoured me with a communication to a like effect, of which the following is a translation :—

LONDON,
August 2nd, 1918.

DEAR SIR,

On the instructions of His Excellency, Baron Sonnino, I have pleasure in communicating to you the following :

" The Italian Government recognizing that the provision contained in the Treaty of Bucharest of May 7th, 1918, between Rumania and the Central Empires, relating to religious equality in Rumania, are, so far as the Jews are concerned, less liberal than those which the Rumanian Government itself had spontaneously promised to grant, now declares that at the final settlement of the Rumanian question, it will use its best endeavours to secure for the Jews in Rumania a settlement which will definitely assure them of a permanent position of equality."

Accept, dear Sir, the expression of my most distinguished consideration.

(*Signed*) IMPERIALI.

N. SOKOLOW, ESQ.

One of the first practical results of the British Government's declaration was the appointment in March, 1918, of a Zionist Commission for Palestine.

The objects and status of the Commission were laid down as follows :—

The Commission should represent the Zionist Organization.

It should act as an advisory body to the British authorities in Palestine in all matters relating to Jews, or which may affect the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in accordance with the Declaration of His Majesty's Government.

The objects of the Commission were :—

1. *To form a link between the British authorities and the Jewish population of Palestine.*
2. *To co-ordinate the relief work in Palestine and to assist in the repatriation of exiled and evacuated persons and refugees.*
3. *To assist in restoring and developing the Colonies and in organizing the Jewish population in general.*
4. *To assist the Jewish organization and institutions in Palestine in the resumption of their activities.*
5. *To help in establishing friendly relations with the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities.*
6. *To collect information, and report upon the possibilities of the further development of the Jewish settlement and of the country in general.*
7. *To inquire into the feasibility of the scheme of establishing a Jewish University.*

In order to be able to achieve the foregoing objects the Commission obtained permission, subject to military necessities, to travel, investigate, and make reports upon the above-mentioned matters.

The Commission left London on March 8th. It consisted of :—

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the Chairman of the Commission ; Mr. Joseph Cowen, Director of the Anglo-Palestine Company ; Dr. Eder, Medical Adviser, Representative of the Jewish Territorial Association ; Mr. Leon Simon, selected to be Chairman of the Relief Committee of the Commission ; and Professor Sylvain Lévi, Collège de France. Mr. Israel M. Sieff, of Manchester, acted as Secretary to the Commission.

Two representatives of Italian Jewry joined the Commission after an interval of some time—Commendatore Bianchini and Dr. Artom.

The Commission was accompanied by the following

gentlemen : Mr. Aaron Aaronsohn, Agricultural Expert, formerly of the Jewish Colony of *Zichron Jacob ;* Mr. David Levontin, Manager of the *Jaffa* branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank ; Mr. Rosenack, Agent of the Jewish Colonization Association, and Mr. Walter Meyer of New York.

Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore acted as Political Officer and communicated the Commission's views and requirements to the Government and the military authorities.

It had been intended that representatives of the Jews of Russia should join the Commission, but the disorganization of communications in Russia caused by the revolution prevented them from doing so until about October, 1918, when Mr. Isaac Goldberg and Mr. Israel Rosoff started for Palestine.

A few isolated incidents alone can be referred to here out of a large amount of work which was done by the Commissioners. They succeeded in obliterating the ill effects of warfare, they restored refugees to their homes, restarted the normal course of peaceful activities, reorganized the hitherto unsatisfactory and disunited *Jerusalem* communities belonging to the old settlements of pre-Zionist times and pre-Zionist feelings, and extended the *Hebrew* system of schools.

The Commission started part of its work in Egypt before it reached Palestine. The Arabs had been given wrong ideas concerning the meaning of the British declaration and the intention of the Zionists : pro-German agents had spread rumours intended to be both anti-English and anti-Jewish. They declared that rich Jews would exploit the land of Palestine and would destroy Moslem holy places. Dr. Weizmann met certain Arab leaders in Egypt and succeeded in removing their fears and anxieties. It was found that the Felaheen cultivators in Palestine do not fear the Jews. They realize that the Jewish colonies increase the prosperity of the country by introducing improved agricultural methods. But the Effendi Arabs, who are landlords, fear the establishment of a just rule over the land. These Effendi are largely cosmopolitans and absentee landlords, living in Syria and Egypt. The Zionists are anxious to prevent, if they can, any speculation in land, whether by natives of Palestine or by foreigners. The prosperity of the colonies is bound up with a just land policy, which will prevent the fruits of a man's labour

enriching others and will place at the disposal of the Jewish colonies unused and State lands as well as badly cultivated large estates.

The Zionists have been fortunate in gaining the confidence of the King of the Hedjaz and of Prince Feisal.

Although by the Hague Convention the military authorities could not make any alteration in the laws of the land, they did in two matters of administration increase the power of self-government possessed by the Jews. They allowed certain colonies to appoint their own police and their own Jewish tax-collectors. So corrupt had the Turkish tax-collectors been, that the Jewish tax-collectors, while taking less from the colonists, were able to hand a larger sum to the Government.

Much consideration was given by the Commission to the work of strengthening and supporting the organizations for relieving distress—orphanages, hospitals, and so on : a work much needed owing to war conditions. Special reports on the utilities of the various hospitals, schools, and orphanages were drawn up. In *Jerusalem* great distress was found. The *Halukah* Jews, settled in *Jerusalem* to study and pray and entirely dependent on the support of the Jews of other countries, had been by the war cut off from their means of livelihood. Widows and orphans were many, the adult men having suffered excessively from epidemics. The Commission opened laundries and a kind of shirt factory to provide employment for women and did its best to find employment for the men, although the importation of raw materials was very difficult.

On 17th June there was opened at *Jaffa* the first conference of Jews of the liberated area of Palestine. Major Ormsby-Gore, the Political Officer in charge of the Zionist Commission, delivered the following speech :—

" You have asked me, as Political Officer in charge of the Zionist Commission which has been sent out to Palestine by H.M. Government, to attend this historic gathering and to say a few words of good wishes to you, the representatives of all Jewry in the occupied part of Palestine, on behalf of my Government. I do so with a full heart. My Government—the British Government—has said one or two important things during this war concerning Palestine.

" My Government has said that, if England and her Allies win this war, the future Government of Palestine shall not be Turkish, because in this war England and her Allies are

fighting, not for the extension of any Empire, nor for the acquisition of further power or further territory, but they are fighting for an ideal, shared by all our Allies, namely, that countries shall be governed in the interests and according to the wishes and the aspirations of the inhabitants of those countries. We are satisfied when we look at the results of Turkish rule upon the land and the people of Palestine, that such rule ought to disappear in the interests of Palestine and of civilization. The Turkish rule in Palestine was an alien rule, and was not in the best interests of any of the inhabitants of Palestine, and, moreover, such a rule crippled the free development, economic and political, of this country.

" My Government has said that it wishes to see the people of Palestine among others freed from the rule of the Turks, but it has as yet said nothing as to what Government should take its place—that is a matter for the Peace Conference. But Mr. Balfour has made an historic declaration with regard to the Zionists, that he wishes to see created and built up in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people.

" What do we understand by this ? We mean that those Jews who voluntarily come to live in Palestine should live in Palestine as Jewish nationalists, *i.e.* that they should be regarded as Jews and nothing else, and that they should be absolutely free to develop *Hebrew* education, to develop the country, and live their own life in their own way in Palestine freely, but only submitting equally with all others to the laws of the land.

" I shall tell the British Government, when I go back, what the Jews of Palestine have done already to realize their ideals, and what they feel with regard to this National Home. I can say when I go back that I can see in this gathering to-day the pioneer work of the National Home, *i.e.* a National Home built up on a *Hebrew* foundation with a definite consciousness and ideal of its own. I can say that whether you come from Russia, from Salonica, from Bokhara, from Poland, from America, from England, or from Yemen, you are bound together in Palestine by the ideal of building up a Jewish nation in all its various aspects in Palestine, a national centre for Jewry all over the world to look to. This is the ideal of the future, an ideal which I am convinced will be realized without doing any injustice or injury to any of your neighbours here. But while I look

forward to the realization of this ideal, I must remind you of the grim realities of the present.

" We can still hear the guns, and we are in the midst of a desperate struggle—not merely between nations, but between ideals. Be patient with the British Government, who wish you well. Do not expect a great deal from them, but expect a great deal from yourselves. At present we are bound to carry on the Turkish system of law, taxation, and Government. We are bound to do this by international law, and England has always tried to respect this international law. England set its seal to the Hague Convention, which said that when an advance was made into enemy country, the administration should be military and not political, and that such military administration should make no attempt to alter or change the institutions of the occupied country ; it is not our wish that this is so, but it is so by the rule of law, and we shall do our best to respect this law no matter who else breaks it.

" It is difficult for a military administration to make radical changes or to do much to help you and others in the country. Nevertheless, some great things have been done already ; the British Government has given opportunity to the young men to join the battalion of Jews from other countries to liberate this country. This splendid response of your young men will have a great moral value when history comes to be written. Every one of these fine and splendid recruits now enrolled and who are going to the battalions which have come from England and America, will go as missionaries of Jewish nationalism in Palestine, so that these men will stay in Palestine and help to develop it on just and right lines. The British Government has done something more of great service to you. The Government has sent out to Palestine the Zionist Commission. It has sent out Dr. Weizmann, *i.e.* the British Government has sent out a man in whom it has confidence to help the Jews in Palestine in their greatest hour of need What this help has meant to you I need not go into in detail. The Zionist Commission speaks for itself. Dr. Weizmann came here as a stranger to the British authorities, but in a few weeks he has won for himself, and for the people whom he represents, a position among the British authorities and amongst all with whom he has come into contact in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine ; a position which is not merely a help, but a corner stone of the work which lies before you. The Zionist

M. Krause | *Major* (Scrimgeour) | M. Abrevaya | Ben-zion Gutman | *Dr.* Chayim Weizmann | Israel M. Sieff | Mordecai *ben* Hillel Hacohen

Photo by בן־דוב בצלאל ירושלם

Laying Foundation Stone of the Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem

15 Ab, 5678 — *24 July, 1918*

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Commission is in a position to do much to acquaint not only Jewry throughout the world, but also the Governments of the Allied countries, with the needs, ideals, and aspirations of Palestine Jewry. It is, therefore, only right that you should be guided in patience by him, your leader, and accept his advice and direction. Dr. Weizmann is a leader who will see you through. He is a man worthy of your confidence, as well as of the confidence of all of the Allied Governments.

"The work of the conference which I am addressing is very important. You have a great deal to prepare for. You have to prepare for peace, for the day when war is no more, and when there will be, please God, a free Palestine. Gentlemen, make sure that your foundation-stones are truly laid in your agricultural, cultural, and educational work. So much depends for civilization on the work for which you are now preparing and which you will perform during the next few months. You will be faced with all the difficult trivialities of life, but in the Zionist movement there is a spirit, and just as good transcends evil, so does the spiritual transcend the material. You can build up a centre of civilization here. We English owe all that is best in our civilization to the Bible, and that is why we feel a deep interest and a bond of sympathy in the work which you are doing. The Zionist movement is not merely a political move, but it is a spiritual force, and if it succeeds I feel it will bring something great and noble to the world, a message which will not only do so much for the sad but beautiful land, but for the scattered hosts of *Israel* and for humanity."

On 24th July, 1918, the foundation-stones of the *Hebrew* University in *Jerusalem* were laid. This was an event which Zionists had conceived long before, an event likely to be of great importance in enabling *Jerusalem* to become a spiritual centre for the still dispersed communities of *Israel*, and destined, let us hope, to influence and elevate the mental life, social aspirations and religious conceptions of the Jews of the world.

The site of the University is a beautiful one. It is on Mount Scopus, on an estate purchased from the late Sir John Gray Hill of Liverpool, who was personally in deep sympathy with the scheme. It faces *Jerusalem* on the one side and the valley of the *Jordan* and the Dead Sea on the other.

At the ceremony of laying the foundation-stones those present included, besides the members of the Zionist Com-

mission, the Commander-in-Chief and senior members of his staff, the Military Governor of *Jerusalem*, staff representatives of the French and Italian military detachments in Palestine and other officers, the *Mufti* of *Jerusalem*, Bishop MacInnes, Anglican Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the representatives of the Armenian and Greek Churches, the Mayor and Vice-Mayor of *Jerusalem*, Baron and Baroness Felix Menasce of Alexandria, Maurice Cattaui *Pacha*, President of the Cairo Jewish Community, Mr. Victor Mosseri, the Chief *Rabbis* of Cairo and Alexandria, the *Sephardi* and *Ashkenazi* Chief *Rabbis*, and representatives of all Jewish organizations and committees in *Jerusalem*, *Jaffa*, and the colonies. The day was declared a public Jewish holiday in *Jerusalem*, and a crowd numbering about six thousand people witnessed the ceremony.

After the ceremony had been opened by a chant of praise, Dr. Weizmann laid the first foundation-stone of the University on behalf of the Zionist Organization. He was followed by the two Chief *Rabbis* of *Jerusalem* and the heads of the United Council, who laid a stone on behalf of the *Jerusalem* Community. The *Mufti* then laid a stone, and was followed by the Anglican Bishop. Stones were also laid on behalf of the following: The Zionist Organization, the Jewish Regiment, Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild, the town of *Jaffa*, the Colonies, *Hebrew* Literature, *Hebrew* Teachers, *Hebrew* Science, Jewish Artisans and Labourers, Isaac Goldberg (whose generosity it was that provided so largely for the purchase of the site), and the Future Generations.

Dr. Weizmann then added his signature to a parchment scroll inscribed with the blessing: [1]

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם שהחינו וקימנו והגיענו לזמן הזה:

Wednesday, the fifteenth day of the fifth month, the month of *Menachem-Ab*, being in the year Five Thousand six hundred and seventy-eight from the creation of the World, One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine from the destruction of our second Temple, and the twenty-first year after the first Zionist Congress called by Dr. Benjamin Zeeb *ben* Jacob Herzl, the first year of the Declaration of the British Government

[1] "Blessed art Thou O! Lord our God, King of the Universe who hast preserved us alive, and sustained us and brought us to (*enjoy*) this season."

issued through the Rt. Hon. Arthur James Balfour promising to grant a National Home to the Jewish People in the land of *Israel*,—the day on which was laid the first stone of the building which shall become the first *Hebrew* University in *Jerusalem*. In testimony of which we add our signatures." The signatures included that of the *Sephardi* Chief *Rabbi* Nissim Elyashar, the *Ashkenazi* Chief *Rabbi* Zerach Epstein, the *Mufti* of *Jerusalem*, Bishop MacInnes, Chief *Rabbi* Uziel of *Jaffa* in the name of Baron Edmond *de* Rothschild, *M.* Libowitz, one of the last of the heroic band of *Bilu*, Dr. Thon, Mr. D. Levontin, and some boys and girls in the name of the future generation.

The signed scroll was buried under the first stone.

Dr. Weizmann then delivered an address. He said :—

" We have to-day laid the foundation-stone of the first Jewish University, which is to be erected on this hill, overlooking the city of *Jerusalem*. Many of us will have had their thoughts cast back to the great historic scenes associated with *Jerusalem*, scenes that have become part of the heritage of mankind. It is not too fanciful to picture the souls of those who have made our history here with us to-day inspiring us, urging us onwards, to greater and ever greater tasks. Many again will have had their attention riveted on the apparent contrast between to-day's ceremony and the scenes of warfare within a few miles of us. For only a brief moment we are allowing ourselves to indulge in a mental armistice, and in laying aside all thoughts of strife we try to pierce the veil of war and glance into the future. A week ago we were keeping the Fast of *Ab*, reminding us that the Temple had been utterly destroyed and the Jewish national political existence extinguished apparently for ever. But throughout the long centuries we, the stiff-necked people, have refused to acknowledge defeat, and '*Judæa Capta*' is once more on the eve of triumph. Here, out of the misery and the desolation of war, is being created the first germ of a new life. Hitherto we have been content to speak of Reconstruction and Restoration. We know that ravished Belgium, devastated France, Poland and Russia must and will be restored. In this University, however, we have gone beyond Restoration and Reconstruction, we are creating during the period of war something which is to serve as a symbol of a better future. It is fitting that Great Britain, aided by her great Allies, in the midst of tribulation and sorrow, should stand sponsor to this University. Great

Britain has understood that it is just because these are times of stress, just because men tend to become lost in the events of the day, that there is a need to overlay these details by this bold appeal to the world's imagination. Here what seemed but a dream a few years ago is now becoming a reality.

"What is the significance of a *Hebrew* University—what are going to be its functions, whence will it draw its students, and what languages will it speak? It seems at first sight paradoxical that in a land with so sparse a population, in a land where everything still remains to be done, in a land crying out for such simple things as ploughs, roads, and harbours, we should begin by creating a centre of spiritual and intellectual development. But it is no paradox for those who know the soul of the Jew. It is true that great social and political problems still face us and will demand their solution from us. We Jews know that when the mind is given fullest play, when we have a centre for the development of Jewish consciousness, then coincidently we shall attain the fulfilment of our material needs. In the darkest ages of our existence we found protection and shelter within the walls of our schools and colleges, and in devoted study of Jewish science the tormented Jew found relief and consolation. Amid all the sordid squalor of the *Ghetto* there stood schools of learning where numbers of young Jews sat at the feet of our *Rabbis* and teachers. Those schools and colleges served as large reservoirs where there was stored up during the long ages of persecution an intellectual and spiritual energy which on the one hand helped to maintain our national existence, and on the other hand blossomed forth for the benefit of mankind when once the walls of the *Ghetto* fell. The sages of Babylon and *Jerusalem*, Maimonides and the *Gaon* of Wilna, the lens polisher of Amsterdam and Karl Marx, Heinrich Heine and Paul Ehrlich are some of the links in the long, unbroken chain of intellectual development.

"The University, as its name implies, is to teach everything the mind of man embraces. No teaching can be fruitful nowadays unless it is strengthened by a spirit of enquiry and research; and a modern University must not only produce highly trained professional men, but give ample opportunity to those capable and ready to devote themselves to scientific research to do so unhindered and undisturbed. Our University will thus become the home of

those hundreds of talented young Jews in whom the thirst for learning and critical enquiry has been engrained by heredity throughout ages, and who in the great multitude of cases are at present compelled to satisfy this their burning need amid un-Jewish, very often unfriendly surroundings.

"A *Hebrew* University! I do not suppose that there is anyone here who can conceive of a University in *Jerusalem* being other than a *Hebrew* one. The claim that the University should be a *Hebrew* one rests upon the values the Jews have transmitted to the world from this land. Here in the presence of adherents of the three great religions of the world, which amid many diversities build their faith upon the Lord who made Himself known unto *Moses*, before this world which has founded itself on Jewish law, has paid reverence to *Hebrew* seers, has acknowledged the great mental and spiritual values the Jewish people have given to it, the question is answered. The University is to stimulate the Jewish people to reach further truth. Am I too bold if here to-day in this place among the hills of *Ephraim* and *Judah*, I state my conviction that the seers of *Israel* have not utterly perished, that under the ægis of this University there will be a renaissance of the Divine power of prophetic wisdom that once was ours? The University will be the focus of the rehabilitation of our Jewish consciousness now so tenuous, because it has become so world-diffused. Under the atmospheric pressure of this Mount, our Jewish consciousness can become diffused without becoming feeble, our consciousness will be rekindled and our Jewish youth will be reinvigorated from Jewish sources.

"Since it is to be a *Hebrew* University, the question hardly arises as to its language. By a strange error, people have regarded *Hebrew* as one of the dead languages, whilst in fact it has never died off the lips of mankind. True, to many of us Jews it has become a second language, but for thousands of my people *Hebrew* is and always has been the sacred tongue, and in the streets of *Tel Aviv*, in the orchards of *Rischon* and *Rechoboth*, on the farms of *Hulda* and *Ben Shemen*, it has already become the mother tongue. Here in Palestine, amid the *Babel* of languages, *Hebrew* stands out as the one language in which every Jew can communicate with every other Jew. Upon the technical difficulties connected with *Hebrew* instruction it is unnecessary for me to dwell at the moment. We are alive to them; but the experience of our Palestinian schools has already shown to

us that these difficulties are surmountable. These are all matters of detail which have been carefully examined and will be dealt with at the appropriate time. I have spoken of the Jewish University where the language will be *Hebrew*, just as French is used at the Sorbonne, or English at Oxford. Naturally, other languages, ancient and modern, will be taught in the respective faculties; among these languages we may expect that prominent attention will be given to Arabic and other Semitic languages.

"The *Hebrew* University, though intended primarily for Jews, will, of course, give an affectionate welcome to the members of every race and creed. 'For my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations.' Besides the usual schools and institutions which go to form a modern University, there will be certain branches of science which it will be peculiarly appropriate to associate with our University. Archæological Research, which has revealed so much of the mysterious past of Egypt and of Greece, has a harvest still to be reaped in Palestine, and our University is destined to play an important part in this field of knowledge.

"The question as to the faculties with which our University may begin its career is limited to some extent by practical considerations. The beginnings of our University are not entirely lacking. We have in *Jerusalem* the elements of a Pasteur Institute and a Jewish Health Bureau, whence valuable contributions to bacteriology and sanitation have already been issued. There is the school of Technology at *Haifa*, and the beginning of an agricultural experimental station at *Athlit*. It is to scientific research and its application that we can confidently look for the banishment of those twin plagues of Palestine, malaria and trachoma; for the eradication of other indigenous diseases; it is to true scientific method that we may look for the full cultivation of this fair and fertile land, now so unproductive. Here, chemistry and bacteriology, geology and climatology, will be required to join forces, so that the great value of the University in the building up of our National Home is apparent. All that again reminds us of the fact which one is likely to forget after four years of a terrible war, with its misapplication of scientific methods, that we must look to science as to the healer of many wounds and the redeemer of many evils. Side by side with scientific research the humanities will occupy a distinguished place. Ancient Jewish learning, the accumulated, half-hidden treasures of our

ancient philosophical, religious and juridic literature, are to be brought to light again and freed from the dust of ages. They will be incorporated in the new life now about to develop in this country, and so our past will be linked up with the present.

" May I be allowed, before concluding, to point to one very important aspect of our University ? The University, while trying to maintain the highest scientific level, must, at the same time, be rendered accessible to all classes of the people. The Jewish workman and farm labourer must be enabled to find there a possibility of continuing and completing their education in their free hours. The doors of our libraries, lecture rooms, and laboratories, must be opened widely to them all. Thus the University will exercise its beneficial influence on the nation as a whole. The bare nucleus of the library is already in existence here, and very valuable additions to it are at present stored up in Russia and elsewhere. The setting-up of a University library and of a University press are contemplated soon after the war. Manifold are the preparations yet to be made. Some of them are already in progress ; some, like the actual building, must necessarily be postponed until the happy day of peace arrives. But from this day the *Hebrew* University is a reality. Our University, formed by Jewish learning and Jewish energy, will mould itself into an integral part of our national structure which is in process of erection. It will have a centripetal force, attracting all that is noblest in Jewry throughout the world ; a unifying centre for our scattered elements. There will go forth, too, inspiration and strength, that shall revivify the powers now latent in our scattered communities. Here the wandering soul of *Israel* shall reach its haven ; its strength no longer consumed in restless and vain wanderings. *Israel* shall at last remain at peace within itself and with the world. There is a *Talmudic* legend that tells of the Jewish soul deprived of its body, hovering between heaven and earth. Such is our soul to-day ; to-morrow it shall come to rest, in this our sanctuary. That is our faith."

Dr. Weizmann then read the following message from Mr. Balfour :—

" Please accept my cordial good wishes for the future of the *Hebrew* University on Mount Scopus. May it carry out its noble purpose with ever-increasing success as the years go on. I offer my warm congratulations to all who have laboured so assiduously to found this school of learning,

which should be an addition to the forces of progress throughout the world."

Captain Coulandre, on behalf of the French Government, presented the following message :—

" Le Gouvernement de la République est heureux d'exprimer les sentiments de sympathie avec lesquels il accueille la fondation de l'Université Juive. Il forme des vœux sincères pour que de là rayonnent les grandes pensées de fraternité et d'idéal auxquels le Judaisme s'est si fermement attaché à travers les siècles au cours desquels il a resisté à toutes les persécutions, et pour que dans un monde débarassé des violences engendrées par les ambitions forcenées du régime Prussien les Juifs qui le desireront puissent trouver en Palestine en parfaite entente avec les autres groupements ethniques un foyer à la fois intellectuel et social."

The whole ceremony was a deeply moving one, and produced an effect which will long remain with those who witnessed it.

The work of the Commission was made possible by the work of the British Army and its scope was greatly increased by General Allenby's complete conquest of the country. In September, 1918, General Allenby secured a victory which resounded throughout the world by its completeness as well as by its brilliance. By most skilful procedure the Turkish line was broken in several places and *Nablus* and *Beisan* were captured. The bridge of the *Daughters of Jacob* over the *Jordan* was seized and British troops wheeling round by quick marches along the coastal plain, passed through the defile of *Megiddo* and cut off the greater portion of the Turkish army. The strong Turkish positions in the hills about *Nablus* were surrounded and positions which if directly attacked would have cost thousands of lives were taken with comparatively few losses.

Eighty thousand prisoners were captured and a vast amount of guns, munitions, and stores. The cavalry swept northward and captured *Damascus* within a few days, and even moved on to *Beirout* and *Sidon* on the coast, while the Arabs under the King of the Hedjaz defeated the Turks in the south-east of Palestine and Jewish troops were sent forward to the capture of *Amman* and *Essalt.* In a period of a fortnight, three armies were defeated and ceased to exist. Turkey's military power was destroyed instantane-

ously. The only defences left to the Turkish Empire were bad communications, immense distances, and the submarines in the Eastern Mediterranean. The victories in Palestine stirred the world and gave new vigour to Zionist efforts. To the outside world, these victories marked the first decisive step in the final defeat of the German federation. To the Zionists, they brought great joy because they definitely ended the corrupt rule of Turkey. Supported by the most powerful nations in the world, the Jews are asked to create in Palestine a typically *Hebrew* society. A great responsibility and a great opportunity are thus offered to us. We have to consider many new and difficult problems. But for the solution of these practical problems, we confidently expect to receive much help from Jews all over the world. The Declaration of the Allies has been like a trumpet-call. Our wonderful successes in the world of diplomacy fascinate all to whom the fate of *Israel* is of importance. The history of the past few years, which has transformed, at the cost of terrible injuries to humanity, what seemed dreams into plain facts, and made what were facts into dream-like memories, will surely bring us active help from all who sympathize with our ideal, the ideal for which Jews have unceasingly prayed and hoped for twenty centuries.

This mighty war has now come to an end and the world breathes freely once more. The cruelties and horrors of more than four years seem now like a nightmare. That nightmare has vanished—let us hope for ever. Day has dawned again, a day of victory, whose power for good outweighs the evil powers let loose by the world-war. The great armies of the Western Allies and of the United States of America have been victorious. In consequence of this victory an old world order has been destroyed and a new and a better one brought into being. State organizations which had forced diverse nations into their artificial and incongruous structures only by power are collapsing like houses of cards. Those who ruled by the sword perished by the sword. Despotism, supported by militarism, is shattered. The victory of the Allies ought to be more than a victory of *one* group of states over another ; this ought to be the victory of what is good in man over what is evil.

This victory must benefit the conquered not less than the conquerors. One great idea has been victorious in this war, namely, the national principle : liberty, equality, and self-determination of all peoples, great and small, old and young. Every nation has the right to live, given the will to do so. Every nation has a right to the land in which it grew to be a nation. It is all one, whether this was accomplished a hundred years ago as in Belgium, or many hundreds of years ago as in Armenia, or as in Greece some thousands of years ago. The right of a people to its historical home cannot be limited by time.

On the basis of this principle a new Europe is shaping itself. Every nation must have its own land, its share in human civilization, with its own speech and customs, its right to do as it wills. Alsace-Lorraine wants to be French, and therefore it shall be French again. The Czechs and the Southern Slavs wish to form independent states ; Poland, Belgium, Serbia, and others, too, are reasserting their independence. Wherever historical rights exist, these must now be realized. Every nation regains now its Zion for which it has longed and suffered. Although this is a great progress in itself, it would be a poor safeguard unless the other great principle were also adopted, the principle of freedom. With the regeneration of national freedom it follows also that the progress of human liberty, equality, and social justice both in the existing states and in the old ones now to be re-established will be assured. No despotism, no subjection of minorities, but liberty, equality, and fraternity for all citizens, equal duties and equal rights.

For this ideal seven millions of men, the vigorous youth of mankind, have sacrificed their lives, and many millions more have been crippled. For this ideal of justice several countries have been laid waste and civilization itself has been threatened with complete destruction. This great ideal of justice, however, will be worthy of the terrible sacrifices which have been made ; it must now be attained.

A new Europe and—a new Asia. Light is shining again from the East. The glorious British Army has reconquered ancient East for civilization. The Arabs, our Semitic kindred, the descendants of a chivalrous and one-time famous race, side by side with inspired Jewish volunteer forces who had flocked together to fight with love and enthusiasm for the Land of Promise, have, with the assistance of French and Italian reinforcements, done their duty

in assisting the British Army. Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine are now freed for their nations. An Arabian Kingdom, a free, well-ordered Syria, the remnants of the unfortunate, hard-tried Armenian nation established as an Armenian State, and a new *Erez Israel*, all these will have to be created on a basis of historical rights and of the realization of the national principle, each under the protection of, and receiving assistance from, some suitable Great Power, in accordance with their own desire, in their gradual and peaceful progress towards their ultimate goal.

What, we ask, will now be the position of the Jews at this juncture ? What will the great victory bring to this people who have been so hard hit by this war ? Hundreds of thousands of Jews have lost their lives, most of them in countries where they had no share in human rights, and nothing to fight for. Dying on the Carpathian mountains or in the plains of Moldavia, the last glance of their closing eyes was turned to the East, to the hills of *Zion*. Innumerable masses have been maimed, millions nerve-shattered and starved out, tens of thousands of Jewish homes, thousands of old Jewish communities wiped out, never to be reconstructed. Will all this not be taken into account in the general reckoning of the great victory ? Jews live in larger or smaller numbers in different countries, where they are faithful and devoted citizens. The majority of the Jewish people have suffered too long and too bitterly in many countries, and it must be the task of the nations and their governments, once and for all, to put an end to these unspeakable sufferings in the old states and in those soon to be founded, by solemn declarations and binding obligations. The Jews desire to be emancipated, that is, released from servile tutelage ; in a free state they do not wish to be the only pariahs and slaves. They demand to be free ; that means in the first place that they want to breathe freely, to breathe wherever they wish without fear that a policeman or a neighbour should point out to them that a Jew may not breathe everywhere. They demand to be free ; that means in the second place, that they should have the right to use their powers of mind and body unhindered in any honest calling, in any useful art, in any branch of science ; so that they can be active and industrious, follow skilled employments, or discharge the functions of office in order to maintain themselves and their families and not be a burden upon others. This they desire without

having to fear that the Gentile competitor should be able to say to them : only Gentile hands, only Gentile craftsmen may be employed in skilled trades, only Gentile applicants are admitted to official positions, only Gentile abilities can assert themselves. And as there are too many of you, we must make laws to limit your activities—otherwise we shall boycott you ! They demand to be free ; that means in the third place that they must be free also as regards their conscience : if their sons possess sufficient talent and knowledge to serve the country as scholars or as public officials, they should be able to do so as honest Jews, and not be compelled to parade as dishonest Christians, that is to profane the ceremony of baptism and to use the certificate of baptism as a passport to office ; they do not wish to act as hypocrites, they do not wish to enter Christian communities by lying and knavery, or to smuggle themselves in that way into civic life. They wish to live as Jews, that means to maintain and to develop undisturbed in their true spirit their customs, their traditions, their system of education, their communities, etc. In short, they wish to be human beings, since he that may not be a citizen with a citizen's full rights in the place where he lives and works and bears his share in all social burdens, has been denied the right to be a human being ; or if rights are granted to a man under the condition that he should become assimilated and cease to be what he has been, thanks to his race and the traditions sacred to him, against that man's manhood the crime of murder has been committed. They wish to be free human beings.

This question indeed concerns humanity. It was raised at the end of the eighteenth century by the great French Revolution, and in some states with small Jewish populations it has been solved in a spirit of liberty. France, England, Italy were the pioneers of equal rights for all. The United States of America were an example in establishing the freedom of citizenship. Nevertheless the majority of the Jews presented during the course of the nineteenth century a pitiful spectacle of unceasing martyrdom—with many shades from semi-emancipation linked with anti-semitism, to boycott and massacres.

The world is changing all its values, and should there be in any country a continuation of tyranny, oppression, and barbarous persecution with regard to the Jews, under any pretext—of which there has never and nowhere seemed to

be a lack—then the great ideal of this world-war will remain an idle dream. For justice can never exist together with injustice. This problem of humanity must now be and will be solved.

But the essential problem of modern political evolution lies deeper than this : it is the problem of the peoples that have been robbed of their lands. No matter how the position of the Jews may be ameliorated, and although many Jews may find a home here and there, nevertheless the genius of the Jewish people, the energy of its constructive power, its creative force will have no adequate means of expression. To have a strong impulse to live their own full life and not to be able to do so—that is the heart-breaking tragedy of this people. This essential dilemma is left untouched by the vague formula of Emancipation. Zionism is the only remedy for the deeper Jewish problem, because Zionism alone goes to the real root of the trouble. There can be no Emancipation worthy of the name without a homeland. The greatest danger to Zionism as well as to anti-Zionism is that the ideal of Zionism on the one hand and that of Emancipation on the other should be separated, and that people should come to regard as antagonistic objects which are essentially related and complementary to one another. Not all Jews will return to Palestine, but large numbers will. Zionism represents one of the highest manifestations of that aspiration to free national existence which is the basis of the reconstruction of the world. When a people, uprooted for centuries from its soil, scattered like dust over the whole world, wants to restore its homeland to-day, to have a land where it can be reunited, then we have before us a proof of the new power that lies in the national idea. Millions of Jews are attached to Palestine with all their soul and strength, just as on the first day of the forced expulsion of their ancestors from their old home : their prayers, their lamentations, their dreams have centred for generations upon this magnetic pole of their love and reverence. Hundreds of times they made desperate efforts to return, but were prevented by powerful circumstances from doing so, and as soon as they had the opportunity of beginning again the re-settlement of Palestine, notwithstanding unspeakable sufferings and the greatest sacrifices, they instantly and energetically availed themselves of it. If the millions of Jewish emigrants who formed the new ghettoes of Europe and America from about 1880 to now had had the possi-

bility of going to Palestine, they would have gladly seized it, because they wished to live as a nation, but that was not possible at that time. *Israel* must have its own home. Palestine must become the spiritual and cultural centre of the Jews. Properly developed, it can hold millions of homeless Jews who will at last have their own homeland and their own full nationality. If it is a misfortune for a people to be robbed of its country, where it could live in peace and prosperity as a nation and enjoy in common with the rest of the family of nations the fruits of its labour, then this misfortune is not smaller but rather has become greater for having existed two thousand years. If it is an injustice to withhold from a people a land to which they have a right, then this injustice is not the smaller, but rather the greater, when a people has suffered it for two thousand years. Never has a nation governed its own home for a longer period ; no nation's history, religion, literature, and traditions are more closely bound up with its land ; and no nation has ever suffered a more terrible martyrdom after having been disinherited. Can anyone doubt the right of the Jewish people to the land of *Israel ?* The validity of the Jewish title to Palestine rests on the same basis as the title of any nation to any particular area of the world where it has ruled and existed for centuries. The Jews' historical right on the Land of *Israel*, with due consideration for the rights and interests of the non-Jewish population which will be safeguarded and respected, must become the decisive factor in the question of Palestine.

At last the time has come. The spirit of freedom is on the wing, the Great Creative Spirit is once more moving among the nations. The new territorial settlement is going to lay the foundations of the world's peace on a basis of justice and national union. The liberation of oppressed nationalities, the restoration of territories violently annexed in the past, the recognition of the desire of racial units and groups for autonomy are the great objects in view. The wrongs of the centuries are going to be righted, and the Jewish race to be placed on an equal footing with other races. The Jewish people is standing at a momentous turning point in its history of four thousand years, to which the determined labour of Zionism has paved the way. The very roots of Jewish nationality are set in that soil which after being for ages in shadow is again turning to light.

With the victory of the national idea Zionism also has won a victory. Now that Palestine is freed, much is possible which formerly was only an aspiration. The field is immense and ready. The evil demon of the Pharaohs and of Antiochus Epiphanes has been cast out ; the glorious genius of Cyrus the Great hovers with wings of love over the wonderful destiny of the Jewish people. Powerful nations and governments—the guardians of freedom and the champions of justice—have solemnly pledged themselves to further with all the forces at their disposal the revival of the Jewish nation in the land of *Israel*. Under this guiding symbol the problem of Palestine will be discussed and settled by the Peace Conference among all the important questions before it. The work is stupendous in its implications and its responsibilities. No one imagines that this result can be speedily attained. Its accomplishment will take time, and quite possibly a long time. To restore a scattered people to a land long neglected is not an easy task. The Jewish colonization of Palestine must be carefully built, stone upon stone, by the steady hands of Zionists with that spirit of self-sacrificing endurance which saved our nationality, with wisdom and self-restraint. Zionists are aware of what the Holy Places of Palestine, places of traditional associations and religious faith, consecrated by a thousand cherished memories, are to the great religions. These places will receive equal respect ; they will be, not less, but more than hitherto reverently exalted as places of the rarest and sweetest memories in the world. Zionists have the most scrupulous regard for all spiritual things and needs of all religions, and are confident that all Holy Places will be safeguarded by arrangements to be introduced. Zionists are also alive to the legitimate interests and needs of the non-Jewish population, whose liberty and welfare, in peace and harmony and mutual respect, are most essential for the success of the Jewish national rebirth. The new Jewish centre must be made worthy of its glorious past. The noblest ambitions of Jews all over the world are concentrated on this point.

Zionists have now an opportunity never dreamt of—an opportunity that may never return. The Jewish masses, all those who want to live their own life, the clean, free life of farmers and settlers, will be enabled to cultivate all the possibilities of their nature. Industry, art, and science are to join hands in this great work. The long-desired goal of the Jewish people, the re-

habilitation of the old national home in the land of their fathers, is nearing realization. This is a great historical event which must touch and stimulate the imagination of all for whom history, right of nations, and justice for small nationalities have any meaning or any message. Ancient Israel, reawakened to new life, is preparing itself to enter the family of nations as a small but free nation in its old home.

Zionism is not a mere abstract idea. It is connected by every bond with modern democracy and aspirations for liberty. All peoples for whom democracy is not a vain word owe it moral and material support. The Peace Conference must permit it to attain its ends. The League of Nations will not be complete if the oldest and most oppressed Jewish nationality will not have its place there. Of all the consequences of the Great War and the still greater Victory, none could be invested with so splendid a degree of romance as the re-establishment of *Israel*. Of all the small nations which shall spring full fledged from this world crisis, none will have so ancient a claim, so fascinating a history as the *Hebrew* people reinstalled among the consecrated hills of *Judah* and by the sacred waters of *Galilee*. This will be an everlasting memorial to the principle for which the free peoples of the earth have made the greatest sacrifice in the history of the human race. And the names of all those who have given their support and help towards this work of Peace, Justice, and Liberty will live for ever in the annals of the world and of *Israel*.

APPENDICES

B. M. : British Museum Library.
I. S. : Israel Solomons' Collection.

I

The Prophets and the Idea of a National Restoration

The first prophet who has left any definite revelation concerning the Dispersion of the Jews and their ultimate restoration in Palestine was Moses, our Law-giver.

" And I will bring the land into desolation; and your enemies that dwell therein shall be astonished at it." (Leviticus xxvi. 32.)

" And you will I scatter among the nations, and I will draw out the sword after you ; and your land shall be a desolation, and your cities shall be a waste." (*Ibid.* 33.)

" And yet for all that, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break My covenant with them ; for I am the Lord their God." (*Ibid.* 44.)

" But I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, that I might be their God : I am the Lord." (*Ibid.* 45.)

Here we have a promise not to abhor or utterly destroy the Jewish people, but to remember the covenant which God made with their ancestors. We find the purport of this covenant in an early chapter of the Pentateuch :—

" And the Lord said unto Abram, . . . ' Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward and southward and eastward and westward ; " (Genesis xiii. 14.)
" for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever : " (*Ibid.* 15.)

It is impossible to understand how it can be said that this covenant will be remembered, if the Jewish people is to continue dispersed, and is to be *for ever* excluded from the land here spoken of. As to the return from Babylonian captivity, that will not answer the intention of the covenant at all. For to restore a small part of the Jewish people to its own land for a few generations, and afterwards disperse it among all nations for many times as long, without any hope of return, cannot be the meaning of giving that land to the seed of Abram *for ever.*

Again we read :—

" And the Lord shall scatter you among the peoples, . . ."
(Deuteronomy iv. 27.)

" But from thence ye will seek the Lord thy God ; and thou shalt find Him, if thou search after Him with all thy heart and with all thy soul." (*Ibid.* 29.)

" In thy distress, when all these things are come upon thee, in the end of days, thou wilt return to the Lord thy God, and hearken unto His voice ; " (*Ibid.* 30.)
" for the Lord thy God is a merciful God ; He will not fail thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which He swore unto them." (*Ibid.* 31.)

This prophecy refers to the thirteenth chapter of Genesis, as is shown by this thirty-first verse ; and confirms again the return to the Holy Land, and its possession for ever :—

" And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt bethink thyself among all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee," (Deuteronomy xxx. 1.)
" and shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and hearken to His voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul ; " (*Ibid.* 2.)
" that then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the peoples, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee." (*Ibid.* 3.)

" If any of thine that are dispersed be in the uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will He fetch thee." (*Ibid.* 4.)

" And the Lord thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it ; and He will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers." (*Ibid.* 5.)

Amongst the " things which should come upon them," which are described at large in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of Deuteronomy, it is particularly said :—

" And the Lord shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth ; . . ."
(*Ibid.* xxviii. 64.)

But observe that subsequently we are told :—

" And the Lord thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it ; and He will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers." (*Ibid.* xxx. 5.)

which promises do not appear to have been fulfilled during the time of the Babylonian captivity, or after the return from Babylon.

Here we have in plain words, simple and clear, the fundamental idea of Moses : the Jewish national future and the possession of the land for ever. This cannot be explained away by sophistry. In vain some Jews declare : We are not nationalist

Jews, we are religious Jews! What is the Jewish religion if the Bible is not accepted as an Inspired Revelation? It is strange and sadly amusing that some Jews, adherents of the monotheistic principle, describe themselves as Germans, Magyars, and so on, "of the persuasion of Moses." If this is not blasphemy, it is irony. The real Moses, the Moses of the Pentateuch, brands Dispersion as a curse, and his whole religious conception, with all the laws, ceremonies, feasts, etc., is built up on the basis of the covenant with the ancestors, a covenant immovable and unalterable. No matter whether Jews call themselves religious or nationalist: the Jewish religion cannot be separated from nationalism, unless another Bible is invented.

Judaism, or the Jewish religion, is based first upon the teaching of Moses, and next upon that of the prophets, and it is a favourite claim of the modern school of Jewish reform that their Judaism is "Prophetic Judaism," in opposition to the Judaism of orthodox Jews, who lay particular stress upon the Talmud. But what do the prophets teach?

The next revelation in chronological order after the inspired predictions of Moses, is that of Joel the son of Pethuel, who began to prophesy to the Kingdom of Judah about eight hundred years before the civil era:—

"Then was the Lord jealous for His land,
And had pity on His people." (Joel ii. 18.)

"And the Lord answered and said unto His people:
Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil,
And ye shall be satisfied therewith;
And I will no more make you a reproach among the nations;"
(*Ibid.* 19.)

"For, behold, in those days, and in that time,
When I shall bring back the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem,"
(*Ibid.* iv. 1.)

"So shall ye know that I am the Lord your God,
Dwelling in Zion My holy mountain;
Then shall Jerusalem be holy, . . ." (*Ibid.* 17.)

"But Judah shall be inhabited for ever,
And Jerusalem from generation to generation." (*Ibid.* 20.)

Amos, who was among the herdmen of Tekoa, lived in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, King of Israel, and prophesied to the Kingdom of Israel from eight hundred and eight, to seven hundred and eighty-three years before the civil era:—

"And I will turn the captivity of My people Israel,
And they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; . . ."
(Amos ix. 14.)

"And I will plant them upon their land,
And they shall no more be plucked up
Out of their land which I have given them,
Saith the Lord thy God." (*Ibid.* 15.)

Hosea, the son of Beeri, prophesied to the Kingdom of Israel, in the days of the same Jeroboam from about seven hundred and eighty-five, to seven hundred and twenty-five years before the civil era :—

" For the children of Israel shall sit solitary many days without king, and without prince, . . ." (Hosea iii. 4.)

" afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king ; . . ." (*Ibid.* 5.)

This prophecy, being given to the Kingdom of Israel in particular, cannot be applied to the return of Judah from Babylon.

Isaiah the son of Amoz (The First Isaiah) was the foremost of the four who are called the greater prophets. He lived in the time of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah, and prophesied about seven hundred and sixty, to six hundred and ninety-eight years before the civil era :—

" And it shall come to pass in that day,
That the Lord will set His hand again the second time
To recover the remnant of His people,
That shall remain from Assyria, and from Egypt,
And from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam,
And from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea." (Isaiah xi. 11.)

" And he will set up an ensign for the nations,
And will assemble the dispersed of Israel,
And gather together the scattered of Judah
From the four corners of the earth." (*Ibid.* 12.)

" The envy also of Ephraim shall depart,
And they that harass Judah shall be cut off ;
Ephraim shall not envy Judah,
And Judah shall not vex Ephraim." (*Ibid.* 13.)

This prophecy, alone, is sufficiently definite with regard to a second restoration of Israel, as appears from the eleventh verse, even if there were no other to be found.

As to the second Isaiah, his prophecies may be called the " Song of Songs " of the restoration of Israel :—

" Lift up thine eyes round about, and see :
They all are gathered together, and come to thee ;
Thy sons come from far,
And thy daughters are borne on the side." (Isaiah lx. 4.)

" Who are these that fly as a cloud,
And as the doves to their cotes ? " (*Ibid.* 8.)

" Surely the isles shall wait for Me,
And the ships of Tarshish first,
To bring thy sons from far,
Their silver and their gold with them,
For the name of the Lord thy God,
And for the Holy One of Israel, because He hath glorified thee."
(*Ibid.* 9.)

" For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before Me, said the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain." (*Ibid.* lxvi. 22.)

Micah the Morashtite prophesied in the days of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, about 750 years before the civil era :—

" I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee ;
I will surely gather the remnant of Israel ; . . ." (Micah ii. 12.)

" In that day, saith the Lord, will I assemble her that halteth,
And I will gather her that is driven away,
And her that I have afflicted ; " (*Ibid.* iv. 6.)

" And I will make her that halted a remnant,
And her that was cast far off a mighty nation ;
And the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion from thenceforth even for ever." (*Ibid.* 7.)

" Thou wilt show faithfulness to Jacob, mercy to Abraham,
As Thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old."
(*Ibid.* vii. 20.)

Here we again meet the covenant of Truth and Mercy sworn unto Abraham, that the land Abraham then stood upon should be given to him and to his seed for ever.

Zephaniah, the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hezekiah, prophesied in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah, about six hundred and thirty years before the civil era :—

" At that time will I bring you in,
And at that time will I gather you ;
For I will make you to be a name and a praise
Among all the peoples of the earth,
When I turn your captivity before your eyes,
Saith the Lord." (Zephaniah iii. 20.)

Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests that were in Anathoth, in the land of Benjamin, also prophesied in the days of Josiah, about six hundred and twenty-nine to five hundred and eighty-eight years before the civil era :—

" In those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the north to the land that I have given for an inheritance unto your fathers."
(Jeremiah iii. 18.)

" In his days Judah shall be saved,
And Israel shall dwell safely ; . . ." (*Ibid.* xxiii. 6.)

" Thus saith the Lord,
Who giveth the sun for a light by day,
And the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night,
Who stirreth up the sea, that the waves thereof roar,
The Lord of hosts is His name : " (*Ibid.* xxxi. 35.)

" If these ordinances depart from before Me,
Saith the Lord,
Then the seed of Israel also shall cease
From being a nation before Me for ever." (*Ibid.* 36.)

" Considerest thou not what this people have spoken, saying : The two families which the Lord did choose, He hath cast them off ? and they contemn My people, that they should be no more a nation before them." (*Ibid.* xxxiii. 24.)

" Thus saith the Lord : If My covenant be not with day and night, if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth ; " (*Ibid.* 25.)

" then will I also cast away the seed of Jacob, and of David My servant, . . ." (*Ibid.* 26.)

" But fear not thou, O Jacob My servant,
Neither be dismayed, O Israel ;
For, lo, I will save thee from afar,
And thy seed from the land of their captivity ;
And Jacob shall again be quiet and at ease,
And none shall make him afraid." (*Ibid.* xlvi. 27.)

Ezekiel the Priest, the son of Buzi, prophesied in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Cebar, about five hundred and ninety-five, to five hundred and seventy-four years before the civil era. In the thirty-sixth chapter he describes the restoration of Judah and Israel in words so plain and clear that nobody could possibly mistake them, and in the next chapter, by the wonderful vision of dry bones reviving, he shows that, however unpromising the state of Israel may seem, while they are dispersed through the world, yet will God most certainly effect the reunion of the tribes which is here foretold :—

" Moreover I will make a covenant of peace with them—it shall be an everlasting covenant with them ; and I will establish them, and multiply them, and will set My sanctuary in the midst of them for ever." (*Ibid.* xxxvii. 26.)

Chapters thirty-eight and thirty-nine give a most circumstantial description of the return, which excluded the possibility of an allegorical explanation.

Obadiah prophesied about five hundred and eighty-seven years before the civil era :—

" But in Mount Zion there shall be those that escape,
And it shall be holy ;
And the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions."
(Obadiah i. 17.)

" And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel,
That are among the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath,
And the captivity of Jerusalem, that is in Sepharad,
Shall possess the cities of the South." (*Ibid.* 20.)

Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo, prophesied about five hundred and twenty years before the civil era, to those that had returned from captivity. He had the idea of a great future restoration.

" And it shall come to pass that, as ye were a curse among the nations, O house of Judah and house of Israel, so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing ; fear not, but let your hands be strong."
(Zechariah viii. 13.)

" I will bring them back also out of the land of Egypt,
And gather them out of Assyria ;
And I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon,
And place shall not suffice them." (*Ibid.* x. 10.)

Malachi prophesied about four hundred and twenty years before the civil era :—

" And all nations shall call you happy ;
For ye shall be a delightsome land,
Saith the Lord of hosts." (Malachi iii. 12.)

" Behold, I will send you
Elijah the prophet
Before the coming
Of the great and terrible day of the Lord." (*Ibid.* 23.)

Daniel's (Belteshazzar) prophecies from about five hundred and thirty-four, to five hundred and seven years before the civil era relate not only to the affairs of Judah and Israel, but also to the various monarchies and kingdoms that are to arise successively in the world. In the following verses he foretells the national future of his own people :—

" And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed ; nor shall the kingdom be left to another people ; . . ., but it shall stand for ever." (Daniel ii. 44.)

" And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High ; their kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey them." (*Ibid.* vii. 27.)

". . . and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was seen since there was a nation even to that same time ; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, . . ." (*Ibid.* xii. 1.)

These predictions undoubtedly signify that the Children of Israel shall *enjoy a kingdom and dominion under the whole heaven*, i.e. upon the earth, which shall *never be destroyed, nor shall the kingdom be left to another people.*[1]

[1] The most notable *Talmudic* and *Rabbinical* passages referring to the future of the Jewish nation are : *Talm. Bab. Berachoth* 28b, 34b ; *Shabb.* 118a ; *Menahoth* 45a ; *Baba Mezia* 3a ; *Eduyoth* VIII. 7 ; *Kiddushin* 71a ; Gen. *Rabba* LXXXV. 2 ; *Hagigah* 14a ; *Sanhedrin* 38b ; 98a, 99a, 110b, 111a ; *Erubin* 43b ; Cant. *Rabba* VII. 10 ; *Sifri* on Deut. 1 : 1 ; *Baba*

II

Rev. Paul Knell (1615–64), Israel and England Paralleled

Israel | And | England | Paralelled, | In a Sermon preached before | the honourable society of *Grayes*-|Inne, upon Sunday in the | afternoon, *Aprill* 16. 1648.|
By Paul Knell, *Master in Arts of Clare-Hall* | in Cambridge. | Sometimes Chaplaine to a Regiment of Curiasiers | in his Majesties Army.
London, | Printed in the Yeare 1648.[1]
(*4to.* 2 *ll.* + 20 *pp.*) [B. M.]

pp. 16–17. ". . . . first, we may compare with *Israel* for a fruitfull scituation, being neither under the torrid nor the frozen Zone, neither burned away with parching heat, nor benummed away with pinching cold, but seated in a temperate climate & fertile soile; our folds are full of sheep, our vallies stand so thick with corne that we may laugh & sing. God hath also fenced us about, like the *Israelites* in the red sea, with a wall of water, the waters are as a wall unto us, on our right hand, & on our left, . . . *And now*, England, *what doth thy Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his waies, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule?* But here God may as justly complaine of us as he did of *Israel*, . . ."

Bathra 76a. For the views of the *Gaon* Saadia *ben* Joseph (892–942) see Guttman, *Religionsphilosophie des Saadia*, Göttingen, 1882, *p.* 236; for Hai *ben* Sherira *Gaon* (939–1038) see *Taam Zekenim*, Frankfort on the Main, 1854, *pp.* 58–61; for Abraham *ben* Chiya Albargeloni *Ha'nasi* (called Abraham Judæus and Savasorda) (1065–1136) see *Hegion Ha'nefesh*, Leipzig, 1860, *p.* 40 ff.; for Judah Halevi, see his Poems and Kuzari in Cassel's edition, Leipzig, 1869, ii. 36–44, *pp.* 143–7, p. iv. 23; pt. i. 115; for Maimonides, see *Hilchoth Melachim* in his *Yad Ha'chazakah*, Chs. XI. XII. and *Hilchoth Teshubah*, Ch. IX. 2; for Nachmanides, see his Comment. to Gen. 2: 3, and to Exodus 17: 9; for Abarbanel, his books *Yeshuat Meshicho*, *Mashmia Yeshuah*, *Maeyenai Ha'yeshua*, and Klausner: Die Messianischen Vorstellungen . . . Berlin, 1904, and also Greenstone: *The Messiah Idea in Jewish History*, Philadelphia, 1906.

[1] It was re-issued thirty-three years later:—
. . . London, Printed in the year 1648. And now Reprinted for a Caution to all those that are given to Change.
Sold by *Randal Tayler* and *Robert Stephens*, by Stationers-Hall, near *Ludgate*. 1681.
4to. 2 *ll.* + 16 *pp.* [I. S.]

III

Matthew Arnold on Righteousness in the Old Testament

Matthew Arnold, in his *Literature and Dogma*, insists that righteousness is in a special manner the object of Bible religion. The word " righteousness " is a master word in the Old Testament. What would England have been were it not for the importance which *Jeshurun*, the upright, attached to the thought and practice of righteousness? She might have been eminent in law, in arts and sciences borrowed from the Romans and the Greeks, but she would have been addicted to idolatry and the gratification of the senses, and would have borne the doom of destruction within herself. He draws a vivid imaginary picture of the authorities of one of the English great Universities, the vice-Chancellor, beadles, masters, scholars, and all, nay, their very professor of moral philosophy, going in procession to worship at the shrine of Aphrodite.

" If it had not been for Israel," he continues, " and the stern check which Israel put upon the glorification and divinization of this natural bend of mankind. . . . And as long as the world lasts, all who want to make progress in righteousness will come to Israel for inspiration, as to the people who have had the sense for righteousness most glowing and strongest; and in hearing and reading the words Israel has uttered for us, carers for conduct will find a glow and a force they would find nowhere else. As well imagine a man with a sense for sculpture not cultivating it by the help of the remains of Greek art, or a man with a sense for poetry not cultivating it by the help of Homer and Shakespeare, as a man with a sense for conduct not cultivating it by the help of the Bible."[1]

IV

"Esperança de Israel," by Manasseh Ben-Israel

מקוה ישראל | *Esto es*, | Esperança | De Israel. |
Obra con suma curiosidad conpuesta | *por* | Menasseh Ben Israel | Theologo, y Philosopho Hebreo. |
Trata del admirable esparzimiento de los diez | Tribus, y su infalible reduccion con los de | mas, a la patria: con muchos puntos, | y Historias curiosas, y declara-|cion de varias Prophecias, | por el Author rectamen- | te interpretadas. |

[1] *Literature and Dogma* . . . By Matthew Arnold . . . London . . . 1873 . . . *pp.* 26, 36–37 and 56.

Dirigido a los señores Parnassim del K.K. | *de* Talmvd Tora.| En Amsterdam. | En la Imprension de | Semvel Ben Israel Soeiro.|[1] Año. 5410.|
(*sm.* 8°. 7 *ll.* + 126 *pp.*)[2] [I. S.]

[1] The surname " Ben Israel Soeiro " used by the printer, a son of the author, is a combination of those of his paternal grandparents Joseph Ben-Israel and Rachel Soeiro, who had been *marranos*. Joseph, a victim of the Inquisition, on returning to the Jewish fold, it may be surmised, discarded his gothic patronymic and appropriately assumed that of Ben-Israel. Their son, the author, married Rachel, a great-granddaughter of the famous Bible exegete and statesman Don Isaac Abrabanel, who claimed Davidic descent. In an age when יחוס was highly prized, we consequently find that in the following year, when Samuel printed his father's *Nishmath Chayyim*, his surname has become " Abrabanel Soeiro," and in the Latin addition, " Ben Israel Abrabanel Sueiro." He was born in Amsterdam in 1625. He accompanied his maternal uncle, David Abrabanel [Manuel Martinez Dormido], to England, on behalf of his father, arriving here on 1st Sep., 1654, to open up negotiations with Cromwell concerning the admission of their co-religionists to this country. It was decided that the presence of Manasseh was incumbent, and a pass to Holland, dated 16 May, 1655, was granted to Samuel, to fetch his father. They arrived in the following October, and resided here close on two years. On Sunday, the second day of *Rosh Hashanah*, 5418 [8 Sep., 1657, N.S. : 29 Aug. O.S.], at the early age of thirty-two, Samuel went to his Eternal rest. He had conjured his father that he would take his body to Amsterdam, where he was born, for burial. Manasseh was then in a precarious state of health, and on arriving at Middleburg in Zealand, where Ephraim Abrabanel, the maternal uncle of the deceased, resided, he was unable to continue the journey. The interment took place at the local *Beth Haim*, and the Rev. Isidore Harris, M.A., a few years ago discovered the tombstone* in the third *carera*, which has the following inscription :—
Sª | Do Doctor Semvel | Fº Do Haham Menasseh | Ben Israel | Faleceo em 2 Tisri | 5418.|

Manasseh's illness was mortal. His son Joseph had died at the age of twenty about eight or nine years before, and the premature death of his last surviving son hastened his end. A few weeks later, on the 11 Kislev (20 Nov.), he passed away in the house of his brother-in-law, but fifty-three years old. He was interred at the *Sephardi Beth Haim* at Oudekerk, Amsterdam.

[2] Another issue, with a similar collation, but apparently from other type, was printed in the same year. [I. S.]

It appeared again during the last quarter of the nineteenth century under the following title :—

Origen De Los Americanos. מקוה ישראל. Esto Es Esperanza De Israel . . . Reimpresion . . . Del Libro De Menasseh Ben Israel . . . Publicado En Amsterdam 5410 (1650) . . . y la biografia del autor, Por Santiago Perez Junquera.
Madrid.—1881. . . .
8°. xxxvi *pp.* + 8 *ll.* + 126 *pp.* + 3 *ll.* in printed wrapper as issued. [I. S.]

* *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. vii., 1911–1914 . . . Edinburgh and London, 1915. . . . *p.* 127 : " A Dutch Burial-Ground and its English Connections." By the Rev. Isidore Harris, M.A.

V

"Spes Israelis," by Manasseh Ben-Israel

מקוה ישראל | *Hoc est,* | Spes | Israelis. |
Authore | Menasseh Ben Israel | Theologo & Philosopho Hebræo. Amstelodami. | Anno 1650. |
(*sm.* 8°. 6 *ll.* + 111 *pp.*) [I. S.]
sig. [A2] Svpremo Angliæ Consessvs Parlamento, *ejusdemque Reipublicæ Status Consilio Honorando,* Salutem, ac felicitatem omnem, a Deo apprecatur Menasseh Ben Israel.[1]

VI

"Hope of Israel—Ten Tribes . . . in America—מקוה ישראל De Hoop Van Israel," by Manasseh Ben-Israel

The | Hope of Israel : |
Written | By Menasseh Ben Israel, | an Hebrew Divine, and Philosopher. |
Newly extant, and Printed in | *Amsterdam,* and Dedicated by the | Author to the High Court, the | Parliament of *England,* and | to the | Councell of State. |
Translated into *English,* and | published by Authority. |
In this Treatise is shewed the place where the ten | *Tribes at this present are, proved, partly by* | *the strange relation of one* Antony Monte-|zinus, *a* Jew, *of what befell him as he tra-*|*velled over the Mountaines* Cordillære, *with* | *divers other particulars about the restoration of* | *the* Jewes, *and the time when.* |
Printed at *London* by R. I. for *Hannah Allen,* | at the Crown in Popes-head | Alley, 1650. |
(*sm.* 8°. 7 *ll.* + 90 *pp.*) [I. S.]
sig. A3. "To the Parliament, the Supream Court of *England,* and to the right Honourable the Councell of State, *Menasseh Ben Israell,* prayes God to give health, and all Happinesse." But the original edition in Spanish is dedicated "*A los Muy Nobles, Prudentes, y Magnificos Señores, Deputados y Parnassim deste K.K. de Talmud Tora.*" . . . *Amsterdã. a* 13 *de Sebat. An.* 5410.

In this first English version the name of the translator does not appear on the title page, nor does "The Translator to the Reader" bear any signature; but "Moses Wall" does appear on the title pages of two issues of a second edition which appeared in 1651 and 1652. (*4to.* 5 *ll.* + 62 *pp.*) [B. M.]

[1] This translation was probably the work of the author. Bound up with this copy is a folded engraving of the author by Salom Italia.

It was published again under the following title :—

" Accounts Of The Ten Tribes of Israel Being In America ; Originally Published By R. Manasseh Ben Israel.
With Observations Thereon, And Extracts From Sacred And Profane, Ancient And Modern History, Confirming The Same ; And Their Return From Thence About The Time Of The Return Of The Jews.
By Robert Ingram, A.M. Vicar of Wormingford and Boxted, Essex.
Colchester: Printed And Sold By W. Keymer ; Sold Also By G. G. J. And J. Robinson, Pater-Noster-Row, London, 1792. [Price One Shilling.]
(8°. 56 *pp.*) [I. S.]

There are several *Hebrew* versions, the first translation appearing in 1698.

מקוה ישראל חברו . . . החכם השלם : . . מנשה בן ישראל זצ"ל בלשון גוי הולנדי"אה : [1] ועתה נעתק ללשון הקודש ע"י . . . ר" אליקים בהר"ר יעקב ש"ץ זצ"ל חזן בק"ק אמשטרדם : . . . נדפס באמשטרדם . . . בשנת [תנח] לפ"ק . . . בדפוס קאשמן עמריך.
(16*mo.* סו (66) *ll.*)[1] [I. S.]

De | Hoop | Van Israël. |
Een Werck met groote naukeurigheyt | *beschreven*: |
Door | Menasseh Ben Israël | Hebreeuws Godtgeleerde en | Wijsbegeer. |
Waer in hy handelt van de wonderlijcke | *verstroyinge der* 10 *Stammen, en hare ge-*|*wisse herstellinge met de twee Stammen Juda* | *en Benjamin in't Vaderlandt. Met veele aen-*|*wijsingen, naukeurige vertellingen, en verkla-*|*ringen van verscheyde Prophetien.* |
Met meer als 90 Beschrijvers bevestight : |
Met een verantwoordingh voor de | Eedele Volcken der Jooden. |
Den 2. Druck[2] *van veel Letter-mis stellingen gesuyvert.* |
t'Amsterdam, | Voor Jozua Rex, Boeck-binder, | op de Cingel, recht over de Appelen-marrickt, | in't Jaer 1666. |
(12*mo.* 6 *ll.* + 124 *pp.* [*De Hoop Van Israel.*])[3] [I. S.]

[1] It was composed in Spanish in 1650 and did not appear in Dutch until 1666.

[2] A third edition was published in the same year, with the following addition :—
De Reysen van R. Benjamin Jonasz Tudelens, In de drie Deelen der Werelt, als Europa, Asia, en Afrika : . . . In't Nederduyt overgeschreven door Jan Bara. . . . 117 *pp.* [B. M.]

[3] Bound up with this copy is a folded engraving of the Author by Salom Italia.
It has also been translated into *Yiddish.*

VII

The Humble Addresses of Manasseh Ben-Israel

To | His Highnesse | The | Lord Protector | Of The | Common-Wealth Of | England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.
The Humble Addresses | Of | Menasseh Ben Israel, *a Divine, and* | *Doctor of Physick, in behalfe* | *of the Jewish Nation.*|
(4*to*. 4 *ll.* + 26 *pp.*)[1] [I. S.]

VIII

"Vindiciæ Judæorum," by Manasseh Ben-Israel

Vindiciæ | Judæorum, | Or A | Letter | In Answer to certain Questions propounded by | a Noble and Learned Gentleman, touching | the reproaches cast on the Nation of the | Jevves; wherein all objections are | candidly, and yet fully cleared.|
By Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel *a Divine* | *and a Physician.*|
Printed by *R. D.* in the year 1656.|
(4*to*. 1 *l.* + 41 *pp.*)[2] [I. S.]

IX

Enseña A Pecadores

Libro | Yntitulado | Enseña | A | Pecadores|
Que contiene diferentes | obras, mediante las qua- | lespide el hombre | piedad à su | Criador.|
En casa y acosta | de *David de castro Tartaz.*|
En Amsterdam | Anno 5426.|
(12*mo*. 88 + ⊓ (8) *pp.*) [B. M.]

[1] This was probably printed in Amsterdam, in anticipation of his visit to England.

A second issue from another press, and in which the collation varies (4 *ll.* + 23 *pp.* [I. S.]) may have been printed in London, as at the end it has the following addition:—

"Which is the close of *Rabbi Menesse Ben-Israel*, a Divine, and Doctor in Physick, in the *Strand* over against the *New-Exchange* in London."

The British Museum copy of the 23 *pp.* edition has the following date in manuscript on the title page: "November 5, 1655."

[2] In 1743 it was reprinted in octavo form (2 *ll.* + 67 *pp.* [I. S.]). It was translated into German either by Dr. Marcus Herz (1747–1803) or by his wife, the celebrated Henrietta Herz (1764–1847), and published in 1782, with an introduction by Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) (*sm.* 8°. LII + 64 *pp.* [I. S.]). It has also appeared in *Hebrew* [I. S.], Polish [I. S.], French and Italian.

Page 2. "Prologo. . . . *Aviendo pues el Señor hecho merced al mundo en traer a luz las obras divinas del H. Ribi Esayah, su memoria sea para benedicion, las quales son llenas de doctrinas y modos de encaminar al hombre a la salvacion. . . .*"

pp. 61–79. "Conficion *Muy Copiosa Maravillosa y llena de divinos conceptos y misterios, hecha por el divino Theologo y excellentissimo Sabio, Ribi Yshac Askenazi de Loria, Traduzida de Hebrico, en lengua castellana, por el doctissimo Haham Menasseh ben Ysrael; el Anno* 5383. *la qual se puede dezir estando el hombre enfermo o de ajuno o en qual quiera tiempo.*"

pp. 80–88. Vidvy Penitencial . . . Auctor Selomoh De Oliuera.

וידוי כפרה . . . שלמה די אוליוירה יצ'ו התחלתו ערב ר"ח אדר ראשון.
pp. א–ח בשנת מניני אל אלהים מושיע ישרי לב :
תושלבע :

X

"De Termino Vitæ—of the Term of Life," by Manasseh Ben-Israel

צרור החיים | Menasseh | Ben Israel, | De | Termino | Vitæ: | Libri Tres. |
Quibus veterum Rabbi-|*norum, ac recentium do-*|*ctorum, de hac con-*|*troversia sententia* | *explicatur.* |
Amstelodami. Typis & sumpti-|bus authoris An. 1639.|
(12*mo.* 8 *ll.* +237 *pp.* +25 *ll.*)[1] [I. S.]

[1] Sixty years later it was translated into English :—
Of The | Term | Of | Life. | viz. | Whether it is fix'd or alterable ; |
With the Sense of the *Jewish* Doctors, | both Ancient and Modern, touching | Predestination and Free-Will. |
Also an Explication of several obscure | *Passages* and *Prophecies* in the Old Testa-| ment ; together with some remarkable Cu-| stoms observ'd by the *Jews.* |
Written in Latin by the Famous Menasseh | Ben-Israel *the* Jew *and now Translated* | *into* English, *By* Tho. Pocock, M.A. |
To which are added, the Author's Life, never be-| fore Publish'd; and a Catalogue of his Works. |
London Printed, and Sold by *J. Nutt*, near | *Stationers*-Hall, and by the Booksellers of *Lon-*| *don* and *Westminster*, 1699. |
(*sm.* 8°. 6 *ll.*+xvi+116 *pp.*) [I. S.]
sig. A2. "To *Colthorp Parker*, Esq. ;"

De Termino Vitæ ; | Or The | Term | Of | Life. | Viz. | Whether it is fix'd or alterable ; |
With the Sense of the *Jewish* Doctors, | both Ancient and Modern, touching | *Predestination* and *Free-Will.* |

XI

"נשמת חיים—De Immortalitate Animæ," by Manasseh Ben-Israel

ספר נשמת חיים על ענין הנשמה . . . מנשה בן ישראל . . . פה ק"ק אמשטרדם נדפס ברפוס בן המחבר שמואל אברבנאל סואירו בשנת [תיב] לפ"ק :

(4*to*. 8 + קעד (174) +2 *ll.*) [I. S.]

Some editions, which are excessively rare, have this Latin addition :—

נשמת חיים | Menasseh Ben Israel | Libri Quatuor | De | Immortalitate Animæ.|

In quibus multæ insignes & ju-|cundæ quæstiones ventilantur,| uti videre est, ex argu-|mento operis.|

Amstelodami, | Apud Autoris filium | *Samuel Ben Israel Abrabanel Sueiro.*|

Anno clɔ. ɔlc. LI.|

(8 *ll.*) [I. S.]

sig. A2. (Epistola Dedicatoria) Ferdinando III. Augustiss°. Romanorum Imperatori. . . .

Also an Explication of several obscure *Passages* and | *Prophecies* in the Old Testament ; together with | some remarkable Customs observed by the *Jews.* |

Written in Latin by the Famous Menasseh | Ben-Israel *the Jew, and now Translated into* English. |

To which are added, the Author's Life, never be- | fore Publish'd ; and a Catalogue of his Works. |

London, Printed for *W. Whitwood* at the *Rose* | and *Crown* in *Little-Brittain.* 1700. | (*sm.* 8°. 6 *ll.*+xvi+116 *pp.*+*l.* [*catalogue*]). [I. S.]

sig. A2. " To *Colthrop Parker*, Esq. ; "

Of The | Term | Of | Life, | Viz. : | Whether it is fix'd or alterable ; | With the Sense of the *Jewish* Doctors, | both Ancient and Modern, touching Pre- | destination and Free-Will. |

Also an Explication of several obscure | Passages and Prophecies in the Old Testa- | ment ; together with some remarkable | Customs observed by the *Jews.* |

Written in Latin by the Famous Menasseh | Ben-Israel *the Jew, and now Transla-* | *ted into* English, *By* Tho. Pocock, A.M. | *Rector of* Danbury *in* Essex, *and Chaplain to his* | *Grace the Duke of Bedford.* |

To which are added, the Author's Life, by the Translator ; and a Catalogue of his Works. |

London, Printed for Tho. Baker at the | *Bible* and *Rose* in *Ludgate-street.* 1709. | (*sm.* 8°. 8 *ll.*+xxiv+117 *pp.*+1 *l.*) [I. S.]

sig. A2. " To *Christopher Tilson*, Esq. ; Of The Treasury."

Sig. A4[2]. Augustissimi Imperatoris *Servus humillimus* Menasseh Ben Israel.
Amstelodami Calendis Decembris Anno clɔ. lɔc. LI.

XII

"Rights of the Kingdom," by John Sadler

Rights of the Kingdom; | Or, | Customs of our Ancestours: . . . With an Ocasionall Discourse of *Great Changes* yet | expected in the World.|
London, | Printed by *Richard Bishop*. 1649.| [1]
(*4to.* 4 *ll.* +Aa—Mm +f–z +a–c in fours.) [I. S.]
sig. G4. "How they are Now, I need not say, although I might also beare them witnesse, that They are yet Zealous in Their Way. nor doe they wholly want, ingenuous able men. of whom I cannot but with Honour, mention Him, that hath so much obliged the world, by his learned Writings; *Rab Menasseh Ben Israel:* a very learned, Civill Man, and a Lover of our Nation.

"The more I think upon the Great Change, now comming on Them, and All the World; the more I would be Just and Mercifull to Them, to All."

XIII

"Nova Solyma," edited by Rev. Walter Begley

Nova Solyma The Ideal City; Or Jerusalem Regained
An Anonymous Romance Written In The Time Of Charles I.
Now first Drawn From Obscurity, And Attributed To The Illustrious John Milton.[2]
With Introduction, Translation, Literary Essays And A Bibliography
By The Rev. Walter Begley
vol. i., ii.
London John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1902.
(*p.* 4). "The book was first presented to the public in small octavo form with this title page:

[1] It was republished thirty-three years later anonymously, as was the first issue.
London: Printed for *J. Kidgell.* 1682. *4to.* 4 *ll.*+319 *pp.* [B. M.]

[2] The author was Samuel Gott (1613–1671), see "The Authorship of Nova Solyma," by Stephen K. Jones (1910), and B.M. Catalogue.

Novæ | Solymæ | Libri Sex. | Londini Typis Joannis Legati.| MDCXLVIII.|

"The book contained three hundred and ninety-two pages, of which the last contained the errata and the printer's short notice to the reader. There was no preface or introduction of any kind, and no notes. The only printed extra was this Latin motto in the middle of the blank page facing the title :

'Cujus opus, studio cur tantum quaeris inani ?'
'Qui legis, et frueris, feceris esse tuum.'

which I turn thus :

(*p.* 5). "'Whose is the book?' do you ask. 'Why start such a bootless enquiry ?
If you but read and enjoy, you will have made it your own.'"

(*pp.* 5–6). ". . . The next year the same book was published again—an evident attempt to utilise the unsold remainder, as there was no difference whatever, except a new title page with the old fly-leaf motto included in it and a page at the end containing the autocriticon. In the only copy I have seen, [St. John's College, Cambridge], the title page runs as follows :

Novæ Solymæ Libri Sex ; sive Institutio Christiani.

1. De Pueritia.
2. De Creatione Mundi.
3. De Juventute.
4. De Peccato.
5. De Virili Aetate.
6. De Redemptione Hominis.

Cujus opus, studio cur tantum quaeris inani ?
Qui legis, et frueris, feceris esse tuum.

Londini : Typis Johannis Legati, et venundantur per Thomam Underhill sub signo Biblii in vico Anglice dicto Woodstreet. MDCXLIX."

Here we have the very useful addition that it was published by Thomas Underhill, of Wood Street.

(preface *pp.* vii–viii). ". . . That such a wide-reaching, learned, and varied work should have been allowed to remain unappreciated and utterly ignored for more than two hundred and fifty years is certainly a very surprising literary fact. . . .

"The critics seem to have been both blind and deaf. They gave no encouraging praise, and no disheartening condemnation. They simply took no notice. And so this great work of seventeenth-century art vanished from the sight of men. A few copies were put away in college libraries, where they rested for years undisturbed and dust-covered in their original positions, and have so continued to rest for two centuries and a half, lost to the world."

(*p.* 18). "There is a spirit of pure, lofty, and unselfish morality evident throughout all the various scenes of this interesting and unaffected book. It shows us the brightest, strongest elements of God-fearing Puritanism; . . ." "Here are the lyric songs from 'the law and prophets,' Abraham's meditation on the Mount Moriah, Cain's lamentations for Abel, David's lament for Saul and Jonathan, and many a noble ode from the Psalms and short epics from Job. . . ." "Here Truth and Justice and the Fear of God are all placed on the high pedestals they so well deserve; and there is withal a kindly insistence everywhere on those great teachings which tend to make life more abounding in hope, more perfect in self-restraint and more lifted-up in spirit."

All these ideas are Hebrew, and characteristically Biblical But the most curious fact, from our point of view, is that this work contains a description of the Ideal State on Mount Zion. Of course, the tendency is thoroughly Christian, but it is that kind of Christianity which is inspired by the Old Testament and by a sentiment of love for the old Jewish nation and the Holy Land. This book is the poetical expression of the Restoration ideas of the seventeenth century. It begins with a description of the springtime in New Jerusalem, "the city with twelve gates" (Ezekiel xlviii. 31), and "a virgin who held in her right hand a golden rod, and in her left the two tables of the Law." The tourist-visitors, "two Englishmen and the third a Sicilian," are told that "it is the anniversary of the founding of the city and the virgin you saw represented Zion, or, as they say, the Daughter of Zion." "They" evidently refers to the Jews.

Strangers are received with remarkable hospitality (as in Herzl's *Altneuland*).

(*p.* 86). "But Jacob, for that was the old man's name, urged him all the more, 'Come, come,' said he, 'it is a national duty with us to treat strangers with kindness, not unmindful that we too, long ago, were strangers in Egypt, and since then for a long time strangers and wanderers among all the nations of the earth. But now we call none aliens from Israel. . . .'"

(*p.* 88). "We are now very close on the fiftieth year since our long and widely-scattered nation was restored to its present wonderful prosperity." The old Jew then explains the system of education adopted in the new country, a system of physical development and moral integrity.

Joseph, who is one of the tourists and the hero of the romance, indulges in songs of Zion.

(*pp.* 175–6). "O sacred top of Solyma,
How lovely is thy place
Where stands the city of our King
Where faithful saints rejoice and sing
O mercy, love and grace!

" For there our greater Temple stands
With greater glory blest
And there redeemed from alien lands,
Brought back at last by God's own hands,
His Israel finds her rest."

. . . . .

Here the translator remarks :

(*p.* 177) note 1 : " How many sighs and prayers have gone up from the dispersed children of Zion in Russian Poland, in Galicia, in Roumania and by the old broken wall of Jerusalem in these latter days ! What longing for this ' antepast of Heaven ' that Joseph here speaks of ! What passionate desire for that time, when the children of Zion should no longer have to sing ' the Lord's song in a strange land ' ! Is this century to see the Zionists in possession again of their Holy City—their longed-for Salem, the ' Vision,' the ' Foundation,' the ' Inheritance ' of Peace, as expositors have variously entitled it ? Who can say ? From a practical point of view the prospect somehow fails to charm ; but when I view it in theory, it seems as if the justice of the world as well as the justice of the Eternal One would be nobly consummated by such a termination to an earthly pilgrimage of nigh two thousand years."

The anonymous author proceeds to describe the old-new home, and the people, new-born in benevolence, piety and purity, with their national distinctiveness, and the two tables of the Law. Thus, with all his honest and deep Christian convictions and belief in the final triumph of his religious ideas, he recognizes the right of the Jewish nation to have their country and to remain faithful to their traditions. This strange romance, after all sorts of philosophical reflections and sketches of various adventures in Sicily and elsewhere, comes back to Zion to sing the songs of the Old Testament in Latin verse in a way which shows that the author had the rhythm and atmosphere of Biblical poetry to perfection, and also that his views were much more in harmony with the notions of that time than with modern conceptions. The whole work is inspired by great enthusiasm for Israel's glory, and abounds with sympathy and admiration for the Jewish nation.

Begley, who was a man of profound knowledge and an authority on matters of composition and style, ascribes this work to Milton. If this view be accepted, then to this poet's glory must e added a further claim to immortality, because he was the first poet who expounded—from a Christian point of view—the idea of Israel's Restoration in the form of a poetical romance. But from our point of view it does not matter whether Milton was the author, or another poet ; the fact remains that this remarkable work is English and appeared in England in 1648.

XIV

"Præadamitæ—Men Before Adam," by Isaac de La Peyrère[1]

Another of his famous works, also published anonymously, was :—

Præadamitæ. | Sive | Exercitatio | super Versibus duodecimo, decimotertio, & | decimoquarto, capitis quinti Epistolæ | D. Pauli ad Romanos. | Qvibvs Indvcvntvr | Primi Homines ante Adamum | conditi. |
Anno Salvtis, | M.DC.LV. |
(4*to*. 22 *ll*.+297+8 *pp*. [Synagogis Ivdæorvm Vniversis.]) [I. S.]

In the following year it was translated into English :—

Men before Adam. | Or | A Discourse upon the twelfth, | thirteenth, and fourteenth Verses | of the Fifth Chapter of the Epistle | of the Apostle *Paul* to the | Romans. |
By which are prov'd, | That the first Men were crea- | ted before Adam. |
London, | Printed in the Year, 1656. |
(8°. 8 *ll*.+61 *pp*.+9 *pp*.+35 *ll*.) [I. S.]
The End of the first Part (No more published)
sig. A.4. "To all the Synagogues to the Jews, dispersed over the face of the Earth."
sig. M.8. "Terræ Sanctæ Delineatio" (A map of the Holy Land).[2]

XV

Isaac Vossius

Isaac Vossius was born at Leyden in Holland, one of the sons of the renowned scholar Gerard John Vossius by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Francis du Jon (Junius) (1545–1602), French theologian and philologist. All the sons were precocious scholars, but Isaac was undoubtedly the most eminent. . . . He was invited by Queen Christina of Sweden, one of the most erudite women of her time, to come and shed the lustre of his learning upon Stockholm. He arrived towards the end of 1649, was appointed a Court Chamberlain,

[1] Account of Peyreyra, Author of "Præadamitæ," "Rappel des Juifs," &c. Translated from "Lettres Choisies de M. [Richard] Simon, (1638-1721) ou l'on trouve un grand nombre de Faits et Anecdotes de Literature. Rotterdam 1702."
(Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxxxii., November, 1812, *pp*. 432–434; and vol. lxxxiii., June, 1813, *pp*. 614–616.)

[2] In another issue in the same year the eight preliminary leaves are from another press. [I. S.]

and taught the Queen Greek. In 1650 he sold her his father's library for twenty thousand florins, with the stipulation that he received five thousand florins yearly with board and residence for its superintendence. In 1652 owing to certain differences he left Sweden. In 1655 Manasseh Ben Israel dedicated to him:—

אבן יקרה | Piedra Gloriosa | O | De La | Estatua | De | Nebuchadnesar. |

Con muchas y diversas authoridades | *de la S.S. y antiguos sabios.* | Compuesto por el Hacham | Menasseh Ben Israel. | Amsterdam An. 5415. |

(12*mo.* 6 *ll.*+259 *pp.*+3 *ll.*+4 etchings at *pp.* 5, 87, 160, 180.) [I. S.]

" *All muy noble y doctissimo Señor* Isaco Vossio, Gentil hombre de la camara de su Magestad, La Reyna de Svedia.

Muy noble y doctissimo Señor, . . . Intimo amigo y afficionado servidor de V. M.,

Menasseh ben Ysrael.

Amsterdam 25. de Abril, An. 5415."

In a list of Manasseh's works at the end of the volume, it is catalogued " Piedra preciosa ; o de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar, donde se sexpone lo mas essencial del libro de Daniel." It was for this small volume that Rembrandt designed and etched four illustrations.[1]

Vossius was created D.C.L. at Oxford in 1670, and installed to a prebend in the royal chapel at Windsor in 1673, which was presented to him by Charles II (1630–1685), and died at Windsor 21 Feb., 1688. He had accumulated the finest private library in the world, including 762 manuscripts. It was sold at Leyden in 1710 for thirty-six thousand florins. A large number of original letters of Vossius are preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

XVI

" DOOMES-DAY "

Doomes-Day : | Or, | The great Day of the Lord's Iudgement, | proved by Scripture ; and two other Prophecies, | the one pointing at the yeare 1640. the other at this | present yeare 1647. to be even now neer at hand. |

With | The gathering together of the Jews in great Bodies | under *Josias Catzius* (in *Illyria, Bithinia,* and *Cappadocia*) | for the conquering of the Holy Land. | . . .

London, | Printed for W. Ley. 1647

(4*to.* 1 *l.*+6 *pp.*) [I. S.]

[1] Rembrandt's etchings for the Piedra Gloriosa, by [Dr.] I[srael] A[brahams] [M.A.], with facsimiles, Jewish Chronicle, 13 July, 1906, *pp.* 39–40 : The second series of illustrations for the Piedra Gloriosa of Manasseh Ben Israel, by Israel Solomons, *ibid.*, July 27, *p.* 31.

(*p.* 2) ". . . even those people the Jewes, according to certaine and credible information, are at this time [* Under *Josias Catzius*, and according to Letters from beyond the Seas, they are numerous, and shew themselves in great bodies in Illyria, Bethinia and Cappadocia.] assembling themselves together into one body from out of all countreys, whereinto they have been driven with a resolution to regaine the holy land once more out of the hand of the *Ottaman* : "[1]

XVII

"RESTAURATION OF *ALL* ISRAEL *AND* JUDAH"

A Paper, shewing that the great Conversion and Restauration of all Israel *and* Judah *will be fulfilled at Christs second comming ; and that the* New Jerusalem, *called* Jehovah Shamma, *described by* Ezekiel, chap. 40. *to the end of the Book, is most probably then to be set up, and is referred to the same time,* &c., May 1. 1674.
(*4to.* 8 *ll.*) [I. S.]

XVIII

"APOLOGY FOR THE HONORABLE NATION OF THE JEWS—APOLOGIA POR LA NOBLE NACION DE LOS IVDIOS—VERANTWOORDINGE VOOR DE EDELE VOLCKEN DER JOODEN," BY EDWARD NICHOLAS

An | Apology | For The | Honorable Nation | Of The | Jews, | And all the Sons of | Israel.
Written by *Edward Nicholas,* Gent. | . . .
London, Printed by *John Field,* 1648.|
(*4to.* 15 *pp.*)[2] [I. S.]

A Spanish translation was also published here :—

Apologia | *Por* | La noble nacion de los | Ivdios | *y hijos de* | Israel.|
Escrita en Ingles | *Por* | Eduardo Nicholas.|
E impresa en casa de Juan Field, en |Londres,|
Año clɔ clc XLIX.|
(*sm.* 8°. 8 *ll.*) [I. S.]

[1] *Notes and Queries,* 10. S. IV., *pp.* 10 & 77, JOSIAS CATZIUS.

[2] This tract is alluded to in the concluding paragraph of Manasseh Ben Israel's " Humble Addresses," but the author has not yet been identified. He was at one time thought to be Sir Edward Nicholas (1593–1669), Secretary of State to Charles I and II, and it has even been stated that " Edward Nicholas " was a pseudonym of Manasseh himself. (See *Jewish Chronicle,* 9 Feb., 1906. " Edward Nicholas," by Israel Solomons.)

Some years later a Dutch version was issued (Published together with " De Hoop Van Israël " of Manasseh Ben Israel).

Verantwoordinge, | Voor | *De Edele Volcken der* | Jooden,| *En Kinderen van* | Israel.|
In het Engels beschreven | Door | Eduardo Nicolas.|
In't Nederduyts overgeschreven | en gedruckt.|
t'Amsterdam, | Voor Jozua Rex, Bœck-binder, | op de Cingel, recht over de Appelen-marreckt | in't Jaer 1666.|
(12*mo*. 1 *l*. +26 *pp*. +1 *l*.) [I. S.]

XIX

"A Word for the Armie," by Hugh Peters

" A word for the | Armie. | And two words to the | Kingdome. |
To | Cleare the One, | And cure the Other.|
Forced in much plainesse and bre-|vity from their faithfull Servant, | Hugh Peters. | . . . .
London, | Printed by *M. Simmons* for *Giles Calvert* at the black | *Spread-Eagle* at the West end of *Pauls*, 1647. |
(4*to*. 14 *pp*.) [I. S.]

sig. B2. " 10ly. That Merchants may have all the manner of encouragement, the law of Merchants set up, and strangers, even *Jewes* admitted to trade, and live with us, that it may not be said we pray for their conversion, with whom we will not converse, wee being all but strangers on the Earth."

XX

Isaac da Fonseca Aboab

HE was the son of David Aboab and Isabel *da* Fonseca. To distinguish him from his contemporary Isaac *de* Matatiah Aboab, he is generally alluded to as " Fonseca Aboab." He was born at Castrodagre, Portugal, and brought to Amsterdam as a child, where he became a pupil of *Haham* Isaac (*ob*. 1622) *de* Abraham Uziel. In 1623 he was the *Haham* of the *Nevé Shalom*, the second synagogue established in Amsterdam. In 1642 he emigrated to Pernambuco (Recife) in Brazil, where he was *Haham* until he returned to Amsterdam in 1654. (In 1640 Manasseh himself had intended going out to Brazil to join his brother Ephraim Soeiro[1]

[1] Ephraim had evidently discarded his surname of " Ben-Israel " for " Soeiro," that of his maternal grandfather, who probably left no male issue. In such cases, it was customary among *Sephardi* Jews for the second son of the eldest daughter to use his mother's maiden surname exclusively, or add it to his own patronymic.

in business.) During Aboab's *Rabbinate* there was war between the Dutch and Portuguese for possession of the colony, which he describes in *Hebrew* verse, still in manuscript. He was the first *Rabbi* and the first *Hebrew* Author in the New World. It has been alleged, that in his declining years he was a secret votary of Sabbatai Zebi. He was a great-grandson of the last *Gaon* of Castile, the Isaac Aboab (1433–1493) who wrote a super-commentary to Nachmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch, printed in Constantinople in 1525. *Rabbi* Abraham *de* Samuel Zacuto, the author of the *Juchasin*, was one of his pupils, and on his death delivered the funeral oration.

XXI

Dr. Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus

He was one of the most eminent physicians of his time and the author of many valuable works in connection with his profession. He was a native of Lisbon and of *marrano* origin. In the year 1625, when Philip (1605–1665) IV of Spain (1621–1665) and Portugal (1621–1640) banished the Jews from the latter kingdom, Zacutus escaped to Amsterdam from the clutches of the Holy Office. Here he was initiated into the *Abrahamic* covenant and lived as an exemplary Jew. He was one of the " Aprovaciones " of the first volume of the Conciliador " Sapientissimo Viro, Domino Menasseh Ben Israel, sacrorum librorum eruditissimo interpreti, Salvtem. . . . Amstelodami dié ultim. Mensis August. Anno. 1632.

Te summé colit, & observat,

Doctor Zacutus Lusitanus."

Among his clientele he numbered the Elector Palatine Frederick V (1596–1632), King of Bohemia (1619–1620), and his consort Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), eldest daughter of James (1566–1625) I, King of England (1603–1625). They were the parents of Sophia (1630–1714), Electress of Hanover, the mother of George (1660–1727) I (1714–1727).

His great-grandfather was Abraham [Diogo Rodriguez] (1450 ?–*post* 1510) *de* Samuel *de* Abraham Zacut, the astronomer, mathematician and historian.

In 1473, while a professor in the University of his native town, Salamanca, he wrote his world-famous : ביאור לוחות [B. M.] (Astronomical Tables), and here he became acquainted with Christopher Columbus (1446 ?–1506).

His pupil Joseph Vecinho (Vizino) [Diego Mendes], physician to João II, the Great (1455–1495), King of Portugal (1481–1495), translated the work into Latin. It was printed by a Jew, Samuel

D'Ortas, at Leiria in 1496, and entitled " Almanach Perpetuum." Dr. Vecinho presented a copy to Columbus, which he always carried with him and consulted on his voyages, deriving invaluable help from it.

It was this very book that he used to predict the eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the Indians in Jamaica that they became obedient to him, and furnished his party food. After his death it was found in his library. On the margins are calculations in his penmanship, which were doubtless made to verify those of Zacuth.[1]

On the exile from Spain, 2 August, 1492, the author went to Lisbon, where he was appointed astronomer and historiographer to João II. He was of material assistance to the great navigator Vasco da Gama (1460 ?–1524), in preparation of his voyage to India. The ships were provided with Zacuto's newly perfected iron astrolabes, which hitherto had been of wood. He was highly esteemed by da Gama, who took leave of him on the 8 July, 1497, in the presence of his entire crew.

Portugal also expelled the Jews, so he fled with his son Samuel to Tunis, and here in 1504 he wrote his famous ספר יוחסין which is a chronological history of the Jews from the Creation up to 1500.

It was first printed in Constantinople in 1566 [B. M.], and an issue edited by Herschell Filipowski (1817–1872) was published in London in 1857, some copies of which were printed on vellum [B. M.]. Tunis being invaded by Spain he emigrated to Turkey, where he died some time after 1510.

XXII

Jacob Judah Aryeh *de* Leon

Haham Jacob Judah Aryeh *de* Leon [Templo] of *marrano* origin, was born in Hamburgh in 1603. Here for some years he was teacher in *Hebrew* and *Rabbinics* to the *Kahal Kadosh de Talmud Torah*. Subsequently he was appointed *Haham* of Middelburgh in Holland, where in 1642 he published tracts in Spanish[2] and

[1] *The Authentic Letters of Columbus.* By William Eleroy Curtis, . . . Chicago, . . . 1895, *pp.* 115–116.

[2] Retrato Del Templo De Selomo. . . . *Compuesto, por* Iaacob Ievda Leon Hebreo, *vezino de Middelburgo, en la Provincia de Zelanda.*
En el Año de 5402 ala creacion del Mundo.
En Middelbvrgo, En Casa de la Biuda y Heredeos de Symon Moulert Imprimidor de los Estados de Zelanda. M.DC.XLII.
(4*to.* 4 *ll.*+48 *pp.* [Bodleian.])

Dutch,[1] describing a model he had constructed of Solomon's Temple. Shortly after he settled in Amsterdam and resumed his tutorial profession, and it was here that a French version[2] of the tract was published, and seven years later a *Hebrew* edition appeared,[3] translated by the Author from his original Spanish. Versions in German,[4] Latin,[5] and *Ladino*[6] have also been issued at various times. In anticipation of his visit to London to exhibit his model before Charles II (1630–1685) and his Court, he prepared an essay in English, which was printed and published in Amster-

[1] Afbeeldinghe Vanden Tempel Salomonis, . . . Door Iaacob Iehvda Leon Ebreo.
Tot Middelburgh, By de Weduwe ende Erfsgenamen van Symon Moulert, Ordinaris Drucker vande Ed: Mog: Heeren Staten van Zeelandt. Anno 1642.
(4*to*. 4 *ll*.+49 *pp*.+folded etching "El Templo de Selomoh," *etc. etc.* [B. M.])
Reissued at Amsterdam in 1644. [I. S.]
A fourth edition published at Amsterdam in 1669 [Bodleian].

[2] Portraict dv Temple de Salomon, . . . Composé par Iacob Iuda Leon Hebreu, habitant de Middelbourg en la Province de Zelande.
L'an de la creation du Monde 5403.
A Amsterdam, Imprimé chez Jean Frederick Stam, à l'Esperance, ɔlɔ. lɔ. c. xliii. (4*to*. 6 *ll*.+88 *pp*. [I. S.])

[3] ספר תבנית היכל . . . חברו בלשון לעז וגם העתיקו ללשון הקדש החכם . . . כמהרר יעקב יהודה ארי . . . נדפס פה אמשטרדם שנת ה' בהיכל קדשו ה' בשמים כסאו לפ"ק . . . (4*to* 2 + לח *ll*. [i.s.])
Two hundred and ten years later, it was reissued at Warsaw with an "approbation" of Samuel Mohilewer, the great Zionist, who at the time was Chief *Rabbi* of Suwalk.

[4] Traktat des Jak. Jeh. Leonis von dem Tempel Salomonis. Aus dem Holländischen ausgefertigt: Hannover, 1665, 8°.
(Bibliotheca Judaica. . . . Julius Fürst . . . Leipzig . . . 1849, *p*. 232.)

[5] Jacobi Jehvdæ Leonis De Templo Hierosolymitano, . . . ex Ebræo Latinè recensiti à Johanne Savberto. . . Helmæstadt Impressit Jacobvs Mvllervs clɔ. lɔ. c. lxv.
(4*to*. Eng. Frontis. [Augustus . . . Dux Brunovicensis et Lunæburgensis . . . Conr. Buno *fec*.]+Eng. Title-page+A–D in *fours* [c⁴: Jacobi Yehudæ Leonis Hebræi. Conr. Buno *fec*.]+) : (in *fours*+211 *pp*. [incorrectly numbered 203 *pp*.]+at *p*. 35 *folio* folded sheet with Latin text +*folio* folded sheet of Temple plans+engraving of model of Solomon's Temple, Palace and Fort Antonio, with explanatory details in Dutch+ at *p*. 94, engraving of the "Priestly garments"+at *p*. 168, engraving of Holy Vessels, Candelabrum, *etc*. + at *p*. 179, engraving of "Ark of Testimony." [I. S.])
It was reissued at Altdorph in 1674. [I. S.]

[6] ליב'רו די לה פ'ורמה די איל פאלאסייו; לייאמאדו אין לשון הקדש תבנית היכל . . . הרב יעקב יאודה אריה זצוק"ל תח"מ אדונינו המלך שולטן עבדול עז"ז סאן יר"ה שאלוניקו אין ד" 5636 איסתאמפאריאה די קופת עץ החיים יב"ץ:
(8°. 120 *pp*. [B. M.])

dam,[1] describing the model of Solomon's Temple, and also that of the Tabernacle of Moses, of which he had also constructed a model. It was again on view here in the years 1759 and 1760.[2] In 1778 it was in the possession of a Mr. M. P. Decastro, who claimed to be a near relation of *Haham de* Leon. He exhibited the model here, and translated and published the essay describing it,[3] which he tells us was "First printed in *Hebrew* and Spanish."[4]

Leon Templo,[5] as our *Haham* is at times referred to, is supposed to have invented "The Arms of ye most Ancient & Honorable Fraternity, of Free and Accepted Masons." The original drawing was seen by Laurence Dermott (1720–1791) when he saw the model of the Temple in 1759–1760.[6] He also wrote on the "*Cherubim*" and on the "Ark of the Testimony." In 1671 he issued the Psalms in *Hebrew*, with a Spanish paraphrase and notes. This was his last published work, in the preface of which he tells us that although he was then sixty-seven years of age, he completed the work in seven months, at times that he could spare from his tutorial duties. Four works in manuscript are still unpublished. After his death, among his sketches were

[1] A Relation | Of the most memorable thinges | In The Tabernacle | of Moses, | And The | Temple *of* Salomon, |
According to Text of Scripture. |
By Jacob Jehudah Leon, Hebr. |
Author of the Model of Salomon's Temple. |
At Amsterdam, | Printed by Peter Messchaert, in the Stoof-steech, 1675. |
(*4to.* 4 *ll.*+27 *pp.*) [I. S.]

[2] Ahiman Rezon, Or a help to all that are or would be Free and Accepted Masons, . . . the Second Edition. By Lau Dermott. Secretary. . . . London, 1764. (8°. Eng. Frontis. + xxxvi. + 224 *pp.* [Quatuor Coronati Lodge library]) *p.* xxxiv.

[3] An Accurate Description Of the Grand and Glorious Temple of Solomon. In which are briefly Explain'd,
I. The Form of that Fabric.
II. The Vessels and Instruments belonging thereto.
III. The King's Palace.
IV. Fort Antonio, built for the Defence of the Temple.
First printed in Hebrew and Spanish at Middleburgh, By that celebrated Architect, Jacob Juda Lyon, In The Year MDCXLII.
Translated by M. P. Decastro, (Proprietor of the said Model, and a near Relation to the Author.)
London: Printed for the above Proprietor, by W. Bailey, *Wellclose-Square.* M.DCC.LXXVIII.
(8°. Eng. Frontis. [Jacobi Yehudæ Leonis Hebræi . . . Salom Italia *Sculpsit*] + 2 *ll.* + iii *pp.* + 1 *l.* [etchings of "Temple," "Cherubim"] +48 *pp.*) [I. S.]
See "Jacob Jehudah Leon (Templo), by Israel Solomons," *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 Oct., 1903.

[4] The tract was first printed in Spanish and Dutch in 1642, and not until 1650 did it appear in *Hebrew.*

[5] Templo was assumed as a surname by his descendants.

[6] Ahiman Rezon, *ibid.*

found over two hundred designs to illustrate and elucidate Biblical and Rabbinical passages. These his son *Haham* Solomon Raphael (*ob.* 1733 *circa*) *de* Leon Templo presented to Willem Surenhuis, who had them engraved for his edition of the *Mishna*.[1]

Biographers do not seem to know when and where he died. David Franco Mendes (1713–1792) tells us that after his London visit he returned to Amsterdam, and although he gives a transcription of his epitaph, consisting of eight lines of *Hebrew* laudatory verse, no date is mentioned.[2] Dr. M. Kayserling suggests that he died after 1675, that is after his London visit.[3] There is, however, good authority to surmise that he died in London during his visit.

XXIII

Thesouro Dos Dinim

Thesovro Dos Dinim. . . . Composto por. Menasseh Ben Israel. Estampado em casa de Eliahu Aboab. An. 5405.
(8°. 16 *ll.* (*one blank*)+625 *pp.* [in four sections])
*2 *Muy Nobres, Magnificos, e Prudentes Senhores, Parnassim deste Kaal Kados de Talmud Torah.* . . . o Sr David Abarbanel Dormido, Parnas da Sedaká, e Talmud Tora. . . . Menasseh ben Israel. *Amsterdam* 15 *de* Hiyar, An. 5405. [B. M.]

Thesovro Dos Dinim ultima parte . . . Economica . . . *Por* Menasseh Ben Israel.
Amsterdã, na officina de *Ioseph ben Israel seu filho.*[4] 5407.
8⁰ 8 *ll.* (*one blank*)+210 *pp.*+4 *ll.*
A2. . . . Dedicatoria. *Aos muy nobres, Magnificos e Prudẽtes Senhores, os Senhores Abrahã e Ishak Israel Pereyra.* . . .

[1] Mischna sive Totius Hebræorum Juris, Rituum, Antiquitatum, ac Legum Oralium Systema, . . . Guilielmus Surenhusius. . . . Amstelædami, . . . [1698–1703] (vi vols. *fol.*)

[2] (*Franco*) חפשי by תולדות חכמים מחו' יעקב יהודה ליאון זצ"ל חמאמף חדש סיון תקמה. *pp.* רצז–שא.

[3] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1904, vol. viii. *p.* 1.

[4] The author, in his *Nishmath Chayyim*, 1651, *folio* 103, bewails the premature death of his son Joseph, the printer of this book. He was, he tells us, a keen *Talmudist*, and had a perfect knowledge of four languages. He had sent him on a voyage for the first time, and on returning to Amsterdam from Dantzig was shipwrecked. On his second journey the following year to Poland, on nearing Lublin, he died, being at the time about twenty years of age.

A3. Este sen intimo, e affeiçoado amigo,
o Hahā, Menasseh ben Israel
Amsterdam 12 *de Tamuz, An.* 5407. [B. M.]

The two parts of *Thesouro dos Dinim* were subsequently reissued in one volume :—
Amsterdam Anno 5470 (8°. 4+201+2 *ll.*)[1] [I. S.]

XXIV

"Rettung der Juden," by Manasseh Ben-Israel

Manasseh Ben Israel Rettung der Juden Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.
Nebst einer Vorrede von Moses Mendelssohn.
Als ein Anhang zu des Hrn. Kriegsraths Dohm Abhandlung : Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden. . . .
Berlin und Stettin bey Friedrich Nicolai. 1782.
(8°. lii +64 *pp.*) [I. S.]

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[1] This second issue is rarer than the first : 5470 is a misprint for 5407.

T2.

Newes from Rome.

Of two mightie Armies, aſwell footemen as horſmen: The

first of the great Sophy, the other of an Hebrew people, till this time not diſcouered, comming from the Mountaines of Caſpij, who pretend their warre is to recouer the Land of Promiſe, & expell the Turks out of Chriſtendome. With their multitude of Souldiers, & new invention of weapons.

Alſo certaine prophecies of a Iew ſeruing to that Armie, called *Caleb Shilocke*, prognoſticating many ſtrange accidents, which ſhall happen the following yeere, 1607.

Tranſlated out of Italian into Engliſh, by W. W.

Printed by I. R. for Henry Goſſon, and are to be ſold in Pater

From a rare tract lent by Mr. Israel Solomons.]

TO THE RENOWNED

Lord, *Don Mathias de Rensie,*

of Venice.

AFter the particuler thinges alleaged in my former writings vnto your Lordshippe, I thought it good and conuenient by this my Letter, to aduertise your Lordship, of certaine great, horrible, and fearefull things that hapned in this quarter.

Purposing to certifie your Lordship of the pompe and great triumph at the presenting of the Captaines of the Sea, vnto the great Turke: the miserie and vnhappines of the poore prisoners: the discorde & contention that came by the sonne of the Vice Roy of Naples, being prisoner: the threatnings made to the Christians: the receiuing of the Ambassadors of the Soffy: the pompes, tryumphes, and entertainments made vnto them, and yet dissembled enough, with mocking one the other at their departing: the presents giuen: the going of the great Turke a hunting and

and all other thinges written at large, as your Lordship shall vnderstand.

But now your Lordship shall vnderstand at thys time, the greatest, the most wonderfull, and most strange thing that euer was heard of. The which partly hath so troubled the great Turke, and all the rest, that they haue left of all other affayres, to prouide for the perrill and danger that at this time hangeth ouer theyr heads.

Your Lordships to vse,
Signior Valesco.

Newes from Rome.

* * *

The newes are come that the king of *Hungarie* maketh a great Army, which shall haue for his ayde the gallies of *Buda,* and of many other Princes of Christendome. And they say moreouer, that the king of *Bohemia* will helpe therein, and that the most part of Christian Princes will come and ayde him in this enterprise against the Turke, except the Signorie of *Venice,* which medleth nothing at all in it. These reporters of newes affirme, that there shal come aboue a hundred gallies, besides other Barks, ships, & Hulkes without number, which is occasion that they hasten the warre the more. Notwithstanding, men esteeme not so much hereof, as of the war that is made beyond the Mountaines, as you shall understand not without wondering at it. The *Tartars* make friendes upon the greater Sea, & haue made a league & friendship with the great Turke, requiring ayde, for they are molested with war by the great Emperour of *Muscouia,* & prince of *Sagodie,* of *Pogore,* of *Smelengie,* of *Drossy*, of *Gazam,* of *Virgolosam,* of *Tartarie,* of *Cham,* and of diuers other people and regions lying toward the South: they say that this Emperor or Duke hath two Armies, and is called *Iohn Dwatillo,* a young man, of the age of xxiiii. yeeres, noble and valiant, and a Christian, after the institution of the Greekes, and presumeth that by reason of his blood, the Empire of *Constantinople* doth belong to him, And these two Armies are about two hundred thousand horse.

They

They were not wont in time past to be so strong, nor so feared of the Turks, for they had not the use of artillarie in the warre: but nowe they haue meruailous great preparation in theyr warre. Hee hath in wages certaine Dutch Captaines, and about tenne thousand Maister gunners, and is meruailously well furnished with harquebushes, and artillery, and because men understand that hee hath so vanquisht the Tartarians, and brought thē to such a state, that they cannot much more resist him, and that if the saide Muscouite should be maisters ouer the Tartars, they should consequently be Rulers of the great sea, & the way should bee open and easie for them to come, not onely to Constantinople, but also to driue the Turke out of Europe: and because that the saide great Turke is assured of this enterprise and commotion of the Greekes: he hath cōcluded and determined, to send to the said Tartars a good assistance of fifteene thousand fighting men, and also for this purpose, hee hath sent to the sea ten Gallies to passe them ouer.

Men make mention and doubt of *Mondaccio* which is a great Prince and Ruler, and able to make foure score, or a hundred thousand horse: and yet men are uncertaine whose part he will take, because hee is tributarie unto the great Turke.

There is newes also from *Affrica*, that the king of *Bugien*, the king *Tramece*, the king of *Tunis*, the children of *Serif*. The Lord of *Murocho*, and of *Gran*, with the *Arabians* and other, haue taken in hand to driue and expulse the turke wholy out of *Affrica*, & to endomage him as much as they may. Men know not yet in what place they will war, but we shall know it shortly. The newes also is, that the *Soffie* is in Campe with a great Armie,

Armie, and hath the *Medes* to helpe him, which border upon the Caspian Sea, and of one side neighbour to the *Hircans,* called at this day *Correxans* and *Zecatans,* with whom he hath made a league and peace. There are on his side also the *Ibeians* and *Albians,* and also the people of *Melibar,* which harbor upō the *Indians,* and likewise with the king of *Bosphorus,* all beeing people meruailous swift and nimble. In this so mightie an host and armie, is also *Bascet* the sonne of the great Turke, by meanes whereof, all in those parts is in great trouble, as well as heere. It seemeth that the *Ienissaries* bring him the lot of *Turkie,* as *Baduget, Zermonia, Alepo,* and all the Regions lying neere to the *Soffi* is reuolted, all the which particularities shall be understoode more at large.

This newes is great, and hath made the great turke to muse enough upon it, but aboue all these meruelous and dreadfull newes which are hapned, there is yet chaunced another, which hath greatly feared & abashed all men, which although it seemeth to be incredible, yet upon my credit it is most true, and that is, that a people heretofore unknowne, mighty, swift, and meruelous nimble, hath taken weapon in hand, to the disaduantage and losse of the house of *Ottoman.* They say that *Alexander* the great did in time past driue beyond the mountaine *Caspe* nine tribes and a halfe of the *Hebrewes* which worshipped the Calfe & Serpent of gold, and draue them away, that neuer since there was no newes of them, neither knewe any man if they were in the worlde or not: because the Sea of sand, or the sandie sea, by a certaine inconuenience of sand Grauel or Beche, swelled & rose so high, that it utterly tooke from them the way into this our Region. But now by the

the meane of the newe Nauigation that y^e^ Hollanders haue made, they are arriued in their country, and haue espied out all their dooings: and after y^t^ the said Hollanders had instructed and taught them in the science and knowledge of artillery, and gun=pouder for Harquebushes and dags, whereunto they are meruelous apt and ready, they are become in all thinges perfit. After this they egged them forward to take weapon in hand, and passe the saide mountaine by Land. And because the sandy sea did hinder their passage, it appeareth y^t^ some Duchman or Italian, which yet men knowe not, but notwithstanding some great Astrologian or Cosmographer taught them the way, making some hill plaine with fire, whereby they might easilie passe, which is a thing of great wonder.

These people haue two mighty great armies, and infinite store of victualls, by reason of the fruitfulnesse of theyr country, they are also well prouided of all manner of preparation for war, & cunning in the practise of theyr weapons. They say they will come & recouer the land of Promise, towards the which the first army is already very neere, to the great terror and dread of euery man which hath either seene or heard of them. The spyes which haue been sent out by the great turke to discry them, doe affirme, that beside a hundred and two armies, there followe an infinite number of people, as well footmen as horsemen, and theyr first armie is already arriued upon the limmits of Turkie, putting all to fire and sword. Theyr language is bastard Hebrew: & because men speake much of it heere, I will not forget to speake also something thereof woorthy to be noted, and well understoode: The Hebrewes of Constantinople say, that they haue certaine

prophecies

prophesies, among the which one maketh mention, that from the foure parts of the world, shall rise a people, and come into Gog and Magog, and then shall appeare (as they perswade themselues) their *Messias* in might and power, and then they shall haue dominion and rule in the world, whereof they secretly reioyce, & are wonderous glad. They say moreouer, that there is a prophecie grauen in a piller set at *Podromo* which saith thus: A mightie Prince shall rise, whose beginning shall be of small reputation, who by his Issue shal war of such force and strength (with the helpe of God) that he shall bring to nothing, the empire and rule of *Ottoman,* and shal be the right possessour and inheritor of the Empire of *Constantinople,* & they beleeue all that it shall be this Emperor and duke of *Muscouia,* which is alreadie in great estimation among the Greeks.

The Turks haue a prophecie, which they sing often, and weepe bitterlie the while, for it betokeneth and denounceth unto them, their utter ruine and destruction. And although it seeme strange, to say that the Turkes haue prophecies, it is no meruaile: for *Balam* was a false Prophet: the *Sybilles* also prophecied and were Pagans. For all these causes the great Turke hath forbidden wine & will that all men goe fiue times in a day to the *Moschea,* and pray to God for theyr health and saftie. And so hee prepareth three great armies, one against the *Muscouites,* another against the *Soffie,* and the third for to goe against the *Hebrewes* of the Mountaines of *Caspij.* Within these fewe dayes you shall haue other newes, wherefore thus making an end, I commend me unto your good Lordship: from *Rome,* the first day of June, 1606. Your faithfull and trustie seruant, *Signior Valesco.*

The

The description of the first Armie, conducted by *Zoroam* a Iew, Captaine generall of the Armies.

First of all a Jew, of verie great stature, of a fleshlie colour, more red then otherwise, with broad eyes, called *Zoroam,* is Captaine generall of all the Armies, hee leadeth under his Ensigne twelue thousand horse, and twenty thousand footmen. The horsemen are armed after a light sort, but very good Harnes, almost after our fashion: they carrie Launces of long Reedes, very hard and light, yet so sharpe pointed, that they passe thorowe a thing with incredible lightnesse: they carrie also shields or targets of bone, and in steede of swords, they use certaine Courtilaxes.

They are apparrelled with the colour of their Ensigne, and all clothed with silke: the foote-men carrie Pikes of the same sort, with Helmet and Habergin: their Ensigne is of blacke silke and blew, with a dog following a Hart, or Bucke, and a saying written in it, which is in our language thus: *Either quick or dead.*

2. Of the Armie of Don Phares.

There is one called *Phares,* which is an Earle, yong and valiant, not regarding this present life: this man hath under his commaund fifteene hundred horsemen armed lightly, onely on the fore-part and head-peece: yet this Armour is so well tempered and wrought, that it keepeth out a Launce and Harquebush shot.

This

This manner of arming themselues, is to the intent they may neuer turne their backe to runne awaie: they have also fierce and light horses: there are eighteene thousand footemen, apparrelled with a kinde of sodden leather, made of the skinne of a certaine beast, so that no pike nor harquebush can pearse it. These men are beastlie people, & will neuer flie for any thing, they are very obedient and subiect unto their Prince, and their ordinarie apparell is silke. The Ensigne that they beare, is a falcon pecking or billing with another bird, with a sentence that saith, *Either thine or mine shall breake.*

3. Of the Marquesse of Galair.

There is a Marquesse of *Galair* called *Goes,* this man leadeth fifteen hudred men of armes, which be all exceeding well armed & stout, strong, and rebust men: their horses are moriskes, the greatest, the strongest, the fairest, and the best that bee in the world: there are also seuenteene thousand souldiers, very wel appointed with Launce and harquebush: theyr Ensigne or armes is a redde field, with a maid clothed in greene, holding a Lion in her hand, with these words *I hope to subdue a greater thing.*

4. Of the Duke of Falach.

There is a Duke of *Falach,* called *Obeth*, who hath under his conduct xx. thousand footemen, armed with a certaine mettall like yron, but it is light and hard, they have many good swords, launces, and other force, harquebushes, and wiflers: their Ensigne or armes, is a mermaid in a blacke field, and the deuise thus, *My singing shall not cease untill the end.*

The

The description of the Armie conducted by Captaine Nauison.

There is a captaine called *Nauison,* which hath under him xx. thousand men, appointed and armed with the skin of a serpent, most hard & stiffe, they haue Axes, pollaxes, pikes, harquebushes, and other kind of weapons: their Ensigne or armes, is a white snaile in a blacke fielde, with a deuise about it, *By little and little, men goe very farre.*

Of the tribe of *Simeon* there is a Prince of *Arsay,* whose name is not yet knowne, but they say he is a deuill, great, grosse, & thicke beyond measure, with a flat nose, and both he and his men are of the stature of Giants: he leadeth with him xx. thousand footemen, almost all *Alfiers,* which are also so swift & nimble that they will take horses running: they make a meruailous noise, such as no people use: their Ensigne is an Lute in a blacke field, and haue for their posy, *Such is my government.*

6. Of the Duke of Barsalda.

There is a duke of *Barsalda,* and he is the conducter of xiii, thousand footmen, which are all Harquebushers, & carry no fire matches, but strike it with a stone: they are apparrelled & armed with such a hard kind of leather, and so enchaunted, that no yron weapon in the world is able to perse it thorow. They bee also very swift and light: their Ensigne or armes, is a dry tree in a blew field, and their deuise thus, *I hope to spread, and be greene againe.*

7. Of the Armie of the Duke Passill.

There is a duke of *Passill* called *Abia,* he hath under his conduct a thousand footmen, very cruell, hauing all kind of weapons to push or pricke far off,

and

and to strike nigh, but farre different from ours, they are very expert in artificiall fire, and make the greatest and most dreadfull thinges withall y^t^ a man can imagin: they do it either by arte or enchauntment, so that it seemeth that it raigneth fire upon their enemies, and yet notwithstanding hurteth not themselves at all, by reason they are apparalled with a certaine Serpents skin which preserueth them. Their Ensigne is a Cat holding a Rat in her paw in a blacke fielde, and theyr posie thus, *Euen so hapneth it to him that is not gouerned.*

8. Of the Army conducted by the Earle of Albary.

There is an Erle of *Albary* called *Orut,* which hath under his gouernaunce a thousand horse-men with Crossebowes, some of them weare certaine light armour of a kind of hard mettall, with Rapyers and daggers after theyr manner, they fight alwayes running and their horses are so swift that it is wonderfull. This man also hath xx. thousand horses barbed with very fine leather. Some carry pikes & Partisans, & such like weapons. Their Ensigne or armes is a man in chaines, in a field parted halfe with greene and purple, and this deuise withall, *My chaines shall bind another man.*

9. Of the Marquesse of Vorio.

There is a Marques of *Vorio* called *Manasses,* who hath under his conduct xvii thousand footemen, armed with a very hard & strong leather, which men beleeue to be enchaunted, because that no weapon nor harquebush is able to perse it thorowe, yet it is as light

light as Linnen cloth, and a thing very fayre to see to. These now haue all sorts of weapons that an Armie may haue: and they are deuided and set in a very faire, comely, and decent order: their Ensigne is an old man in a chariot, in a blacke field, saying thus, *After a long iourney, I shall be happy.*

Caleb Shilock his prophesie, for the yeere, *1607.*

Be it knowne unto all men, that in the yeere *1607,* when as the Moone is in the watrie signe, the world is like to bee in great danger: for a learned Jew, named *Caleb Shilock,* doth write, that in the foresaid yeere, the Sun shall be couered with the Dragon in the morning, from fiue of the clocke untill nine, and will appeare like fire: therefore it is not good that any man doe behold the same, for by beholding thereof he may lose his sight.

Secondly, there shall come in the same yeere a meruailous great flood of water, to the great terror and amasement of many people.

Thirdly, there shall arise a meruailous great wind, and for feare thereof many people shall be consumed, or distraughted of their wits.

Fourthlie the same yeere, about the month of May, will arise another wonderfull great flood, and so great as no man hath seene since *Noyes* flood, which wil continue three daies and three nights, whereby many Citties and Townes which standeth uppon sandie ground will be in great danger.

Fiftly,

Fiftly, Infidels and Hereticks, through great feare and dread, will flie, and gather together, and asmuch as in them lies, make war against Christian princes.

Sixtlie, in the same yeere after the great waters be past, about the end of the yeere will be very great and fearefull Sicknesses: so that many people are like to die by the infection of strange diseases.

Seauenthly, there will be throughout the Worlde great trouble and contention about matters of Religion, and wonderfull strange newes unto all people, as concerning the same.

Eightly, the Turke with his God Mahomet shall be in danger to lose his Septer, through the great change and alteration in his Regiment, by reason of famine and warres, so that the most part of his people will rather seeke reliefe from the Christian, then from him.

Ninthlie, there will also arise great Earth=quakes, whereby diuers goodly buildings & high houses, are like to be ouerthrowne and ruinated.

Lastlie, there will be great remoouings of the earth in diuers places, so that for feare thereof, many people will be in a strange amazement and terror.

These punishments are prognosticated by this learned Jew, to fall uppon the whole world by reason of sinne, wherefore it behooueth all Christian to amend their euill liues, and to pray earnestly unto God to with=hold these calamities from us, and to conuart our harts wholy to him, whereby we may find fauour in our time of neede, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FINIS.

COLLATION

A–B in fours; Black letter, with the exception of title-page and introductory leaf: Lowndes, p. 2749 notes "Valesco, S. Jewes Prophecy, &c. Halliwell, May, 1856, imprint cut into £10–5–0: No other copy known." This is now in the British Museum, the fore edge of which is badly cropped, the name "*Shilocke*" on the title-page being cut down to "*Shilo.*" As in this copy, the imprint is cut off after "Pater," but there is just visible the top edge of the next line, which may be "noster rowe at the signe of the Sunne," but no indication of a date. These are the only two copies known of this remarkable tract. To students of Shakespeare, it is of considerable interest. James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips, *formerly* Halliwell (1820–1889), the great Shakespearean scholar, in his introduction to the Merchant of Venice (Halliwell's Shakespeare, vol. v., p. 277: London, 1853) maintains that the name of the predominant character of the play suggested itself to the author, from this tract. [Notes and Queries, 10s. ix. 269. April 4, 1908.]

XXVI

"THE WORLD'S GREAT RESTAURATION," BY SIR HENRY FINCH

THE | Worlds | Great Restavration. | *Or* | The Calling Of | The Ievves, and (with them) | *of all the Nations and King-* | domes of the earth, to the faith | of Christ. |
Published by *William Gouge*, B. of D. and | *Preacher of Gods Word in Black-fryers. London.* |
London | Printed by Edvvard Griffin for | William Bladen, and are to be sold at his Shop | neare the great North dore of *Pauls*, at the signe | of the Bible. 1621. |
(*4to. 7 ll.*+234 *pp.*+1 *l.*) [I. S.]

This work has a second title page :—

"The Calling of the Ievves. | A | Present | To Ivdah And | The Children Of | Israel that ioyned with him, | and to Ioseph (the valiant tribe | of Ephraim) *and all the* | house of Israel that | ioyned with him. |
The Lord giue them grace, that they | may returne and seeke Iehovah | *their God, and* David *their* | King, in these latter dayes. |
There is prefixed an Epistle vnto them, | written for their sake in the Hebrue tongue,[1] | and translated into English. |
Published by *William Gouge*, B. of D. and | *Preacher of Gods word in Blackefryers. London.* |
London | Printed by Edvvard Griffin for | William Bladen, and are to be sold at his Shop | neare the great North dore of *Pauls*, at the signe | of the Bible. 1621." |

[1] The Hebrew epistle referred to is a translation by the author of a section of this title page. It is printed by itself on one of the preliminary leaves in somewhat archaic characters, and reads as follows :—

מזרה ישראל
יקבצנו : [a]

מנחה היא [b]
ליהודה ולבני ישראל חבריו וליוסף
אשר ביד אפרים וכל בית ישראל
חבריו : ימציאם אלהים חן [c] וישבו [d]
ובקשו את יהוה אלהיהם ואת
דויד מלכם באחרית
הימים [e]

עמום ח · ג · אדני יהוה [f]
דבר מי לא ינבא

a Jeremiah xxxi. 10. *b* Genesis xxxii. 19. *c* Ezekiel xxxvii. 16. *d* Proverbs iii. 4. *e* Hosea iii. 5. *f* Amos iii. 8.

The British Museum, and the Mocatta Library, in University College, have copies, without the first title page (The Worlds Great Restauration) and Gouge's preliminary leaf "To the Reader." Probably issued in this state after the incarceration of Finch and Gouge.

XXVII

"The World's Great Restauration" (*continued*).

Contemporary reference to the book is to be found in letters from the Rev. Joseph Mead (Mede) (1586–1638), the eminent biblical scholar, to Sir Martin Stuteville.
(B. M. *Add.* 4176 : 121, 123–6.)

Christ's College Cambr. March 31.
Sr. 1621.

". . . Sr Henry Finch was last week examined before the High Commission about the book I wrote of, but wonderful privately. He gave up his answer in writing, $\frac{ch}{w}$ was sent to the King, & expected from him what should be his censure. . . ."

Christ's College, Apr. 7 [1621]

Sr

. . . I have seen Sr Henry Finch's The World's Great restauration, or Calling of the Jews, & with them of all the Nations of the Earth, to the Faith of Xt. I cannot see but for the main of the discourse I might assent unto him. God forgive me, if it be a sin ; but I have thought so many a day. But the thing, which troubles His Majesty, is this point, which I will write out for you verbatim ; " The Jews & all Israel shall return to their land & antient Seats, conquer their foes, have their Soil more fruitfull than ever. They shall erect a glorious Church in the Land of Judah it self & bear rule far and near." . . . We need not be afraid to aver and maintain, that one day they shall come to Jerusalem again ; be Kings & chief Monarchs of the Earth ; sway & govern all, for the glory of Xt ; that shall shine amongst them. And that is it Lactantius saith Lib. 7. Cap. 15. *The Romans name I will speak it, because it must one day be shall be taken from the Earth, & the Empire shall return to Asia. And again shall the East bear dominion & the West be in subjection." In another place Ashur & Egypt, all these large & vast Countries, the whole tract of the East & South, shall be converted to Christ ; the chief Sway & sovreignty remaining with the Jews. All nations shall honour them.*

Some say, the King says, he shall be a pure King, & he is so auld that he cannot tell how to do his homage at Jerusalem.

This with my best respect,
Yours ever,
Joseph Mead.[1]

[1] This letter has been transcribed, somewhat inaccurately in "The Court and Times of James the First ; . . . [Robert Folkestone Williams.] . . . London : . . . 1848. Vol. ii., *pp.* 250–251. It is also to be found in (Notes & Queries, 2nd S. xi. 127., Feb. 16, 1861) "Modern Apocryphal Apocalypse," by Moses Margoliouth, LL.D., PH.D.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James I. 1619–1623. . . . Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green. . . . London . . . 1851.

p. 247 April 18 ? (1621)

96. Petition of Sir Hen. Finch to the King. Disclaims the opinion which His Majesty thinks is asserted in his book; is sorry for having written so unadvisedly; begs liberty and restoration to favour.

p. 248 April 18, 1621 London :

Chamberlain [to Carleton.]

97. . . . Serjeant Finch is committed for his book on the conversion of the Jews.

XXVIII

Philip Ferdinandus

The Jew referred to was Philip Ferdinandus (1555 ?–1598), a native of Poland. He was converted to Roman Catholicism, but afterwards became a Protestant. He taught Hebrew at Oxford, and subsequently at Cambridge (D.N.B.).

His only publication is entitled :—

Hœc sunt verba Dei, etc.|
Praecepta In Monte Sinai | data Iudæis sunt 613, quorum 365 negativa, & 248 af- | firmativa, collecta per Pharisæum Magistrum Abraha- | mum filium Kattani, & impressa in Bibliis Bomber- | giensibus, anno à mundo creato 5288 Vene- | tiis, ab Authore vox DEI appellata :|
translata in linguam Latinam per *Phi- | lippum Ferdinandum Polonum.*|
His accesserunt nonnulla quæ sequens pa- | gina indicabit.|
Lex Dei integra est, Psal. 19.|
Aperi oculos meos, vt videam mirabilia legis tuæ.|
Vocem audivistis, et similtudinem non vidistis, | prœter vocem. Deut. 4. 12.|
Vox Dei semel data est per Mosem in monte Sinai.|
Sed similitudinem videre. i. arcana, singulis diebus da- | tur. *Ex Hazoar.*|
Cum licentia omnium primariorum virorum in in- | clyta & celeberrima Cantabrigiensi Academia.
Cantabrigiae, | Ex officina Iohannis Legat. 1597.|
(*4to.* 3 *ll.* +A–H. in fours.) [B. M.]

XXIX

Petition of the Jewes Johanna & Ebenezer Cart[en][w]right

The | Petition | Of The | Jewes | For the Repealing of the Act of | Parliament for their banishment | out of England.|
Presented to his Excellency and the | generall Councell of Officers on | Fryday Jan. 5. 1648. | *With their favourable acceptance thereof.*|
Also a Petition of divers Comman- | manders, (*sic*) prisoners in the Kings|Bench, for the releasing of all pri- | soners for Debt, according to | the Custome of other | Countries.|
London, Printed for *George Roberts*, 1649.|
(*4to.* 1 *l.* +6 *pp.*) [I. S.]

sig. A.2. "To the Right Honourable, Thomas *Lord* Fairfax, (His Excellency) Englanes (*sic*) Generall, And The Honourable Councel of Warre, Conveaned for Gods Glory, *Izraells* Freedom, Peace, and Safety, *The humble Petition of* Johanna Cartenright, *Widdow, and* Ebenezer Cartwright *her Son, freeborn* of England, *and now Inhabitants of the City of* Amsterdam."

sig. A.3. "*This Petition was presented to the generall Councell of the Officers of the Army, under the Command of his Excellency, Thomas Lord Fairfax, at Whitehall on Ian.* 5. *And favourably received with a promise to take it into speedy consideration, when the present more publike affaires are dispatched.*"[1]

XXX

"The Messiah Already Come," by John Harrison

The | Messiah | Already Come. | . . .
Written in Barbarie, in the yeare 1610, and for that cause directed | to the dispersed Iewes of that Countrie, and in them to all others now groaning under the heauy | yoake of this their long and intollerable captivitie, which yet one day shall have an end: . . .
Amsterdam, | Imprinted by Giles Thorp. Anno M.DC,XIX.|
(*4to.* 5 *ll.* +68 *pp.*) [B. M.]

sig. A3.—To The High And Mighty Prince Frederick King of Bohemia, &c. . . . *This Treatise was published seven yeares*

[1] American Elements in the Re-settlement. By Lucien Wolf. (Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. iii. 1896–8. . . . London, . . . 1899. . . . *p.* 87.)

agoe and Printed in the Low Countries. . . . Your Maties most humble devoted seruant Iohn Harrison.[1]

XXXI

"Discourse of Mr. John Dury to Mr. Thorowgood—Jewes in America," by Tho. Thorowgood—"Americans no Jews," by Hamon l'Estrange

An Epistolicall Discourse Of Mr. Iohn Dury, To Mr. Thorowgood. Concerning his conjecture that the Americans are descended from the Israelites. With the History of a Portugall Iew, *Antonie Monterinos,* (*sic*) attested by *Manasseh Ben Israel,* to the same effect. . . . *Your faithfull friend and fellow-labourer in the Gospel of Christ.* J. Dury, St. Iames, *this* 27 Ian. 1649.

(*sig.* D–E, in fours.) 50.

This will be found in the preliminary leaves of :—

Ievves in America, | Or, | Probabilities | That the Americans are of | that Race.|[2]

"The Epistle to the Reader" is dated *Mar.* 30. 1651.

With the removall of some | contrary reasonings, and earnest de- | sires for effectuall endeavours to | make them Christian.| Proposed by Tho : Thorovvgood, B.D. one of the | Assembly of Divines. | . . .

London, Printed by W. H. for *Tho. Slater,* and are to be sold | at his shop at the signe of the Angel in Duck lane, 1650.|

(*4to.* 22 *ll.*+139 *pp.*) [I. S.]

The Imprimatur signed *Iohn Downame* is dated *Septem.* 4. 1649.

pp. 129–(139) contain "*The Relation of Master* Antonie Monterinos, (*sic*) *translated out of the French Copie sent by* Manasseh Ben Israel. . . . J. Dvry Received this at *London,* 27 of *Novem.* 1649."

This was the affidavit of Montezinos, superscribed by Manasseh Ben Israel, sent to John Dury at his particular request.

[1] It appeared again under the following title :—
A Vindication Of The Holy Scriptures. . . .
By that Learned, and late Eminent Divine John Harrison.
London . . . 1656.
(12*mo.* 11 *ll.*+150 *pp.*+1 *l.*) [I. S.]

[2] A reply was made to this tract :—
Americans no Iewes, | Or | Improbabilities that the | *Americans* are of that race | . . .
By Hamon l'Estrange, K^t. |
London, | Printed by W. W. for *Henry Seile* over against | St. *Dunstans Church* in *Fleetstreet.* 1652. |
(4*to.* 2 *ll.*+80 *pp.*) [I. S.]

XXXII

"Whether it be Lawful to Admit Jews into a Christian Commonwealth," by John Dury

A | Case | Of | Conscience, | *Whether it be lawful to admit Jews* | *into a Christian Common-wealth ?* |
Resolved By | Mr John Dury: | Written To | *Samuel Hartlib,* Esquire. |
London, | Printed for *Richard Wodenothe,* in Leaden-Hall street, | next to the Golden Heart, 1656. |
(*4to.* 1 *l.*+9 *pp.*) [I. S.]

p. 9: ". . . Sir! *Your most affectionate and faithful servant* . . . John Dury. *Cassell,* in haste, Januarie 8 1656."[1]

XXXIII

"Life and Death of Henry Jessey"

The | Life and Death | of | Mr. Henry Jessey, | Late Preacher of the Gospel of | Christ in *London;* | Who, having finished his Testimony, was | Translated the 4*th* day of *September,* 1663. |
Written for the benefit of all, especially such as | were acquainted with his godly conversation, | and Pertakers of his unwearied Labours in | the Lord. |
With an Elegy upon the Death of Mr. | William Bridg. | . . . *Anno Domini* 1671. |
(8°. 4 *ll.*+108 *pp.*) [B. M.]

The author is unknown, but page 97 bears the initials "E. W."

p. 67: "Towards the Jews his Charity was famous beyond President and many ways exprest, . . ."

p. 69: "3. His Charity was most eminently shewn to them in the great Collections, which through his importunity was made for the poor *Jews* at *Jerusalem,* who were reduced to extream poverty and misery; having lost, by reason of the *Swedish* Navies Wars, 15000000 of Rix Dollers; which their brethren of *Hungary, Poland, Lithuania,* and Prussia, were wont to send them yearly, for the maintenance of learned *Rabbies* and Students, and for the relief of antient Widows and decripid men, and other necessitous people, with which the *Holy-Land* doth abound; who (as we said) by cutting off their subsistance were brought (in 1657) into great

[1] John Dury and the English Jewry. By the Rev. S. Levy, M.A. (Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. iv. 1899–1901. . . . London. . . . 1903. . . . *pp.* 76–82.)

extremity, not only of Famine and nakednesse (that of 700 Widows, 400 were famished out-right) but also by the imprisonment and scourgings of their Elders and Rabbyes, by their cruell Creditors, being the principal men of the Land to whom the *Jews* were indebted 20000 Rialls of Eight, which if the Ryall be 4*s.* 8*d.* a piece, it is 4666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the liberty of dwelling there, etc. which they extorted with great rigor and exaction, resolving to sell them all for slaves, in case payment was not speedily made."

p. 70: "This befel the onely then *Germane Jews* at *Jerusalem*, for the Congregation of *Portugal Jews* were relieved by the Alms of their Rich Brethren in *Portugal*."

p. 70: "4. The only Anchor the miserable Wretched and distressed Persons had, was to Implore succour from their Brethren in other parts, to which end they sent Letters to *Venice*, *Amsterdam*, and by *Rabbie Nathan Levita*, an Elder, and Cabalist: But all they got from them served only for payment of Interest of Debts: so that they had still perished, if the bowels of Christians in *Holland*, had not compassionated their State, who sent them 500. Rix Dollars, and by Letters did earnestly press Mr. H. J. to further a Collection in *England*.

"To which he made some demurs till he obtained full satisfaction of the truth of the Relation, and certainty of safe conveyance of the money that Charity might not be abused; for the first, the Messengers from *Jerusalem* brought Commissions signed by their Elders, which Commissions were sent to the *Synagogues* in *Germany*, and in the *Netherlands* to be examined; who assured that they knew the hands, and that those men would not subscribe to an untruth, and that they themselves had contributed upon the same Information.

"And as for Conveyance, two Noted Merchants of *Francford*, would return the mony, and give Bond for so much; till they procure a Receipt from the Elders of *Jerusalem*, as they had done for the above named summe of 500. Rix Dollars; and had a Letter returned from *Jerusalem* to the Charitable Christians of *Amsterdam*, both in way of Receipt and Gratitude with Original *Hebrew* Letter with the Messengers, Commissioners, and other necessary Instructions being sent to Mr. *Jessey*, removed all scruples, so that immediatly informed divers *London* Ministers, by whose assistance, together with his own private Friends and Interest, the some of 300*l.* Sterling was in short time gathered and sent, and a Bill of Receipt, with thankfulness returned: some of it being also sent to distressed *Iews at Vilna* and other places in *Poland*."

p. 67: "When their liberty of returning and trading in *England* (as they did in *Germany, Poland, Russia, Portugal, Netherlands etc.*) was moved, disputed and debated for and against; He laboured that it might be granted, with such limitations, (as our Merchants yielded unto, *viz*) that they should be seated in some decayed Port Towns, and pay Custome for Goods, thence transported into other parts of the Nation, besides what they should pay there for exporting *English*, and importing forreign Commodities: such a tollerating of their trade might not onely be beneficial several ways to our selves, but be some satisfaction for the unhandsome dealings of our Nation against that people in the days of King *Rich.* I. King *John* and *Edward* the first, for the space of 100 years till their final Banishment, *An. Dom.* 1290. with those circumstances of cruelty, that our own Histories do not seem to approve of; . . ."

XXXIV

"THE GLORY OF JEHUDAH AND ISRAEL—DE HEERLICHKEYDT . . VAN JEHUDA EN ISRAEL," BY HENRY JESSE.

THE Glory of Jehudah and Israel is referred to in the concluding paragraph of "The Humble Addresses."

Manasseh Ben Israel writes:—

". . . Now, having prooved the two former Points, I could adde a third, viz. of the Nobility of the Iewes: but because that Point is enough known amongst all Christians, as lately yet it hath bene most worthily and excellently shewed and described in a certain Booke, called, *The Glory of Iehudah and Israel*, dedicated to our Nation by that worthy Christian Minister Mr. Henry Iessey, (1653. in Dutch) where this matter is set out at large: . . ."

"The Life and Death Of Mr Henry Jessey," page 79: ". . . Mr. H. J. seconded his Almes with divers Consolatory Letters to the dispersed seed of *Jacob*, having before in 1650. wrote a compleat Treatise yet extant, and called (the glory & Salvation of *Jehudah*, and *Israel*) tending towards the reconciliation of *Jews* and *Christians*, . . ."

J. C. Wolf, in his *Bibliothecæ Hebræae*, 1733, vol. iv., *p.* 901, in his biography of Manasseh Ben Israel, incidentally refers to "De Heerlickheid en heyl van Jehuda en Israel" written in Flemish (Belgice) by Henr. Jesse.

It is apparently very rare, the only copy that has been traced is mentioned in "Catalogue De La Bibliothèque de literature

hebraique et orientale et d'Auteurs hebreux De Feu Mr Leon V. Saraval Trieste . . . 1853."[1] [I. S.]

N°. 619 " JESSE HENRY de Heerlichkeydt en Heyl van Jehuda en Israel (en langue flamande, traduit de l'anglais.) Amst. 1653 in 8° . . . tres-rare. . . ."

XXXV

OF THE LATE PROCEEDS AT WHITE-HALL, CONCERNING THE JEWS [HENRY JESSE]

A | Narrative | Of the late Proceeds at | White-Hall, | Concerning The | Jews: | Who had desired by *R. Manasses* | an agent for them, that they might return to | England, and Worship the God of their Fa- | thers here in their Synagogues, etc. |
Published for satisfaction to many in several parts of *Eng-* | *land*, that are desirous, and inquisitive to hear the | Truth thereof. | London: | Printed for L: Chapman, at the Crown in Popes- | head-Alley. 1656. |
(*4to.* 1 *l.* +14 *pp.*)[2] [I. S.]

p. 11: "*Here followeth part of a Letter written at* Ligorn, 1652. *and sent by the Preacher in the* Phœnix *Frigot, to a friend in London.*

Ligorn, aboard the Phœnix, 19 *of the* 1, 1652.
Dear Brethren: . . ."

p. 12: A Postscript, To fill up the following Pages, that else had been vacant: Containing,

1 *The Proposals of* R. Manasses ben Israel, *more fully.*
2 *Part of his Letter written Anno* 1647.
3 *The late progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England.*

A translation appeared in:—
Neue Schwarmgeister=Brut Oder Historische Erzehlung . . .
IV. Die Wieder=Einnehmung der Juden in Engeland
V Die Bekehrung der Indianer in New=Engeland . . .
Gedrukkt im Jahr 1661. pp. 189–223.
(8°. 24 *ll.* +223 *pp.*+1 *l.*) [I. S.]

[1] In 1853 the Saraval library was purchased for the Breslau seminary.

[2] A translation appeared in:—
Neue Schwarmgeister =Brut Oder Historische Erzehlung. . . .
IV. Die Wieder =Einnehmung der Juden in Engeland
V. Die Bekehrung der Indianer in New =Engeland . . .
Gedrukkt im Jahr 1661. *pp.* 189–223.
(8°. 24 *ll.*+223 *pp.*+1 *l.*) [I. S.]

XXXVI

Bishop Thomas Newton and the Restoration of Israel

"The preservation of the Jews is really one of the most signal and illustrious acts of divine Providence. They are dispersed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. The drops of rain which fall, nay the great rivers which flow into the ocean, are soon mingled and lost in that immense body of waters: and the same in all human probability would have been the fate of the Jews, they would have been mingled and lost in the common mass of mankind; but, on the contrary they flow into all parts of the world, mix with all nations, and yet keep separate from all. They still live as a distinct people, and yet they no where live according to their own laws, no where elect their own magistrates, no where enjoy the full exercise of their religion. . . . No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done, not only of those who have sent forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of those who have abided in their own country. The northern nations have come in swarms into the more southern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be discerned and distinguished? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortune in foreign parts; but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who from time to time have settled there? In Spain who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors the Spaniards, and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some ages? In England who can pretend to say with certainty which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The most ancient and honorable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance: but the Jews can go up higher than any other nation, they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are descended, but they know certainly that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships which they have undergone in almost all countries, should one would think, have made them desirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profess it, they glory in it: and after so many wars, massacres, and persecutions, they still subsist, they still are very numerous: and what but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preserved?

"Nor is the providence of God less remarkable in the destruc-

tion of their enemies, than in their preservation. For from the beginning who have been the great enemies and oppressors of the Jewish Nation, removed them from their own land, and compelled them into captivity and slavery ? The Egyptians afflicted them much, and detained them in bondage several years. The Assyrians carried away captive the ten tribes of Israel, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly persecuted them : and the Romans utterly dissolved the Jewish state, and dispersed the people so as they have never been able to recover their city and country again. And where are now these great and famous monarchies, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God ? Are they not vanished as a dream, and not only their power, but their very names, lost in the earth ? The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, were overthrown, and entirely subjugated by the Persians ; and the Persians (it is remarkable) were the restorers of the Jews, as well as the destroyers of their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were swallowed up by the Romans : and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken in pieces by the incursions of the northern nations ; while the Jews are subsisting as a distinct people to this day."[1]

XXXVII

"A Call to the Christians and the Hebrews"

" You are at length to be restored to the land of your forefathers, where, after ages of dispersion and suffering, you will find rest and enjoyment ; and will restore, surpass and enjoy, for ever, all that you have ever known, or conceived of happiness and glory. . . . Ye have sown in tears, *ye shall reap* in joy." (Psalm cxxvi, 5.)

" They who deny that you will be restored and re-established in your ancient inheritance, may better deny that you are dispersed ; for as certainly as the prophecies of your dispersion and preservation have been verified, so shall the numerous prophecies of your *restoration* be realized and fulfilled."

" Will the British who preside over the Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian Seas assume the glorious enterprise, and conduct the Hebrews from Tarshish and the various coasts of their dispersion ?

" This island has given birth to the Bible Society, through whose labours the glorious work has been undertaken and sustained of circulating the sacred scriptures, among the various nations of the earth in the respective languages.

[1] Dissertations on the Prophecies . . . By Thomas Newton, D.D., . . . vol. i., London . . . MDCCLIV. *pp.* 216–219.

"From this isle of ancient fame, the Hindoos and the lone isles of the Pacific and Atlantic Seas, again receive their Vedas and sacred scrolls.

"The uplifted shell sounded from this Arctic isle, will gain the ear of the wakeful Spirits of peace within it, and upon either Continent; of those watchers of the world, who listen to gather and transmit to all kindred and nations, the grateful sounds fraught with good tidings, which ascend ever and anon, as the all-presiding God calls them forth from some one of his train on Earth."[1]

XXXVIII

The Centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society

Those who wish to read the full record of the Society's work can do so in the two delightful volumes of Mr. William Canton. In his *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, Murray, 1904) he tells, in fine style, the story of the first half-century of the Society's career. When the Society began its work, that is to say at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "all the Bibles in the world in all languages and in every land, printed or in MSS., did not greatly exceed 4,000,000 copies, and of the forty or fifty languages into which the Scriptures have been translated, several, like the Anglo-Saxon of Bede and the Mæso-Gothic of Ulfilas, were extinct tongues." But now how stands the matter? "Under its auspices and mainly at its charges, scholars have been employed in translating the Scriptures into over 300 languages, including all the great vernaculars of the world. Neither expense nor labour has been spared in making these versions as perfect as possible; and when completed they have been printed, and thus placed within the reach of the poorest of those for whom they were intended. In 100 years over 180,000,000 copies of the scriptures, complete or in part, have been issued by the Society; and at the present time more than 6,000,000 copies per annum are being put into circulation."

The well-known scholar, Dr. Israel Abrahams, after quoting this passage in the *Jewish Chronicle*, March 4th, 1904, rightly remarks: ". . . the Society is doing a noble work, with much of which Jews must completely sympathise. With some of its work we do not sympathise; but this reservation does not prevent us from offering cordial congratulations to the Society on its centenary, . . ." This is our point of view with regard to non-Jewish activities on behalf of Zionism, as well as on behalf of the Bible.

[1] A Call to the Christians and the Hebrews. By Theaetetus. . . . London MDCCCXIX. 8°. 1 *l.*+35 *pp.* [B. M.] *pp.* 16–17, 33–34.

XXXIX

Lord Kitchener and the Palestine Exploration Fund

Dr. Samuel Daiches read a paper on the 7th February, 1915, to the Jews' College Union Society about Lord Kitchener's work in Palestine. Sir Edward Pears, who is a member of the Council of the Palestine Exploration Fund, presided. Dr. Daiches pointed out that there was an early period in Lord Kitchener's life which provided him with work in which he developed his great capacities—the period of his work in Palestine—nearly forty years ago, when he was engaged for four years (from 1874 to 1878) in exploration work in the Holy Land. He first took up the work (at the age of twenty-four) as second-in-command under Lieutenant Conder, and later, owing to the ill-health of Conder, took command of the survey party of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The lecturer made it clear that the real underlying motive which induced Lord Kitchener to take up this work was a love for the Bible and the land of the Bible. Kitchener left for Palestine in command of the Survey in January, 1877. By the beginning of July the survey of Galilee was completed, 1000 square miles having been added to the map. Four weeks later he went with a reduced party to the south country and surveyed 340 square miles in the desert around Beer Sheba. The survey of the whole of Western Palestine was thus completed. Then the revision work was done. In January, 1878, Kitchener was back in England, and after a short leave he joined Conder at the South Kensington Museum, and arranged and wrote the Memoirs for the sheets of the map executed by himself. In September he formally handed over to the Committee the whole of the Maps and Memoirs complete. As a result of the work of Conder and Kitchener we now have the large map of Western Palestine in twenty-six sheets, three volumes of Memoirs on the topography, orthography, hydrography and archæology, and the volume of Arabic and English name lists. A volume of *Special Papers* (vol. v. of the series) contains contributions from Conder and Kitchener. Kitchener's contributions concerning the ancient Synagogues in Galilee are very valuable, and his reports show a sympathetic understanding of Jewish traditions in Palestine.[1]

[1] Lord Kitchener and his work in Palestine. By Dr. Samuel Daiches. London . . . 1915. (8°. 88 *pp.*)

XL

Bonaparte's Call to the Jews (1799)

Gazette Nationale ou Le Moniteur Universel.

No. 243. *Tridi,* 3 *prairial an* 7 *de la république française une et indivisible.*

[*Page*] 987. Politique. Turquie. *Constantinople, le* 28 *germinal.*

"Bonaparte a fait publier une proclamation, dans laquelle il invite tous les juifs de l'Asie et de l'Afrique à venir se ranger sous ses drapeaux pour rétablir l'ancienne Jérusalem. Il en a déjà armé un grand nombre, et leurs bataillons menacent Alep."

No. 279. *Nonidi,* 9 *messidor* etc.

[*Pages*] 1136–1137. *De la conquête probable de-l'empire ottoman par Bonaparte.*

". . . Attendons la confirmation de ces heureuses nouvelles. Si elles sont prématurées, nous aimons à croire qu'elles se réaliseront un jour. Ce n'est pas seulement pour rendre aux juifs leur Jérusalem que Bonaparte a conquis la Syrie; . . ." (David.)

XLI

[A Zionist] Letter, addressed by a [French] Jew to his Co-religionists in 1798

"*Brothers,*

"You who have groaned for so many ages under the weight of the cruelest persecutions, do you not wish to burst from the state of degrading humiliation in which intolerant and barbarous religions have placed you? Contempt accompanies us everywhere. Our sufferings are unpitied and despised. The unshaken constancy with which we have preserved the faith of our ancestors, far from procuring for us the admiration due to such a conduct, has only increased the unjust hatred which all nations bear towards us. It is only by affecting the exterior of baseness and misery, that we are enabled to secure our property and preserve our unhappy existence. It is at least time to shake off this insupportable yoke—it is time to resume our rank among the other nations of the universe. Vile robbers possess that sacred land which our ancestors were compelled to yield to the Romans. They profane the holy City which we defended with so much courage. Posterity has preserved a dreadful remembrance of the struggle—we, surely, have not forgotten it. That courage has only slumbered: the hour to awaken it is

arrived. O my brethren! let us rebuild the temple of Jerusalem!

"An invincible nation, which now fills the world with her glory, has shewn us what the love of country can perform. Let us implore her generosity—request her assistance; and we may be assured that the philosophy which guides the chiefs of that nation, will induce them to give our demand a favourable reception.

"We are more than six millions of people scattered over the face of the earth; we possess immense riches: let us employ the means that are in our power to restore us to our country. The moment is propitious, and to profit by it, is our duty. The following are the means best suited for carrying this holy enterprize into execution:—There shall be established a Council, the members of which shall be elected by the Jews, who are spread over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

[Here the writer divides the Jews into the 15 following tribes, viz. The Italian, Helvetic, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Northern, British, Spanish, Gallic, Dutch, Prussian, German, Turkish, Asiatic, and African. These the author proposes shall each form a body of electors in the capitals of the respective districts; and then he proceeds.]

"The fifteen deputies of these tribes shall form the Council, which shall hold its sittings at Paris. When they shall have assembled to the number of nine, they may begin to deliberate on the object of their mission. Their decisions will have with all the Jews the force of laws; they shall be obliged to submit to them. The Council shall appoint an agent, to communicate to the Executive Directory of France the propositions which it may think proper to make to the French government."

"The country we propose to occupy shall include (liable to such arrangements as shall be agreeable to France) Lower Egypt, with the addition of a district of country, which shall have for its limits a line running from Ptomelais or Saint John D'Acre, to the Asphaltic Lake, or Dead Sea, and from the South point of that Lake to the Red Sea. This position, which is the most advantageous in the world, will render us, by the navigation of the Red Sea, masters of the commerce of India, Arabia and the South and East of Africa; Abyssinia, and Ethiopia, those rich countries which furnished Solomon with so much gold and ivory and so many precious stones, will trade the more willingly with us, that the greater part of their inhabitants still practise the law of Moses. The neighbourhood of Aleppo and Damascus will facilitate our commerce with Persia; and by the Mediterranean we may communicate with Spain, France, Italy, and the rest of Europe. Placed in the centre of the world, our country will become the *entrepôt* of all the rich and precious productions of the earth.

" The Council shall offer to the French government, if it will give us the assistance necessary to enable us to return to our country, and to maintain ourselves in the possession of it,

" 1. Every pecuniary indemnification.
2. To share the commerce of India, &c. with the merchants of France *only*.

" The other arrangements, and the propositions to be made to the Ottoman Porte, cannot yet be rendered public : we must, in these matters, repose on the wisdom of the Council, and the good faith of the French nation. Let us choose upright and enlightened deputies, and we may have confidence in the success of this undertaking.

" O ! my brethren ! what sacrifices ought we not to make to obtain this object ? We shall return to our country—we shall live under our own laws—we shall behold those sacred places which our ancestors illustrated with their courage and their virtues. I already see you all animated with a holy zeal. *Israelites !* the term of your misfortunes is at hand. The opportunity is favourable—take care you do not allow it to escape."[1]

This appeal—a prototype of Pinsker's *Autoemancipation* and of Herzl's *Judenstaat*—produced a deep impression, but since the whole expedition proved a failure, Jewish opinion—not on the principle, but on the opportunity and the means—was divided.

XLII

" Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrim," by Diogene Tama

Transactions Of The Parisian Sanhedrim,
Or Acts Of The Assembly Of Israelitish Deputies of France and Italy, Convoked At Paris By An Imperial And Royal Decree, Dated May 30, 1806.
Translated From The Original Published By M. Diogene Tama, With A Preface And Illustrative Notes By F. D. Kirwan, Esq.
London ; . . . Published by Charles Taylor, Hatton Street. 1807.
(8°. xvi + 334 *pp.*) [I. S.]

[1] The Restoration of the Jews the Crisis of all Nations ; . . . Second Edition. By J. Bicheno, M.A.
London : . . . 1807. . . . (8°. 2 *ll.* + 235 *pp.* [I. S.]) *pp.* 60–62.
See *Appendices* XLIII–XLVI.

XLIII

"Signs of the Times"—"A Word in Season"—"Commotions Since French Revolution"—"History of Christianity"—"The German Empire"—"Fulfilment of Prophecy," by Rev. James Bicheno

The Signs of the Times: . . . By J. Bicheno . . .
London: Printed For The Author; And Sold by Parsons, Paternoster-Row; Wayland, Holborn, London; and James and Cottle, Bristol.
Price 1s. 6d. [1793]
Of whom may be had the Author's Friendly Address to the Jews, and a Letter to Mr. D. Levi. Price 1s. 6d.
(8°. 4 *ll.* +67 *pp.*) [B. M.]

A Word in Season: . . . To Stand Prepared For The Consequences Of The Present War . . .
By J. Bicheno, . . . London . . . 1795.
(8°. 2 *ll.* +53 *pp.*) [B. M.]

The Probable Progress And Issue Of The Commotions Which Have Agitated Europe Since The French Revolution, . . .
By J. Bicheno . . . London . . . MDCCXCVII.
(8°. 2 *ll.* +94 *pp.*) [B. M.]

A Glance At The History of Christianity, . . .
By James Bicheno, M.A., Newbury . . . MDCCXCVIII. . . .
(8°. 28 *pp.*) [B. M.]

The Destiny Of The German Empire; . . .
By J. Bicheno, M.A. . . . London: . . . 1801 . . . .
(8°. 2 *ll.* +96 *pp.*) [B. M.]

The Fulfilment of Prophecy Farther Illustrated By The Signs Of The Times; . . .
By J. Bicheno, M.A. London . . . 1817.
(8°. xvii+254 *pp.*) [B. M.]

XLIV

"Restoration of the Jews"—"Friendly Address to the Jews," by Rev. James Bicheno—"Letter to Mr. Bicheno," by David Levi

The Restoration of the Jews, The Crisis Of All Nations;
Or, An Arrangement Of The Scripture Prophecies, Which Relate To The Restoration Of The Jews, And To Some Of The Most

Interesting Circumstances Which Are To Accompany And Distinguish That Important Event;
With Illustrations And Remarks Drawn From The Present Situation And Apparent Tendencies Of Things, Both In Christian And Mahomedan Countries.
By J. Bicheno, M.A. . . . London . . . 1800. [Price Two Shillings And Sixpence.]
(8°. 2 *ll.* +115 *pp.*) [B. M.]

The Restoration Of The Jews The Crisis Of All Nations;
To Which Is Now Prefixed, A Brief History Of The Jews, From Their First Dispersion, To The Calling Of Their Grand Sanhedrim At Paris, October 6th, 1806.
And An Address On The Present State Of Affairs, In Europe In General, And In This Country In Particular.
Second Edition.
By J. Bicheno, M.A.
London: . . . 1807. (*Price* 5s.—*Entered at Stationer's-Hall.*)
(8°. 2 *ll.* +235 *pp.*) [I. S.]

He also wrote:—

A Friendly Address To The Jews. . . .
To Which Is Added, A Letter To Mr. D. Levi; Containing Remarks On His Answer To Dr. Priestley's Letter To The Jews; Shewing, That however his Arguments may affect the Opinions of Dr. Priestley, they form no Objection against the Christian Religion.
By J. Bicheno, Newbury. London: . . .
(8°. vi. *pp.* + 1 *l.* +88 *pp.*) [I. S.]

Which occasioned the following reply:—

A Letter To Mr. Bicheno, Occasioned By His Friendly Address to the Jews, And A Letter To Mr. David Levi, Containing Remarks On Mr. Levi's Answer To Dr. Priestley's First Letters To The Jews.
By David Levi, Author Of Lingua Sacra, The Ceremonies Of The Jews, etc. . . .

See *pp.* 127–134 in "Letters To Dr. Priestley, In Answer To His Letters To The Jews, Part II. Occasioned By Mr. David Levi's Reply to the Former Part. Also Letters 1. To Dr. Cooper, . . . 2. To Mr. Bicheno, 3. To Dr. Krauter, 4. To Mr. Swain, And 5. To Anti-Socinus, *alias* Anselm Bayly. Occasioned By Their Remarks On Mr. David Levi's Answer To Dr. Priestley's First Letters To The Jews. By David Levi, . . . London: . . . M,DCC,LXXXIX.
(8°. 2 *ll.* +159 *pp.*) [I. S.]

XLV

"Attempt to Remove Prejudices Concerning the Jewish Nation," by Thomas Witherby

An Attempt To Remove Prejudices Concerning The Jewish Nation. By Way Of Dialogue.
By Thomas Witherby.
Part I.[1]
London: Printed For The Author, . . . 1804. (Entered at Stationers-Hall.)
(8°. xx+511 *pp.*) [I. S.]

XLVI

"Observations on Mr. Bicheno's Book," by Thomas Witherby

Dedicated to the Jews.
Observations on Mr. Bicheno's Book, Entitled The Restoration Of The Jews The Crisis Of All Nations:
Wherein the revolutionary Tendency of that Publication is shewn to be most inimical to the real Interest of the Jews, who are not to expect the Restoration to their own Land until they are, by the free Grace of the God of their Fathers, enabled to acknowledge his Justice, Righteousness, and Mercy, in their long-continued Dispersion, and in the Preservation of their Nation amidst those awful Sufferings which they have endured under his righteous Judgments.
Together With An Inquiry Concerning Things To Come; . . .
London: Printed For The Author . . .
(8°. xx+323 *pp.*) [I. S.]
Page iii: (Dedicated) "To The Jews. Distinguished Nation. . . . Thomas Witherby. Enfield, *Middlesex*, Aug. 22, 1800."[2]

XLVII

"Letters to the Jews," by Joseph Priestley

Letters To The Jews; Inviting Them To An Amicable Discussion Of The Evidences Of Christianity.
By Joseph Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S. . . .
Birmingham, . . . MDCCLXXXVII. [Price One Shilling.]
(8°. 2 *ll.*+54 *pp.*+1 *l.* (Catalogue.) [I. S.]

[1] The pagination is consecutive, but Part II is dated 1803.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1801, vol. lxxi., *pp.* 830–836.

Letters To The Jews. Part II. Occasioned By Mr. David Levi's Reply To The Former Letters.
By Joseph Priestley, LL.D. F.R.S. . . . Birmingham, . . . MDCCLXXXVII. [Price One Shilling.]
(8°. iv + 56 *pp.*) [I. S.]
Page 56 : " Your brother in the sole worship Of the one only true God, Joseph Priestley. Birmingham, *July* 1, 1787."

XLVIII

"An Address to the Jews on the Present State of the World," by Joseph Priestley

A Comparison Of The Institutions of Moses With Those Of The Hindoos And Other Ancient Nations ;
With Remarks on Mr. Dupuis's Origin of all Religions,
The Laws and Institutions of Moses Methodized,
And An Address to the Jews on the present state of the World and the Prophecies relating to it.
By Joseph Priestley, L.L.D. F.R.S. &c. . . .
Northumberland :[1]. . . MDCCXCIX.
(8°. xxvii + 428 *pp.* + 2 *ll.* (catalogue).) [B. M.]
pp. 393–428 : " An Address To The Jews."

XLIX

"Letters to Dr. Priestley," by David Levi

Letters To Dr. Priestly, In Answer To Those He Addressed To The Jews ; Inviting Them To An Amicable Discussion Of The Evidences Of Christianity.
By David Levi, . . . London, . . . MDCCLXXXVII.
(8°. 2 *ll.* + 99 *pp.*) [I. S.]
Second Edition MDCCLXXXVII. (103 *pp.*) [I. S.]
Third Edition, M,DCC,XCIII. (2 *ll.* + 99 *pp.*) [I. S.]

[1] Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

L

"A Famous Passover Melody," by the Rev. F. L. Cohen

". . . Isaac Nathan, a fashionable singing master of London . . . conceived the idea of imitating the 'Irish Melodies' of Thomas Moore (batches of which had been published since 1807, with the greatest success). . . . Less fortunate than Moore, Byron's verses were not wedded to melodies of the national type they professed, because even before Nathan had thus exhausted his choice, he had made a most superficial search through the repertory of the Anglo-Jewish synagogues of his day, which, by the way, had not yet experienced the inspiringly melodious influence of 'Polish' *Chazanuth*. . . . The opening poem, 'She walks in beauty,' for example, he set to a tawdry *Lecha Dodi* . . . But among the six actually 'Hebrew' melodies, there were one or two exceptions to the general inferiority of the music; and prominent among these was the tender and expressive air to which, by a happy inspiration, Nathan set the verses:—

'O weep for those that wept by Babel's stream.'

Here, at least,

'Music and sweet poetry agreed,
As well they should, the sister and the brother';

and the result became world famous as a type of what Hebrew melody might be. It has often been republished; and has also appeared in other settings, as by the Rev. M. Hast to Ibn Gabirol's hymn:—

'At morn I beseech Thee,'

or by Ernst Pauer in his Traditional Hebrew Melodies. But what is more especially known to and prized by musicians, it forms the only pianoforte composition of Robert Franz, the great song-writer, under the title

'Beweinet, die geweint an Babel's Strand,'

and as such, it has become famous. . . . The origin of the melody is . . . simply the old chant of the *Cohanim* on the Festivals, as it used to be sung in London synagogues on the Passover a hundred years ago, with a joyous touch of Pesach tune. . . ." [1]

[1] *Jewish Chronicle*, 1st April, 1904, page 21.

LI

"Reminiscences of Lord Byron . . . Poetry, etc., of Lady Caroline Lamb," by Isaac Nathan

Fugitive Pieces And Reminiscences Of Lord Byron :
Containing An Entire New Edition Of The Hebrew Melodies, With The Addition Of Several Never Before Published ;
The Whole Illustrated With Critical, Historical, Theatrical, Political, And Theological Remarks, Notes, Anecdotes, Interesting Conversations, And Observations, Made By That Illustrious Poet : Together With His Lordship's Autograph.
Also Some Original Poetry, Letters And Recollections Of Lady Caroline Lamb.
By I. Nathan, Author Of An Essay On The History And Theory Of Music, The Hebrew Melodies, &c. &c. . . .
London : . . . 1829.
(8°. xxxvi + 196 + 11 *pp.*) [I. S.]

LII

"Selection of Hebrew Melodies," by John Braham and Isaac Nathan

A Selection of Hebrew Melodies Ancient and Modern with appropriate Symphonies & accompaniments.
By I. Braham & I. Nathan.
The Poetry written expressly for the work By the Right hon Lord Byron . . .
Published & Sold by I: Nathan N° 7 Poland Street Oxford Str^t^. and to be had at the principal Music and Booksellers. [Price One Guinea. (1815.)]
(*4to.* 4 *ll.* + 133 *pp.*) [I. S.]

A second edition was published in 1861.
(*4to.* 2 *ll.* + 218 *pp.*) [B. M.]

LIII

Earl of Shaftesbury's Zionist Memorandum

Scheme for the Colonisation of Palestine

Lord Ashley[1] *to Viscount Palmerston.*

"St. Giles House,
"*September 25th*, 1840.

"My Lord,

"The Powers of Europe having determined that they will take into their own hands the adjustment of the Syrian Question, I venture to suggest a measure, which being adopted will promote the development of the immense fertility of all those countries that lie between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea.

"The consideration of the person or the authority to whom these territories may be assigned by the award of the contracting Powers is of no importance. The plan presupposes simply the existence of a recognised and competent Dominion; the establishment and execution of Laws; and a Government both willing and able to maintain internal peace.

"These vast regions are now nearly desolate; every year the produce of them becomes less, because the hands that should till them become fewer. As a source of revenue they are almost worthless, compared, at least, with the riches that industry might force from them. They require both labour and capital.

"Capital, however, is of too sensitive a nature to flow with readiness into any country where neither property nor life can be regarded as secure; but if this indispensable assurance be first given, the avarice of man will be a sufficient motive, and it will betake itself with alacrity to any spot where a speedy or an ample return may be promised to the speculator.

"An inducement such as this is sufficient to stimulate the mercantile zeal of every money-maker under Heaven, and it would be advisable that the Power, whoever he may be, to whom these provinces may fall, should issue and perform a solemn engagement to establish, in his laws affecting property, the principles and practices of European civilisation: but, in respect of these regions now under dispute, there are, so far as a numerous, though scattered, people is concerned, other inducements and other hopes, over and above those which influence the general mass of mankind.

"Without entering into the grounds of the desire and expectations entertained by the Hebrew Race of their return ultimately to the land of their fathers, it may be safely asserted that they

[1] Succeeded his father in 1851 as the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.

contemplate a restoration to the soil of Palestine. They believe, moreover, that the time is near at hand. Every recollection of the past, and every prospect of the future, animates their hope ; and fear alone for their persons and their estates represses their exertions. If the Governing Power of the Syrian provinces would promulgate equal laws and equal protection to Jew and Gentile, and confirm his decrees by accepting the four Powers as guarantees of his engagement, to be set forth and ratified in an article of the Treaty, the way would at once be opened, confidence would be revived, and, prevailing throughout these regions, would bring with it some of the wealth and enterprise of the world at large, and, by allaying their suspicions, call forth to the full the hidden wealth and industry of the Jewish people.

" There are many reasons why more is to be anticipated from them than from any others who might settle there. They have ancient reminiscences and deep affection for the land ;—it is connected in their hearts with all that is bright in times past, and with all that is bright in those which are to come ; their industry and perseverance are prodigious ; they subsist, and cheerfully, on the smallest pittance ; they are, almost everywhere, accustomed to arbitrary rule, and being totally indifferent to political objects, confine their hopes to the enjoyment of what they can accumulate. Long ages of suffering have trained their people to habits of endurance and self-denial ; they would joyfully exhibit them in the settlement and service of their ancient country.

" If we consider their return in the light of a new establishment or colonisation of Palestine, we shall find it to be the cheapest and safest mode of supplying the wants of those depopulated regions. They will return at their own expense, and with no hazard but to themselves ; they will submit to the existing form of Government, having no preconceived theories to gratify, and having been almost everywhere trained in implicit obedience to autocratic rule ; they will acknowledge the present appropriation of the soil in the hands of its actual possessors, being content to obtain an interest in its produce by the legitimate methods of rent or purchase. Disconnected, as they are, from all the peoples of the earth, they would appeal to no national or political sympathies for assistance in the path of wrong ; and the guarantee which I propose, for insertion in the Treaty to be carried out by the personal protection of the respective Consuls and Vice-Consuls of the several nations, would be sufficient to protect them in the exercise of their right.

" The plan here proposed may be recommended by the consideration that large results are promised to the application of very small means ; that no pecuniary outlay is demanded of the engaging parties ; that while disappointment would bring no

ill-effects except to those who declined the offer, the benefit to be derived from it would belong impartially to the whole civilised world. . . .

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,
" Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,
"ASHLEY.

"THE VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, M.P.
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."[1]

LIV

RESTORATION OF THE JEWS

[The annexed documents have just appeared in a periodical entitled *Memorials concerning God's Ancient People of Israel*, and are probably as yet but little known to the world at large :—]

MEMORANDUM.

To the Protestant Powers of the North of Europe and America—Victoria, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland ; Frederick (William) III. King of Prussia ; William (Frederick), King of Netherlands ; Charles (John) XIV., King of Sweden and Norway ; Frederick VI., King of Denmark ; Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover ; William, King of Wurtemberg ; The Sovereign Princes and Electors of Germany ; The Cantons of the Swiss Confederation professing the Reformed Religion ; and the States of North America, zealous for the Glory of God ; grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ !

" High and Mighty Ones,

" The Most High God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men (Dan. iv. 32), by whom kings reign and princes decree justice (Prov. viii. 15), having in these days granted a season of repose to his witnessing church (Acts ix. 31 ; Rev. xii. 16), planted in the lands whereof ye are kings and governors (Isaiah xlix. 23) ; the vine of His planting among the Gentiles (Acts xxviii. 28) hath extended her boughs unto the seas and her branches unto the rivers (Isa. xlix. 6), that now in nearly all the world the gospel of the kingdom is being lifted as a witness unto all nations (Matt. xxiv. 14), and in the isles afar off. The days are drawing near (Rev. xxii. 20) when the dominion, and the glory, and the kingdom, with all people, nations and languages, shall serve Him,

[1] The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., by Edwin Hodder, 1866, vol. i., *pp.* 313-315.

who cometh in the clouds of heaven (Dan. vii. 14, Rev. i. 7), whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom that shall not be destroyed (Psalm xlv. 6). Blessed be He! He hath given his waiting people to hear the sound of His approaching footsteps, and to mark the signs of His drawing near (1 Thess. v. 4). The fig-tree putteth forth her leaves again (Matt. xxiv. 32). Israel's sons are asking the way to Zion, by which we know that summer is at hand. Blessed are all they that wait (2 Thess. iii. 5), and hold fast (Rev. iii. 11), for quickly He cometh. Amen.

"In the prospect of the Christian Church, of the speedy appearing of her glorified head, the zeal of the Lord's servants hath been stirred up (Rev. iii. 2) to a multiplied diligence in those labours of faith and love which were devolved upon her (Matt. xxviii. 19), when the Son of God, as a man taking a journey into a far country, bade his servants occupy, until he returned again (Luke xix. 13). With other responsibilities, the circumstances of one peculiar people, whom the Most High hath separated (Gen. xii. 1) and taken into covenant with him (Gen. xvii. 7; Exod. xxxiv. 7), and which covenant no act of theirs, however iniquitous or rebellious, can repeal or destroy (Mal. iii. 6), whom he hath scattered in all lands as witnesses of his unity and power (Isa. xliii. 9), connected with whom the welfare of mankind is bound up, and in the lifting up of whose head the most stupendous consequences are made to depend (Rom. xi. 15), are presented at this eleventh hour for the repentance and faith of Christendom, that the blood of our brethren of circumcision which has been unjustly shed may be atoned for in the blood of the Lamb (Isa. i. 18), and the fruits of forgiveness be manifested (Matt. iii. 8) in presenting the children of this people continually at the throne of grace (1 Pet. ii. 5; Ps. cxxii. 6) for the atoning sacrifice of Christ to cover them (Joel ii. 17); and as the Almighty, in his providential appointments, shall make the way plain to present the children of Israel who may be willing to go up (Ps. cx. 3) as an offering to the Lord of Hosts in Mount Zion (Isa. xxviii. 7).

"For 300 years the testimony of the churches, planted in the lands over which Almighty God hath made you rulers, hath been lifted up against that apostacy which hath usurped the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ in the earth (Rev. xxii. 5, and xxiii. 5) daring presumptuously to assert power over nations (Rev. xviii. 7), and over kingdoms, to root up and to pull down, to build, to plant, and to destroy (Dan. vii. 20, Rev. xiii. 2, 7). The millstone which shall sink the Great Babylon in the abyss of an unfathomable perdition (Rev. xviii. 21) when her hour arrives (and it is very near!) with the judgment under which she hath long lain, for being drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus (Rev. xvii. 6), shall include the avenging of the wrongs of God's ancient people (Isa. li. 22, 23),

and a terrible account it is ; and the issue shall be joy and gladness to the whole earth, for it is written, ' Rejoice, O ye nations, with His people ; for He avengeth the blood of His servants, and shall render vengeance unto his adversaries, and will be merciful to His land and to His people ' (Deut. xxxii. 43). ' Happy art thou, O Israel ; who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help and the sword of thy excellency ? and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee, and thou shalt tread on their high places ' (Deut. xxxiii. 29).

" In the events, on which the eyes of nations are fixed, taking place around, whilst the continuance and stability of your thrones and sway, O kings, is the earnest prayer of the Christian church (1 Tim. ii. 2), she cannot but uphold the witness that the days draw nigh, when, under the hallowed sway of Messiah the Prince, the now despised nation of the Jews shall possess the kingdom (Dan. vii. 27), and she directs, with reverential awe, your eye to that mighty empire in the east which is crumbling to dust, and drying in all her streams (Rev. xvi. 12) to make way for the event. Palestine hath been a burdensome stone (Zech. xii. 2) unto the followers of the false Prophet (Rev. xvi. 13), as it was to the ancestors of many of you, O Princes, when, under the banner of the Popish Antichrist, their mistaken zeal sought to recover the Holy City from the Saracen's grasp. But the fulness of the Gentiles is at hand (Romans xi. 21) and unto Israel the dominion shall return (Micah. iv. 8).

" The apostate Julian sought to plant the children of this people in the seats of their fathers, in despite of the holy faith, one of the external evidences of whose trust was, that their house was left unto them desolate, until they should say ' Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord ' (Matt. xxiii. 38, 9). But is it anywhere declared in the word of our God, that the children of Israel, scattered and peeled, humbled and dispirited, impoverished and broken down, should not be presented as an offering in faith to Jehovah of Hosts in Mount Zion ? that there they may be pleaded with face to face by the God of their fathers (Ezekiel xx. 13), that there the veil may be rent (Isaiah xxv. 7) which is over their hearts (2 Cor. iii. 15), that there they may look on him whom they have pierced (Zech. xii. 10). Your attention, high and mighty ones, is directed to the recorded fact that such an offering is expected. And before that full and final gathering which follows the judgments poured out on all the earth (Isaiah lxiii. 15, 16, 20), a power, and that power a northern one (Jer. iii. 12, xxxi. 6, 9, xxxiii. 7, 8—Isaiah xliii. 6, xlix. 12), shall be employed to lead a people wonderful from their beginning hitherto—a nation expecting and trampled underfoot—whose land rivers have spoiled, unto the name of the Lord of Hosts in Mount Zion (Isaiah xviii.). These designs and

purposes of the Lord God of Israel, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, are declared unto you, high and mighty ones, his servants (Dan. v. 23), that you may ponder them, and know His will, from the voice, with which He is about to speak unto nations and unto men (Haggai ii. 6—Isaiah i. 10), for the time is at hand (Rev. i. 3).

"Your wisdom hath been exercised to mark the boundaries of kingdoms, and to define the limits of empires; and has not the aggressor overleaped all barriers, and the strength of treaties snapped asunder as tow? And why? Because when the Almighty awarded to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel (Deuteron. xxxii. 7, 8). By an unrepealed covenant, the Lord God declared unto Abram, concerning the land of Palestine, 'Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates' (Genesis xv. 18). This gift was ratified unto him for an everlasting possession, and to his seed after him, when the Almighty gave him the covenant, and changed his name to Abraham (Genesis xvii. 4, 8). For the purposes of infinite wisdom fast hastening to maturity, the Lord God hath scattered his inheritance to the four winds of heaven. But hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off. He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock.

"As the spirit of Cyrus, King of Persia was stirred up to build the Lord's Temple, which was in Jerusalem (ii Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23), who is there among you, high and mighty ones of all the nations, to fulfil the good pleasure of the holy will of the Lord of Heaven, saying to Jerusalem, 'Thou shalt be built' and to the Temple, 'Thy foundation shall be laid'? (Isaiah xliv. 28). The Lord God of Israel will be with such. Great grace, mercy, and peace shall descend upon the people who offer themselves willingly; and the fire offerings of their hearts and hands shall be those of a sweet-smelling savour unto Him who hath said, 'I will bless them that bless thee (Genesis xii. 3), and contend with him who contendeth with thee' (Isaiah xlix. 25).

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen. Signed and sealed in London, 8th of January, in the year of our Lord, 1839, in the name of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, on behalf of many who wait for the redemption of Israel."

(Copy 1.)

" London, January 22nd, 1839.

" May it please your Majesty,—I have the high honour of laying at your Majesty's feet the accompanying memorandum relating to the present condition and future prospects of God's ancient people, the Jews. Your Majesty's pious feelings, I doubt not, will be excited to give the Scriptural hopes and expectations therein set forth your earnest attention, considering the high station it hath pleased Almighty God to call this Protestant land to, as the great seat of the church.

" According to the petitions of this peculiar people at a throne of grace, that in your Majesty's reign ' Judah may be saved and Israel dwell safely,' is the prayer of your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant.

" Her most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of
Great Britain and Ireland."

(Copy 2.)

" January 19th, 1839.

" My Lord,—I have the honour of transmitting through your Lordship a document which it is the desire of some of her Majesty's subjects should be laid at her Majesty's feet, relating to the Scriptural expectations of the church, connected with the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, the land of their fathers.

" I am induced to solicit your Lordship's good offices in being the medium of communicating this document to her Majesty, as the substance of it relates to the present rights of an ally of this country—namely, the Sublime Porte.

" But I would respectfully press upon your Lordship's attention, that, in holding forth the Scriptural hopes of God's ancient people, those who emanate the accompanying document never for one moment dream of political force to accomplish the end desired. When the hour comes of Israel's planting in, doubtless Almighty God will not fail to raise up chosen instruments, who, with willing hands and hearts, shall accomplish the good pleasure of His will.

" If we are wrong in the course we have taken to bring the memorandum before Her Majesty, we will be happy to be set right. Should your Lordship undertake the duty, desiring the glory of God in this matter to be furthered, the Lord God of Israel will not be slack to reward the labour of faith and love proceeding from a desire to honour His name.

" I have the honour to be, &c.,

" The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston."

Lord Palmerston's Answer.

(Copy 3.)

"FOREIGN OFFICE, March 14, 1839.

"I have to acknowledge your letter of the 19th January, enclosing a letter and a memorandum from some of Her Majesty's subjects, who feel deeply interested in the welfare and future prospects of the Jews; and I have to acquaint you that I have laid those documents before the Queen, and that Her Majesty has been pleased graciously to receive the same.

"I am, &c.,

"PALMERSTON."[1]

LV

ANOTHER ZIONIST MEMORANDUM—RESTORATION OF THE JEWS

"To the Editor of *The Times*.

"SIR,—The extraordinary crisis of Oriental politics has stimulated an almost universal interest and investigation, and the fate of the Jews seems to be deeply involved with the settlement of the Syrian dilemma now agitating several Courts of Christendom.

". . . The peace of Europe and the just balance of its powers being therefore assumed as the grand desideratum, as the consummation devoutly to be wished, I peruse with particular interest a brief article in your journal of this day relative to the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem, because I imagine that this event has become practicable through an unprecedented concatenation of circumstances, and that moreover it has become especially desirable, as the exact expedient to which it is to the interest of all belligerent parties to consent.

"The actual feasibility of the return of the Jews is no longer a paradox; the time gives it proof. That theory of the restoration of a Jewish Kingdom, which a few years ago was laughed at as the fantasy of insane enthusiasm, is now calculated on as a most practical achievement of diplomacy.

"It is granted that the Jews were the ancient proprietors of Syria; that Syria was the proper heart and centre of their kingdom. It is granted that they have a strong conviction that Providence will restore them to this Syrian supremacy. It is granted that they have entertained for ages a hearty desire to return thither, and are willing to make great sacrifices of a pecuniary kind to the different parties interested, provided they can be put in peaceful and secure possession.

[1] *The Times*, Wednesday, August 26, 1840, *pp.* 5–6.

"It is likewise notorious, that since the Jews have been thrust out of Syria that land has been a mere arena of strife to neighbouring Powers, all conscious that they had no legitimate right there, and all jealous of each other's intrusion.

"Such having been the case, why, it may be asked, have not the Jews long ago endeavoured to regain possession of Syria by commercial arrangements? In reply it may be said, that though they have evidently wished to do so, and have made overtures of the kind, hitherto circumstances have opposed their desires. . . .

"Now, however, these obstacles and hindrances are in a great measure removed; all the strongest Powers in Europe have come forward as arbitrators and umpires to arrange the settlement of Syria.

"Under such potent arbitrators, pledged to the performance of any conditions finally agreed on, I have reason to believe that the Jews would readily enter into such financial arrangements as would secure them the absolute possession of Jerusalem and Syria.

"I know no reason, under such powerful empires, why the Hebrews should not restore an independent monarchy in Syria, as well as the Egyptians in Egypt, or the Grecians in Greece.

"As a practical expedient of politics, I believe that it will be easier to secure the peace of Europe and Asia by this effort to restore the Jews, than by any allotment of Syrian territories to the Turks or Egyptians, which will be sure to occasion fresh jealousies and discords. . . .

"I believe that the cause of the restoration of the Jews is one essentially generous and noble, and that all individuals and nations that assist this world-renounced people to recover the empire of their ancestors will be rewarded by Heaven's blessing. Everything that is patriotic and philanthropic should urge Great Britain forward as the agent of prophetic revelations so full of auspicious consequence. . . .

"Your very obedient servant,

"Aug. 17." "F. B.[1]

LVI

Extracts from Autograph and other Letters between Sir Moses Montefiore and Dr. N. M. Adler

My hearty thanks are due to my friend Mr. Elkan N. Adler for giving me access to his father's letters. It may be mentioned that, although Dr. N. M. Adler was never able to visit Palestine, all his three sons went there. Palestinian activity has practically been a tradition of the Adler family. Mr. Elkan Adler originally visited Palestine in 1888, 1895, 1898 and 1901, in

[1] *The Times*, 26 Aug., 1840, *p.* 6.

connection with the Montefiore work. His first visit was a professional one, undertaken on the instructions of the Council of the Holy Land Relief Fund. Its object was to clear up certain legal difficulties which had arisen on the land at Jerusalem and Jaffa purchased in 1855 by his father and Sir Moses Montefiore out of the funds of the Holy Land Appeal Fund and the Judah Touro Bequest. At that time their only buildings in Jerusalem were the Judah Touro Alms-houses and the Windmill. The vacant land adjoining had been jumped after the death of Sir Moses Montefiore by about three hundred poor and desperate Jews, who claimed that it had been originally intended for the poor, and they were poor.

The journey was successful. The squatters were removed, and their place was taken by industrious settlers, who, through the agency of the building societies, financed by the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Committee, erected hundreds of pleasant little dwellings in the place of the rude, uninhabited shanties which stood there in 1888.

In 1894 Mr. Elkan Adler became a member of the "Water for Jerusalem Committee," of which Sir Charles W. Wilson, K.C.M.G., was Chairman and Sir Edmund A. H. L. Lechmere, Bart., M.P., and Sir (then Mr.) Isidore Spielmann, C.M.G., Honorary Secretaries. The Turkish Government and the Jerusalem Municipality had sanctioned the scheme, but bureaucratic dilatoriness prevented its ever maturing. Its object was to secure, under a concession, for purely philanthropic purposes, a modern water supply for Jerusalem from King Solomon's Pools.

Mr. Adler was also one of the founders of the London *Chovevé Zion*, and as Honorary Solicitor drafted its Constitution, which was settled by the Right Hon. Arthur Cohen, K.C.

"Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane,
"London, 28th Hesvan, 5602.
"12 November.

"My dear and much esteemed Sir,

"... I am most highly gratified, my dear Sir, by the very kind manner in which you have been pleased to notice my feeble exertions in favour of our unfortunate and persecuted Brethren in the East....

"Believe me to be,
"With sincere Respect and Esteem,
"My dear Sir,
"Your obedient Servant,
"MOSES MONTEFIORE.

"The Reverend
Doctor N. Adler, Chief Rabbi, &c. &c. &c."

" Alliance Office,
" Bartholomew Lane,
" 31 May, 5614.

" My dear and respected Sir,

" . . . I hope to find the amount of Contributions much increased from your admirable Letter having at last found its way in the hands of the several Seat-holders of each Synagogue, and I am sure if they respond to it with the same liberality as our Christian fellow-subjects have evinced for our suffering Brethren in the Holy Land I am confident you will rejoice at the success which has attended your benevolent exertions. . . .

" I am with great respect and esteem,
" Your faithful Servant,
" Moses Montefiore.

" The Revd. Dr. Adler,
Chief Rabbi, &c. &c."

" East Cliff Lodge,
" Ramsgate,
" 17th August, 5614.
1854.

" My dear and respected Sir,

" . . . I am obliged to you for the information which Mr. Albert Cohn's letter has afforded me and believe me I am most truly thankful to the God of Israel that my days should have been prolonged to see the welfare of our unfortunate Brethren in Jerusalem cared for by so wealthy and powerful a family as the Barons de Rothschild. May the institutions which they propose diffuse all the advantages we hope for. I will endeavour to write this evening to Lord Clarendon and will take the earliest opportunity to communicate the result after I shall have had an interview with his Lordship. I have requested Mr. Green to forward all the letters to you that have arrived from the Holy Land. I shall take no step regarding the Hospital but with your concurrence. You may rely that there will be no opposition in any way on my part, and I am only too happy to see that Jerusalem is not forsaken. . . .

" Believe me,
" With the greatest esteem and respect,
" Your faithful Servant,
" Moses Montefiore.

" To the Reverend
Doctor Adler,
Chief Rabbi."

" Alliance Office,
" Bartholomew Lane,
" Wednesday Morn,
" 23 Augt., '614.

" My dear and respected Sir,

" . . . I now beg to trouble you with the enclosed letters which Dr. Lowe has written to the Holy Land with a remittance of £1200 divided in the following manner. . . . I have not thought it proper to send anything to the Portuguese at Jerusalem as they have not yet complied with your request in the mode of distribution or forwarded any particulars whatever. I therefore hope you will be satisfied with the arrangement that this will bring the Portuguese to a sense of the necessity they are under to conform to your instructions, or they will receive no more money from England. . . .

" To the Revd.
Dr. Adler,
Chief Rabbi."

" Buxton, 15th Septr., 5614.
1854.

" My dear and respected Sir,

" . . . I have felt much vexed at M. Albert Cohn's having taken the liberty of using your name as well as mine as having deputed him to carry out his schemes in the East. . . .

" Believe me to be,
" With great regard and respect,
" Your faithful Servant,
" Moses Montefiore.

" The Revd. Dr. Adler,
Chief Rabbi, &c. &c."

" Alliance Assurance Office,
" Bartholomew Lane,
" Monday Evening,
" 26 Jany., 5617.

" My dear and respected Sir,

" Having this moment heard from Lady Montefiore that you expressed a desire to Visit the Holy Land, and well knowing the lively interest you have ever evinced in promoting the prosperity of Jerusalem, I beg to assure you that nothing could be more gratifying to my feelings, than to be honored with your Company during our intended Tour. We had fixed in our minds the 10th day of February

for our departure, but to enjoy the honor of your Society, we would postpone it to meet your Convenience to any day that would enable us to reach Jerusalem for Passover.

" Hoping to have the gratification of a favorable reply from you.

" Believe me to be,

" Your faithful Servant,

" Moses Montefiore.

" To the Reverend
Dr. Adler,
Chief Rabbi."

" East Cliff Lodge,
" Ramsgate,
" 14th September, 5619.

" My dear and respected Sir,

" . . . With respect to the Jaffa farm I hope in a few days to have an opportunity of speaking with you. I think it was your wish that our co-religionists should be employed on it. . . ."

" Believe me with great esteem,

" Your faithful Servant,

" Moses Montefiore.

" To the Reverend Dr. Adler,
Chief Rabbi."

" To the Rev. Dr. Adler, Chief Rabbi, etc. etc.

" East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, May 15th, 5614–1854.

" Reverend and Respected Sir,

" For the sake of Zion I cannot remain silent, and for the sake of Jerusalem I cannot rest, until the whole house of Israel have been made acquainted with the lamentable condition of those of our brethren who devotedly cling to the soil, sacred to the memory of our patriarchs, prophets and kings.

" Thrice having visited the Holy Land, it was my earnest desire to fully inform myself as to the condition of our brethren there. . . .

" Aware, however, reverend Sir, of your great anxiety for the physical amelioration of our suffering brethren, and how watchfully you note their spiritual welfare, I am induced to put you in possession of the documents and appeals which I have received from the Holy Land, with the assurance that your powerful co-operation, in the shape of a pastoral letter addressed to the Jews of Great Britain and America—or the exercise of the same in any other mode your wisdom may dictate—will, with

God's blessing, not only tend to remove the present appalling misery of our starving brethren in Zion, but spare us the humiliation of its recurrence.

"I have the honour to be, reverend and respected Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"MOSES MONTEFIORE."

"To SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, Bart., etc. etc.

"*Office of the Chief Rabbi, London, 18th May*, 5614.

"MY DEAR AND ESTEEMED SIR,

". . . . Although I should have much preferred that the duty of addressing our co-religionists on behalf of the afflicted had been assumed by yourself, as you would have made a far deeper impression than I can hope to do, from the well-known fact that you have devoted a great portion of your life to the amelioration of the condition of our brethren in Palestine, and this, too, at the risk of much personal suffering and danger, yet, to avoid all delay in the present emergency, I have to-day written a letter to the congregations under my charge, a copy of which I beg to enclose; and I fervently pray that the Lord may strengthen my feeble words, and incline the hearts of our brethren to this good work of charity.

"I am, my dear Sir Moses,

"Yours very faithfully,

"N. ADLER, Dr."

"PASTORAL LETTER

"To the Wardens, Members, and Seat-holders of the United Congregations of Great Britain.

"*Office of the Chief Rabbi, London, May 18th*, 5614.

"Beloved Brethren,

". . . the present condition of our poor brethren scattered through the four cities of Jerusalem, Zaphed, Hebron and Tiberias, is absolutely heart-rending. This is no exaggeration but a stern and dreadful reality. The almost total failure of the last harvest, which raised the price of all the necessaries of life to an unparalleled height; the present war and general political disturbances; the diminution of the usual resources for the poor, especially those derived from Russia, which has hitherto contributed the most, have brought about an awful famine. . . . While all surrounding nations make that spot the object of their deepest concern, expending vast sums thereon, should we be unmindful of that land with which our past glory and future hope are inseparably connected? . . . It may be thought by some that the unfortunate state of the Jewish residents of Palestine might have been brought

about . . . by their reliance on fixed pensions and casual alms without the exercise of industry, either in agriculture, commerce or other employments; . . . Why, therefore, continue a life of pauperism, which will endure until the springs of poverty are stopped—and what will be the use of a collection, which can but mitigate the evil for a moment?

"My dear brethren,—Before you accuse the sufferers of indolence, and their leaders of neglect, let us assure you that the people are most anxious to free themselves from the thraldom of dependence; that the Rabbis and the heads of the Congregations have proved to Sir Moses Montefiore, who has been at all times the strenuous advocate of industrial pursuits, the willingness of the people to till the soil, if only it could be done with security. But hitherto the great impediment to agriculture has been not alone the want of pecuniary means, but the want of *protection* on the part of the Government, it being absolutely impracticable to labour outside the walls of the cities, owing to the depredations of the roving and lawless Bedouins, for whatever the inhabitants sow is speedily seized by others.

"Without, however, alluding to the happy restitution that we anxiously look for, which lies in the hand of the Lord who commandeth us 'not to stir, neither to awake His love, until He please'—the present war may, by the Divine blessing, bring about a great and beneficial change in the Holy Land. It is more than probable that the Government of the Porte will concede to our brethren in Palestine the right of holding land; and that this right will be placed under secure protection. It will then become the duty of our leading men to organise a proper plan of operations, put themselves into communication with the different Committees abroad, to raise the necessary means, to send men of ability, properly authorised, to Jerusalem, to bring about a unity of action among the different congregations there, to purchase land, to establish farms and factories, and to devote a portion of the money annually collected, as wages to those who will labour therein under the charge of the persons superintending those undertakings. The time for the realisation of such a scheme may not be remote, as the munificent legacy of the philanthropist Judah Touro, New Orleans, was bequeathed for this very purpose, which bequest will have an important bearing on the improvement of the Holy Land.

". . . I remain, yours very faithfully,

"N. ADLER, Dr., Chief Rabbi."[1]

[1] An Appeal on behalf of the famishing Jews in the Holy Land. *Donations will be thankfully received by* The Rev. The Chief Rabbi, 4, Crosby Square, and Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., Alliance Assurance Office, Bartholomew Lane. Rev. Aaron Levy Green, Hon. Sec.
London: Printed by Wertheimer and Co., Circus Place, Finsbury Circus. 1854 (8°. 16 *pp. in printed wrapper*), *pp.* 3–7.

In February, 1855, Dr. Adler and Sir Moses published their first Report enumerating the appropriations of money they had made and the sums set apart for the establishment of institutions designed to relieve distress, and to encourage and promote industry.

In May, 1856, Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore set out on a mission to the Holy Land to organize means for the appropriation of the funds "with a view to the utmost benefit of the supplicants."

The Trustees resolved to attempt the organization of some industrial scheme, and, says their Second Report, dated 1856: "In a land naturally so fertile as Palestine, offering so prolific a return for industry, but altogether wanting in commercial resources, agriculture must of necessity be the first object of attention, as likely to prove the most powerful auxiliary in bringing about a healthful reaction, by alleviating distress, by promoting industry, and by exciting a feeling of self-reliance." The Trustees were confirmed in their views by the opinion of experienced agriculturists in the Holy Land, and by the valuable suggestions of munificent donors.

"On the 17th June Sir Moses had an audience with the Sultan, and on the 27th July the first meeting was held with the representatives of *Zapphed*.

"The desirability of cultivating land was discussed at this sitting, and the great probabilities of success in the undertaking were shown by the mention of numerous well-authenticated facts. The views entertained by the Trustees having been confirmed by the best evidence, a Committee of practical agriculturists—men distinguished by their probity, and of acknowledged skill—was, without further delay, appointed to aid in the selection of land, and to advise as to the fitness of the parties to be employed in its cultivation. Assisted by this Committee, Sir Moses selected thirty-five families from the Holy City of *Zapphed*, provided them with means to commence agricultural pursuits, and also secured for them local governors. Some orphan lads were also provided for, by being placed under the care of the Committee, to be trained as agriculturists. A district in the vicinity of *Zapphed*, called the Bokea, having been pointed out as a most desirable spot for agricultural purposes, sufficient means were granted to give employment to fifteen families, to be engaged in the cultivation of that fruitful district; the whole being placed under the supervision of the Agricultural Committee at *Zapphed*. The claims of *Tabaria* were next considered . . . and means afforded to thirty families to enable them to engage in agricultural pursuits. At *Jaffa* some land, with a house, and well affording an abundant supply of excellent water, was purchased, and a number of our poor co-religionists are already engaged upon such land." An establishment for weaving was instituted.

" Sir Moses eventually succeeded in purchasing a tract of land to the west of the Holy City, in a most beautiful and salubrious locality, within a few minutes' walk from the Jaffa and Zion Gates. Here a considerable number of our co-religionists and others at once found employment on the land and in the building of the boundary wall." A windmill was erected on this site to supersede the expensive method used at Jerusalem for grinding corn.

LVII

The Final Exodus

" And what now is the aspect of Palestine ? Still, truly, it is a land rich in the grandeur and beauties of nature's handiwork—still, in some parts, ' . . . hills, plains, and valleys, fields of wheat and barley, vineyards and olive-yards, are spread out before you as on a map '—still does the benign influence of the sun's warmth engender in the bosom of the earth the germs of fruits and flowers, that languish for want of culture, and never arrive at perfection—still do the hills uplift their heads amid the clouds, which drop down, as though with tears of sorrow, upon their barren and exposed sides, once covered with artificial soil and by the hands of a favoured race rendered fruitful as the vale beneath. The mountains remain unshaken, but where are the countless flocks ? the stones of the water-course are there, but where is the limpid stream ? Alas ! the promised blessing has been withdrawn from the land ; the flocks no longer multiply as heretofore, neither as in former days do springs and fountains burst forth everywhere out of the valleys and the hills ; and her cities are desolate and forsaken, and of many even the site is not accurately known ; *literal*, indeed, has been the fulfilment of the prophetic declaration ' the land shall be desolate.' Solitude now reigns where once the busy hum of voices enlivened many a glad city, ay, even in the wilderness—ruins now mark the spot where once rose the sound of harp and tabret, and where heart joined with hand in mocking with merriment the threatened desolation . . ."

" . . . But more than this—Britain ! rejoice ! it is for you to lead back to their beautiful land the long-dispersed members of Judah's neglected race, and by planting in their native country a colony of whose attachment to its protectors there could be no doubt, . . ."

" . . . Jerusalem shall, indeed, become again the glorious city among the nations : no longer shall her name be Jerusalem, but ' the City of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel,' for *there* shall be holiness,' and in the midst of her ' the King of Israel, even the Lord ; ' . . . Her walls shall be called ' Salvation,'

and her gates 'Praise'; and her children shall enjoy the former and the latter rain; 'the floors shall be full of wheat, and the vats shall overflow with wine and oil; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. . . .'

"Among these there are *many* whose wealth— . . . has caused the name of the Jew too often to be coupled with the idea of sordid gain . . .: but it will be well for the *few*, who by . . . prosperity, . . . occupy now an elevated postion, . . . prepare to head with energy every warrantable occasion for furthering the restoration of their unhappy people to Palestine. Providential is it for them, that among them are men possessing influence and wealth sufficient to become their leaders. . . ."

"Once again—Britain, beware! and hasten to exert the means which, lying at your disposal, may be made use of as a defence for your valuable possessions in the East, and for the advancement of God's glory, by the return of His people to the land whither He has said He would bring them again 'that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that He might be glorified.'"[1]

LVIII

Disraeli and the Purchase of the Suez Canal Shares

The story of the purchase of the Suez Canal shares by Lord Beaconsfield has been told many times, but Mr. [afterwards Sir] Henry Lucy, in "Sixty Years in the Wilderness," throws fresh light on the subject.

"On a certain Sunday night in the spring of 1875 he[2] chanced to be dining in Bruton Street with Henry Oppenheim, one of the original proprietors of the *Daily News*. During a residence in Paris and Egypt that gentleman, just settling down in London, was brought into close connection with Egyptian financial affairs. On the previous day he heard of the intention of the impecunious Khedive to sell *en bloc* his holding in the capital of the Suez Canal. Greenwood instantly saw the opportunity for a great stroke of State. On leaving Bruton Street he went direct to the private residence of the Foreign Secretary (Lord Derby) and told him of the rare chance. Lord Derby informed the Prime Minister, whose Oriental mind glowed at the prospect of so stupendous a

[1] The Final Exodus; or, the Restoration to Palestine of the lost Tribes, the result of the present crisis; with a description of the battle of Armageddon, and the downfall of Russia, as deduced wholly from prophecy. London . . . 1854.
[8°. 30 *pp.*] *pp.* 4–5, 13–14, 27, 30.

[2] Frederick Greenwood, one of the ablest journalists of his day.

deal. Inquiry secretly made at Cairo disclosed the fact that the Khedive would 'part' for a sum of four millions sterling. But it must be money down.

"It was, Greenwood told me, on Lord Beaconsfield's personal suggestion that the difficulty, at the moment apparently insuperable, was overcome. The consent of Parliament was necessary to confirmation of the deal. That involved both delay and publicity, either fatal to success. Late on the Thursday night following the Bruton Street dinner, the Premier sent his private secretary, Monty Corry,[1] to call upon Baron Rothschild, the Sidonia of 'Coningsby,' at the time head of the great financial house. Even a Rothschild did not happen to have about him at the moment a trifle of four million sterling. Nor was it possible, in accordance with the traditions of the house, that such a transaction should be entered upon without having been considered in family council. Corry accordingly returned to the Premier without definite reply. It came promptly on the following morning, the terms being that the money would be advanced on a commission of 2½ per cent.

"These terms were pretty stiff, involving a payment of £100,000. The City heard of them with envy, and they were discussed with much severity when the matter came before the House of Commons. The Rothschilds and their friends defended them on the ground that the colossal transaction involved a certain measure of risk. There was absolutely no security beyond the influence of the Premier, still master of a majority in the House of Commons, and pledged to invoke its aid in order to obtain Parliamentary sanction. The whole thing happened between two Sundays. On the first Greenwood dined at Bruton Street; on the second, calling on Lord Derby, he learned that the transaction had been successfully carried through, and was invited to say what form his personal recompense should take. He declined to specify a request, protesting he had done nothing but his duty, and was content that its accomplishment should be his reward. . . ."[2]

LIX

Cyprus and Palestine

The Anglo-Turkish Convention had given a new and unexpected addition to the already extensive list of British territorial responsibilities. It is true that a "conditional" element . . . enters into the connexion formed with the Turkish Government; and the claims to interpose between the Sultan and his subjects,

[1] Afterwards Lord Rowton.

[2] Cornhill, January, 1912, *pp.* 64–65.

as well as the circumstances which would render interference necessary, are not very clearly defined. But the British Government, not only by entering into the Convention, but by the prominence with which important events invested that treaty, as also by its positive acquisition of the island of Cyprus, stand pledged before Europe and the world to secure to the populations of Asiatic Turkey a deliverance from the corrupt rule which has hitherto burdened them. . . ."

"In the minds of all thoughtful men there is a strong belief that this country is the instrument by which freedom, peace and true religion will be carried to the uttermost ends of the world. If that be so, there is assuredly no portion of the earth's surface which more needs the possession of these blessings, or from which can come in keener despair the cry 'Come and help us.' The countries of Asia still remaining . . . include those whereon the earliest progenitors of the human race appeared, and those which are familiar to us in Biblical records, or interesting as the platform upon which mighty nations strove, and empires fell in the strife which was raging then as now between the powers of Good and Evil."[1]

LX

Disraeli and Heine

"Deux noms, dont le rapprochement peut sembler d'abord inattendu, me viennent sans cesse à l'esprit lorsque j'embrasse d'un coup d'œil cette physionomie singulière d'homme d'état et d'écrivain, et ils aident, si je ne me trompe, à en démêler la signification. M. Disraeli me fait souvent penser à Henri Heine. Chez tous les deux, en effet, même vivacité d'intelligence, même pénétration, même promptitude à saisir toutes les idées et à s'approprier pour un instant toutes les doctrines, même vagabondage d'imagination, même indiscipline de génie, même mélange bizarre de fantaisie et de pensée, de frivolité et de profondeur. . . . M. Disraeli a eu la chance, qui n'échut pas à H. Heine, de vivre dans un milieu où certains excès n'eussent jamais été tolérés. . . . Il n'a pas connu non plus les souffrances morales, les âpres soucis, les angoisses, les sérieuses épreuves, qui répandent l'amertume dans l'ironie du poête allemand, et lui arrachent, parmi ses éclats de rire, des cris si poignans : mais comme il tranche néanmoins sur la société anglaise, . . . Quelle perturbation il jette dans son parti, quelle inquiétude il y sème par les saillies de sa verve goguenarde, . . . De quel doigt irrespectueux il lève tous les voiles et touche aux institutions qu'il prétend défendre ! Ici, comme chez H. Heine, on ne saurait méconnaître l'influence persistante de la race. L'un a fini par embrasser

[1] Cyprus and the Asiatic Turkey, by J. M. London, 1878, *pp.* v–vii.

le catholicisme, l'autre est né dans l'eglise anglicane ; mais ils restent Juifs, et pour sa part M. Disraeli, courageux avocat des Juifs à la chambre des communes et dans ces livres, n'a jamais désavoué sa parenté avec eux. L'eût-il essayé d'ailleurs, que le sceau de la race, vivement empreinte dans son génie et dans son caractère, l'aurait trahi. Malgré son torysme d'emprunt, on sent, il faut le dire à son honneur, dans le langage de M. Disraeli une sympathie de cœur pour les déshérités qui n'est guère une disposition anglaise et aristocratique : c'est bien plutôt un souvenir de l'égalité juive et un sentiment puisé dans la législation républicaine de Moïse ; mais ce qui est plus juif encore, c'est ce fonde de cynisme, dernière défense d'une race trempée de longue date par la persécution et le mépris, bronzée par l'habitude de l'outrage. M. Disraeli n'est pas plus exempt que H. Heine de cette audace qui défie le ridicule et qui même sait en tire parti. . . ."[1]

LXI

Disraeli's Defence of the Jews

Disraeli supported the emancipation of the Jews in England on religious grounds :—

". . . The very reason for admitting the Jews is because they show so near an affinity to you. Where is your Christianity if you do not believe in their Judaism ? . . . The Jew was necessarily a religious being, but not a proselytising one, and so would support and not undermine the Christian Church. . . . What possible object can the Jew have to oppose the Christian Church ? Is it not the first business of the Christian Church to make the population whose minds she attempts to form, and whose morals she seeks to guide, acquainted with the history of the Jews ? Has not the Church of Christ—the Christian Church, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant—made the history of the Jews the most celebrated history of the world ? On every sacred day you read to the people the exploits of Jewish heroes, the proofs of Jewish devotion, the brilliant annals of past Jewish magnificence. . . . Every Sunday—every Lord's day—if you wish to express feelings of praise and thanksgiving to the most High, or if you wish to find expressions of solace in grief, you find both in the works of Jewish poets. . . . In exact proportion to your faith ought to be your wish to do this great act of national justice. If you have not forgotten what you owe to this people, if you were grateful for that literature which, for thousands of years, has brought so much instruction and so much consolation to the sons

[1] Le Roman Politique en Angleterre : Lothaire de M. Disraeli, par M. P. Challemel-Lacour, *pp.* 445–447. Revue des Deux Mondes . . . 15 Juillet . . . Paris . . . 1870.

of men, you as Christians, would be only too ready to seize the first opportunity of meeting the claims of those who profess this religion."[1]

LXII

A Hebrew Address to Queen Victoria (1849)

Translated Extract from an Address of Russian Jews in Safed on their coming under England's protection, 1849.

(After compliments to the Consul in Jerusalem.)

" We acknowledge to the Lord and praise Him that He has put it into the heart of the Glory the Pity of the mighty Crowned Queen, the pious, the precious, the upright who reigns over the provinces of England and its dependencies, to do good to the people of Israel and to succour them with every kind of aid, for great and small, and to defend them from those that rise up against them.

" With a perfect heart
Of mercy and loving kindness;
And with the tips of the wings of Mercy
And the grace of her Righteousness
She has extended and caused to shine upon us,
Who dwell in our own land,
The holy (be it established in our days,)
Us, who are burdened with troubles—
Sinking into distress,
Poverty and calamity,
But loving the land of our Fathers,
The place of our honour.
We here are those
Who are the sons of the provinces of Russia,
And this is the day we have looked for:
We have found it, we have seen it—
For she has bent down her pity to receive us
Under the shade of her wings of compassion,
And to comfort us with shade of her mighty rule,
For a name, for a praise, and for glory!
Yea, our souls within us are bound
To implore Him, who is fearful in mighty acts,
With praises and prayers,
That He may prolong her days
In rest and satisfaction;
That the Lord may hedge her in,
And all that are hers:
The princes around her,
With her nobles,

[1] The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, by William Flavelle Monypenny and George Earle Buckle. Volume iii. . . . London . . . 1914, *pp.* 68–69.

And all those comforted in her shadow
May they rise on wings of elevation, of prosperity,
In fulness of joy;
And may her kingdom be established
Like the Moon, for ever and ever,
Until the coming of Messiah!
May the Lord bless their lives and their substance,
And increase their honour,
And crown their praise!
Amen, so be Thy will!" [1]

LXIII

An Appeal by Ernest Laharanne (1860)

"Oh! que de proscriptions, que de larmes, que de sang dans cette période de 18 siècles, et vous êtes encore, fils de Juda!

"Contre la haîne, le mépris, le dédain, le dégoût vous avez franchi ces obstacles, sans nombre, que les bourreaux des siècles d'aveugle foi tendaient à votre passage, et l'éternelle main vous conduisait sans cesse!

"Mais la France vous a faits libres! . . .

"Vous avez été citoyens et vous êtes nos frères!

"L'an 1789 a été pour vous la première étape de la réhabilitation, si la réhabilitation est là où il n'y a pas la honte et infamie, mais là où il y a eu un malheur!

"Marchez alors sous l'égide sacrée de cette France émancipatrice! Dans sa mission libérale, son étoile de salut distingua échelonnés, sur la route des peuples, toutes les races proscrites et tous les parias du monde. Et vous étiez sur ce grand chemin, et l'opprobre et les malheurs ombrageaient seuls l'épineuse et brûlante voie!"

"Elle vous appella dans ses assemblées, dans ses triomphes, dans ses joies, dans ses malheurs; et au jour des délibérations, vous avez parlé, et au jour des marches triomphales vous avez applaudi, et au jour de nos malheurs, vous avez pleuré! . . ."

"Nous nous inclinons devant vous, hommes forts! Car vous fûtes forts durant votre histoire antique; vous fûtes forts, depuis le drame de Jerusalem; vous fûtes forts au temps du moyen-âge, alors qu'il n'y avait que deux noires puissances: l'inquisition avec la croix, les pirates avec le croissant!

"Mais vous ne nous êtes pas arrivés tous jusqu'à nous. Combien n'en a-t-il pas fallu pour payer l'immense tribu de 18 siècles!

"Mais, ceux qui restent, vous pouvez grandir encore et rebâtir la porte de Jérusalem.

"C'est votre tâche. Dieu ne vous aurait pas conduits jusqu'à

[1] Stirring Times . . . of 1853 to 1856, by the late James Finn . . . vol. i. London . . . 1878, *pp.* 130–132.

nos temps s'il n'avait pas voulu vous réserver la plus sainte des missions. . . ."

"Une haute mission vous est réservée. Placés comme un vivant trait d'union entre trois mondes, vous devez amener la civilisation chez les peuples inexpérimentés encore, vous devez leur porter les lumières d'Europe que vous avez recueillies à flots."

"Vous servirez d'intermédiaires entre l'Europe et l'extrême Asie, et vous ouvrirez les grandes voies qui mènent aux Indes et à la Chine et aux archipels encore inconnus, mais qu'il faudra explorer.

"Vous arriverez aux champs de Juda, avec la couronne du martyre et les cicatrices des longues douleurs, et le monde s'inclinera et les fronts se découvriront, comme devant un aîné des peuples ! . . ."

"Vous avez assez aidé à civiliser les peuples, en Europe, à faire avancer le progrès, à faire et à favoriser les révolutions ; vous devez maintenant songer au vallées du Liban et aux grandes plaines de Génézareth.

"Marchez ! Dans votre œuvre rénovatrice, nos cœurs vous suivront et nos bras vous serviront d'aide !

"Nous le ferons ! Vous avez en vous-mêmes de ces hommes si rares en nos temps, qui ont fait appel à vos sympathies, et à vos secours, pour venir soulager nos frères dans le malheur !"[1]

"Cette voix que nous entendons encore a retenti d'un bout à l'autre du monde. Et qui ne serait pas reconnaissant aujourd'hui du généreux élan qu'a provoqué le grand homme ?

"Marchez, Juifs de tous les pays ! . . . L'antique patrie vous appelle, et nous serons fiers de venir rouvrir vos foyers ! "

"Marchez, fils de martyrs ! . . ."[2]

LXIV

Statistics of the Holy Land

A FOLDED page with which the Addenda (Extracts from some of the reports, letters, and addresses on agriculture in the Holy Land received by Sir Moses Montefiore, F.R.S., etc. etc., during his sojourn there. Translated from the originals, by Dr. L. Loewe) to Lady Montefiore's Notes from a Private Journal, 1844, concludes, is entitled :—

"A form of the lists giving a statistical account of the Children of *Israel* dwelling in the Holy Land. In the Year 5599–1839."

[1] "L'illustre M. Crémieux, dont le nom, en ces circonstances, ne saurait être jamais assez, non pas glorifié, mais béni. . . ."

[2] La Nouvelle Question d'Orient. Empires d'Egypte et d'Arabie. Reconstitution de la Nationalité Juive. Paris . . . 1860. (8°. 47 *pp.*) *pp.* 39–41.

These are the names of the worthy persons fearing God, who resided in the Holy City, in the year 5599–1839.

The form is divided into seventeen columnar sections, headed with the following queries :—

Number in Family—Names—Where born—Age—Date of arrival in the Holy Land—How Situated—Occupation—Married—Single —Names and number of children—Age above 13—Age under 13 —Names of Widows—Age—Names of Orphans—Age—Remarks.

Sir Moses, accompanied by his wife, first visited the Holy Land in 1827, and the urgent necessity and vast importance of statistics must have deeply impressed him, for we find that on his second pilgrimage, eleven years later, he caused forms similar to the above, which were also in Hebrew, to be distributed in the Holy Cities of Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, Hebron, and in other towns and villages. The information furnished was signed, countersigned and sealed by the Heads of each *Kahal.*

Forms applicable to synagogues, colleges, schools, and various other institutions were also circulated, requesting particulars as to situation, the names of the ecclesiastical and lay heads, and other officials. The purpose of each organization, its income and expenditure, and a number of other minor details.

This information—collected for thirty-six years 5599–5635= 1839–1875—was compiled and arranged by Dr. Louis Loewe (the life-long friend of Sir Moses, whom he accompanied on thirteen of his missions abroad) and transcribed in fifteen imperial folio volumes, a model of Hebrew calligraphy.

In addition to these particulars of a personal nature, this invaluable thesaurus contains information dealing with land, agriculture, buildings, industries, cotton, oil, fruit-trees, and the condition of the country in general. The volumes are now deposited at the Jews' College, Queen Square House, London, but form part of the Library of the Judith, Lady Montefiore Theological College of Ramsgate.

A wealth of material lies at the disposal of future historians and statisticians, and it is devoutly to be hoped, that this great work will find its proper resting-place in the Archives of Jerusalem.

LXV

An Open Letter of Rabbi Chayyim Zebi Sneersohn of Jerusalem (1863)

"There were hundreds of Jews, preferring labour to starvation, to be seen working for their daily bread at one shilling per day in the fields of the so-called 'Industrial Plantations for Jews,' then under the auspices of Mr. Finn, late English Consul for Palestine, and up to the present time there are many Jews engaged in performing even the most menial offices and doing

their best to provide food for their families. The other day a meeting was held by the Chief Rabbi, Haim David Hassan, and many other notabilities of the different congregations, at which I also attended. The subject proposed was an enquiry to ascertain the number of those who are likely to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits and to draw up a plan in which way they could be helped in order to attain the object desired. The result was that up to the present about one hundred heads of families declared their readiness to go and till the ground of their fathers. The result of the preliminary discussion on the plan to be adopted was to get a *hodjet,* or secure possession from the Government or possession of cultivated ground, consisting of gardens, olive trees, vineyards and fields."

Palestinian Rabbis were quick to recognize the activity of the British Consul. James Finn was indeed an English pioneer of the idea of colonization of Palestine and of Britain's protection of Palestinian Jews. He was appointed Consul before the death of Bishop Alexander (who was a converted Jew and the first Bishop appointed by the British Government in Jerusalem), in 1848, and the chief reason for his appointment was his known love of the Jewish cause. He was at the time a member of the London Society's Committee, had published an interesting and learned work on the History of the Spanish Jews, as well as a tract upon the Chinese Jews, had devoted himself with great zeal and rare success to the study of Hebrew, which he spoke and wrote with fluency, and was considered on this account to be particularly well qualified for the post of Consul at Jerusalem (another proof of the great appreciation of the national Jewish character of Palestine on the part of the British Government at that time). Finn went out as a devoted friend to the Jewish cause, and such he proved himself throughout. Though an ardent Christian, he won the sympathy of the most orthodox Jerusalem Rabbis, and their moral support for the colonization of Palestine.

Palestinian Jews themselves advocated the establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies in 1863 :—

" Behold, we are now awaking to a sense of the profound degradation which systematic dependence on charity must produce and to the awful demoralization which must be the necessary consequence of its precariousness. The increasing prosperity of those around us makes us the more deeply feel our own unutterable misery: while European ideas, gradually penetrating to us, are rousing us from our apathy and inspiring us more and more with the wish to wipe away from us the disgrace of sloth, with which we are but too often stigmatized. We want to work, and to work hard, in order to support ourselves by the sweat of our brows. But there is in Palestine no other source of employment capable of giving bread to a community consisting of thousands of individuals, save agriculture.

You dole out to us annually thousands of pounds, just enough to keep us, year after year, on the brink of starvation. This has now been going on for centuries, with the result which we have seen. Now try whether a change for the better could not be brought about. Lay out, by way of experiment, and on a small scale, just to begin with, a portion of the funds destined for the Holy Land in productive labour. Some of us, at least, will, instead of being maintained in involuntary idleness, see what our handiwork can produce, whereby you give the mere consumer of to-day a chance of becoming the producer of to-morrow, and in time you may have the satisfaction of seeing the country dotted with self-supporting agricultural colonies of happy Jews—the very same who are now a burden to you, and whose cry of distress every now and then resounds through the countries of the West."

Rabbi Sneersohn was on a visit to Melbourne in 1861, and addressed (in Hebrew) a "Meeting of the members of the Jewish Faith (to which persons of other denominations were also invited) for the purpose of adopting measures to assist in building houses of refuge on Mount Zion" (*The Salvation of Israel*, an address, etc., by Rabbi Hayim Zwi Sneersohn, Melbourne, 1862).

LXVI

The Tragedy of a Minority, as seen by an English Jewish Publicist (1863)

"The whole Tragedy of our People is to be found in the fact that we must everywhere *be in the minority:* and no matter how just our cause may be, we shall always have to complain of slights and insults, of being overlooked by accident or design, of being scorned by many, and denounced by zealots or infidels, all for the sake of being a minority. . . . But once again blessed with a Government of our own, though only a small portion of Israelites should be found in their own land, while the many would prefer to remain in the countries where they now sojourn, and the advantages of which they might not wish to give up, the feelings of the world would necessarily undergo a great change, and the treatment meted out to us would not be what it is now. If we have our agriculturists, our statesmen, our mechanics, our public teachers, equal to the best found anywhere, who would dare to insult us by stating that he knows us only as pedlars, bankers and merchants: and class us as a whole among petty traders and men of low pursuits? No effort which we can make, situated as we are all over the world, will readily change the long habit which was forced on us to depend on commerce, large and small, in all its branches, in which the meaner necessarily predominated, owing to the exclusive laws to which we were subjected: and therefore it will be centuries

before the unjust prejudices against us die out, if ever they can, in case we ever succeed in divesting ourselves of that habit. If our land be restored to us, and we to it, how nobly will our character, which is now concealed and obscure, burst forth in all ancient vigour and beauty, and we shall naturally present to the world again examples worthy of imitation, and the harp of Judah, which has so long hung mute on the willows of many a Babylon, will again resound to the master-touch of the inspired poet. He will again sing aloud the praises of the Most High. Our judges will sit on the judgment-seat of our ancient counsellors, and decide for the lofty and the lowly according to the demands of the Mosaic legislation: and the wisdom which had its chief residence on the hills of Jerusalem will evermore be diffused to enlighten a suffering world, and will prove its strength in contrast with the failures of antagonistic systems. . . . Will this dream be speedily realized? We cannot tell indeed: events occasionally creep slowly over the face of the world, but at other times they rush rapidly forward, and one great development follows closely on the heels of the other. The same may be the case with the now apparently distant restoration of Israelites to Palestine. The world is becoming rapidly peopled: the boundaries of nations in the meanwhile are frequently changed: jealousies of one people against another are constantly developed: the balance of power, a vain desire to preserve peace among men, is constantly vibrating to and fro. Is it then so unlikely that an effort will be made to place in Palestine and the neighbourhood an enterprising race which shall restore it?"

LXVII

חברת ישוב ארץ ישראל ודרישת ציון בלאנדאן חבירח:

LONDON HEBREW SOCIETY FOR THE COLONIZATION OF THE HOLY LAND

PLANS

"THE London Society for the Colonization of the Holy Land intends:—

"1. To collect funds for the purchase of deserted and desolate towns, and fields and vineyards in the Holy Land, and to prepare Hebrew Persons able and willing to work, so as to fit them for agricultural labour in the Holy Land.

"2. All Israelites, expert in sacred scripture and the Hebrew language, who are members of this society for six years, and prove their ability in agriculture, honest, and of respectable behaviour, able and willing to work, will be sent out to the Holy Land by this Society.

"3. On those sent out by the Society the sacred duty devolves to fulfil faithfully the commandments of the תורה not to work —or cause to work—on Sabbath, Festivals, Schemita, and Jobal, as well as to observe לקט שכחה ופאה and all other commandments relating to the cultivation of the soil in the Holy Land.

"4. All Israelites having lived uninterruptedly for three years in the Holy Land will be considered as free members, and, after passing proper examination, can enjoy the same rights as those who have contributed.

"5. A house, with adjoining land, and cattle, implements and all other requirements for agriculture, and all necessaries for himself and his family shall be provided by the Society until the soil is fertilised and productive.

"6. In each colony the Society shall establish a Synagogue with all its requirements as ס"ת, etc., schools for children and adults, appoint and pay Rabbis, readers and the other officials, provide books, &c.

"7. The Rabbi must not only have thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language and Theology, but must also be expert in other sciences and languages, especially the language of the country.

"8. Every colonist has the preference, after the stipulated time, to farm the land fertilised by his labour, which land remains the property of the society.

"9. The colonists will be placed under the protection of the great European powers.

"10. Co-religionists trained to the use of arms will be appointed by the society, to protect the colony from the attacks of the Bedouins; also police to enforce the laws and to maintain order.

"11. Israelitish co-religionists of all countries and of either sex will be accepted as members of the society.

"12. Those of other religions can only be accepted as honorary members.

"13. Boys and girls from 13 to 20 years of age, and persons more than 50 years of age can be members of the second class only.

"14. Children under 13 years of age are members of the third class.

"15. Communities forming societies among themselves will be accepted as branches of this society.

"16. Members, who bequeath money or property, according to their means, for the benefit of the society will be constituted perpetual members.

"17. Any member desiring to perpetuate the memory of

deceased relations or friends, can do so by paying a certain sum, according to his means, to have them inscribed as perpetual members.

"18. Each member to pay an entrance fee of not less than 1s. 6d., one-third of which fee must be paid at the time of entrance.

"19. This third part will be used to meet the expenses of stationery, printing, advertising, rent of lecture hall, management, &c., and for the assistance of those persons preparing themselves for agriculture.

"20. Each member agrees to pay a certain voluntary contribution towards the funds of the society, which sum has to be paid to the committee every ראש חרש for which he will receive a receipt.

"21. A public meeting will be held every ר"ח when the names of the members and the amount of their contributions will be published.

"22. General meetings will be held three times during the year, at such time and place as the monthly meetings shall appoint.

"23. Admission of non-members to the monthly meetings by ticket, to be had gratis.

"24. None but members will be allowed to address the meeting. Non-members can submit any question in writing, which will be communicated, and if necessary discussed at the meeting.

"25. To explain and to illustrate the principles of the society, lectures will be delivered every Sabbath in the hall of the society, to which members have free admission, non-members by ticket, sold for the benefit of the society.

"The land will be divided by ballot, for which members of the first class only are qualified. For assistance and for instruction every member of six months standing, in the first and second class, has a claim.

"Members who shall have obtained a plot of land and should not desire to emigrate, can convey the same to another person, provided he be qualified as described in Rule 2."[1]

[1] כְּנֶסֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל The Hebrew National. A weekly Journal [Edited by Herschel Filipowski] . . . London., vol. i., No. 2, Feb. 22nd, 1867, *pp.* 29–30.

An appeal from this Society "By order of the Committee, E. I. Polak, Secretary (*pro tem.*)," appeared in a specimen of a unique newspaper lent to me by Mr. James H. Lowe, entitled יידיש דייטשע צייטונג : London Jews' Weekly Times, No. 4, 31st May =26 *Iyar*, but the year is omitted. The advertisements were printed, but the news was lithographed. The offices were situated at 4 Sun street, and the paper was published by Harris Leyserowich of No. 3 Sweedland Court, Bishopsgate Street, City.

LXVIII

An Open Letter of Henri Dunant (1866)

"The disquieting circumstances in which Europe finds itself should not let us forget that the Eastern question, which has already troubled the Governments and peoples, may speedily reappear and complicate a position grave enough in itself. Instinctively every one feels that the day when this question will call for a definite solution, all Europe will perhaps be in inextricable difficulties.

"Diplomatic difficulties can only end in barren expedients, but the present, which is averse to a system of forcible conquest by fire and sword, has a much more powerful weapon at its disposal—that of pacific conquest by civilization.

"What is therefore to be done in order to prevent grave complications, and regenerate the East by rousing its vital forces and infusing into it the spirit of Western civilization?

"One of the most powerful means would be the formation of a large society, having an eminently international character, and which would have thereby the merit of reconciling the particular interests of the several European Powers with those of civilization. This Society would open for the West new and abundant sources of wealth: it would become for the East an efficient means of moral regeneration: and lastly would be for all nations co-operating in the matter a great honour and a great profit.

"The following is the manner in which such an association may be presented to the European public:—

"Objects of the Eastern International Society:—

"To promote the development of agriculture, industry, commerce, and public works in the East, and especially in Palestine. To obtain from the Turkish Government privileges and monopolies, whether in Constantinople or the rest of the Empire: notably the concession and the gradual abandonment of the soil of Palestine. To distribute for pecuniary considerations such portions of the land, the concession whereof might have been acquired or received by the Company, and to colonize the more fertile valleys of the Holy Land.

"The Turkish Empire contains virtues of all kinds, which, if they were utilized by a powerful company, would yield considerable results; but the Porte neither possesses the resources nor the necessary forces in order to create and lead to a favourable issue the works of public utility, which the internal development of the Ottoman Empire so urgently demands: left to her own resources she can neither augment her revenues nor form new

ones, she is unable to give energetic support to either agriculture or industry, which are the only means of increasing public wealth and prosperity.

"It is therefore for the West, which possesses the capital and where the creative forces are superabundant, to turn to an account the real advantages presented by Turkey, and to take in hand a work capable of yielding excellent results. Skilfully conducted, operations in this new country bring in a very high interest: but new combinations must be devised, which should enjoy both the approval of the European Powers, and the support of the Sultan's Porte. Therefore, in order not to weaken its forces, the Society must utilize certain special circumstances in which Turkey is now placed, and Palestine offers itself at first sight to the mind as the earliest field of activity.

"Palestine, as known, only wants human labour in order to produce abundantly: it is one of the most remarkable and fruitful countries on the globe: products of all latitudes are to be met with there, and emigrants from Europe find there the climate of their country. Commerce and private industry completing the work of agriculture, will draw hither in numbers merchants, colonists and capitalists. This resurrection of the East, uniting with the new rise of religious sentiment, will be aided by the co-operation of Israelites, whose valuable qualities and remarkable aptitudes cannot but prove very advantageous to Palestine.

"Having established commercial undertakings at Constantinople and other cities of the Turkish Empire, the Society will construct at Jaffa a port and a good road, a railway from this city to Jerusalem. The territory through which the railway runs should be granted by Turkey to the Society, which might sell it to Israelitish families. These in their turn would create colonies and make them prosperous, with the help and the labour of those of their Eastern brethren whose love for their ancient country has maintained itself as ardently as formerly. Special committees might at their cost send Israelitish emigrants from Morocco, Poland, Moldavia, Wallachia, the East, Africa, etc.

"The result pursued and obtained by the Society by means of a sincere international understanding, the co-operation of those interested in Turkey, and the establishment of Western populations in Palestine, will infallibly be in a less distant future than might be imagined.

"The reconstruction of Holy Places at Jerusalem, which might be carried out internationally, and in a manner worthy of Christendom: the end of conflicts which are being incessantly renewed between the Great Powers on account of the Holy Places: the transformation of ancient Jerusalem into a new city which shall rival in importance the finest cities in the West: the creation of European colonies which in time will become centres

when Western civilization will spread into Turkey and penetrate the extreme East.

" Under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan the Society will administer with intelligence and equity the territories that might develop upon it. Thus India has long been administered and governed by an English company. The Sultan, grateful for the financial support which will be given to him, might, perhaps, grant to the Holy Land a special administration, which, under the high direction of the Porte, would offer real security to the populations that might repair thither, and guarantees for the funds that might be employed there. Thanks to this combination, which would procure for her valuable resources, Turkey would not be obliged to contract new loans in order to pay the interest on previous ones.

" The rising colonies might diplomatically be neutralized, like Switzerland, and by a treaty which would have some analogy to the Convention signed at Geneva in favour of the *amboulance*, sanitary bodies, and wounded soldiers. It would not, moreover, be so difficult to neutralize Palestine by an agreement among the Powers, since there exists a remarkable precedent, which is the neutralization of the Lower Danube officially obtained from the Seven Powers, who signed the treaty at Paris. Now the Commission of the Lower Danube has created its flag and a small fleet, it possesses a numerous staff and revenues: it actually seeks to contract a loan, the same as an independent state.

" In order to prepare the organization of an International Eastern Society, it is necessary that the minds should be induced to occupy themselves with these great and interesting questions. It is indispensable for this purpose to form a committee composed of influential and honourable men of different nations and different opinions, having at heart the success of these views in the general interest. For the rest the elements of such a committee are quite clear.

" Its programme, at the same time economic, humanitarian, scientific, etc., is also international: it cannot hurt the susceptibilities of any nation. Influential men in France, England, and elsewhere are favourably disposed to the scheme."[1]

[1] Société Nationale Universelle pour la Renouvellement de l'Orient [Henri Dunant] Paris . . . 1866.

LXIX

An Appeal of Rabbi Elias Gutmacher and Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer to the Jews of England (1867)

Appeal to Our Brethren

Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria; the planters shall plant and shall eat them as common things. Jeremiah, chap. xxxi.

And I will raise up for them a plant of renown and they shall be no more consumed with hunger in the land. Ezekiel xxxiv.

Hear ye generous people, learn ye who take an interest in holy matters, show your tender feelings towards our brethren in the holy land! Think of the abandoned, devastated, sacred soil. Thus voices and signs urgently warn you, pointing out to you that the time long ago vouchsafed has arrived to render them effectual help.

Destructive epidemic diseases and famine ravage in that land in the same awful way this year as they did in the past one and your ever so abundantly flowing gifts and donations are not efficient to alleviate the misery, to satiate the hunger; upon us the needy cast their looks and crave for relief. But there is only *one* way, *one* remedy to prevent a recurrence of such distress, and that is: colonization, cultivation and improvements of the Palestine soil.

This proposal, suggested already many years ago, urges now more than ever upon final realization, the soil must be redeemed. The society, "Alliance Israélite," in Paris, so great in its activity, at the head of which M. Adolphe Crémieux stands as president, has declared itself in favor of this idea and promised its own assistance and interference (*sic*) elsewhere, to accomplish the object, as we have seen from that society's recently published half-yearly report.

A letter Sir Moses Montefiore addressed to us after his safe return from Palestine states that the idea has been approved of there also. Sir Moses in the same letter says that from Zephat alone sixty Jewish families addressed to him personally the fervent prayer for a grant of land for agricultural purposes. That the hard tried Israelitish inhabitants of Schabatz in Servia have declared themselves ready to emigrate for the purpose of cultivating the Palestine soil, is known to us already, through the medium of Hebrew periodicals.—To realize the idea in question, money must be raised before anything can be done: the funds in hand are not sufficient, the number of Subscribers must increase, and the subscriptions be permanent. The leaders of congregations should take the matter in hand and every member of a congregation in good circumstances ought to join the society, with a yearly contribution of two Thalers (six shillings), by which

they would be instrumental in the performance of the religious commands attached to the sacred soil just as if they themselves had been performing it. To enable members in more humble circumstances to contribute, quarterly payments might be received. But he whom the Almighty has blessed with earthly fortunes and who has the heart for the sufferings of his co-religionists anywhere in the Universe—he should not fail to join the " Alliance Israélite " of Paris, as a member with a yearly contribution of 1 Thaler 10 Sgr. (4 Shillings), and thus further the great aim. Two treasurers have been appointed by us to receive contributions. The well-known Banker, Mr. Seegall, in Posen, is Chief Treasurer, and Mr. S. Fuerst, in Schmiegel, Special Treasurer for amounts up to 100 Thalers (£15). The latter Gentleman has offered to pay all postages out of his own private pocket, and is resolved to go at his own expense to Palestine and to make a beginning with the colonization ; perhaps the undersigned Mr. Hirsch Kalischer may take upon himself the expense and hardships of such a voyage, to see there after the strict observance of the religious commands connected with agriculture in Palestine. Were there one at least in every congregation that would zealously take the matter in hand ; we would willingly confer upon him the diploma of a Governor of the society and give him the necessary instructions. We are also ready to purchase a priceworthy piece of land in Palestine on account and in the name of any of our wealthier brethren in faith that would remit to us a sum for the purpose, and to have it administered according to their instructions. We hope that with the proper assistance from the congregations of Israel and by the aid of the Omnipotent we shall in a very short time be able to give effect to the idea of Colonization.

Thorn in the month of *Marcheshvan* 5627. " Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people and for the cities of our God " (2 Samuel x. 12).

Elias Gutmacher, Rabbi in Graetz.
Hirsch Kalischer, Rabbi in Thorn.[1]

LXX

Alexandre Dumas (*fils*) and Zionism

In *La Femme de Claude*, pp. 50–51, Daniel says :

" Nous sommes dans une époque où chaque race a résolu de revendiquer et d'avoir bien à elle son sol, son foyer, sa langue et son temple. Il y a assez longtemps que nous autres Israélites, nous sommes dépossédés de tout cela. Nous avons été forcés de nous glisser dans les interstices des nations, d'où nous avons

[1] בְּנֵסַח יִשְׂרָאֵל The Hebrew National, vol. i., No. i., Feb. 15th, 1867, *p.* 6.

pénétré dans les intérêts des gouvernements, des sociétés, des individus. C'est beaucoup, ce n'est pas assez. On croit encore que la persécution nous a dispersés, elle nous a répandus ; et nous tenant par la main, nous formons aujourd'hui un filet dans lequel le monde pourrait bien se trouver pris le jour où il lui viendrait à l'idée de nous redevenir hostile ou de se déclarer ingrat. En attendant nous ne voulons plus être un groupe, nous voulons être un peuple, plus qu'un peuple, une nation. La patrie idéale ne nous suffit plus, la patrie fixe et territoriale nous est redevenue nécessaire, et je pars pour chercher et lever notre acte de naissance légalisé."

Isidore Cahen writes, Le Daniel de la Femme du Claude " . . . prévoit et prédit une restauration matérielle de la grandeur de Juda, la reconstitution d'un Etat politique juif ! M. Dumas va jusqu'à citer le vœu célèbre de la Hagadah : ' L'année prochaine à Jerusalem. . . .'

" Dans ces vœux qui contiennent nos livres traditionelles il n'y a qu'une espérance allégorique un vœu mystique : c'est une Jérusalem idéale, . . . et non pas une Jérusalem politique. . . ."[1]

. . . Il faut que je sois bien maladroit et que je dise bien mal ce que je veux dire pour qu'il y ait erreur sur mon appréciation des Israélites. Le jour où j'ai écrit la Femme de Claude, j'ai cru les glorifier. Je ne vois pas que Daniel et Rebecca ne représentent pas un idéal supérieur et si Daniel menace un moment ceux qui pourraient se montrer hostiles ou ingrats de la puissance que ses coreligionnaires ont acquise, il a parfaitement raison. Ce n'est pas quand depuis près de deux mille ans une race subit l'injustice et la persécution comme l'a fait votre race, qu'elle va, après de grands services rendus, supporter l'ingratitude et l'hostilité de ceux qu'elle a tirés d'affaire. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que lors de l'apparition de la Femme de Claude, beaucoup de vos coreligionnaires se sont trompés sur mes intentions et que quelques-uns ont organisé une cabale contre la pièce. Je ne leur en veux pas. Je ne ferai jamais entrer une question personnelle dans ce jugement que je puis avoir à porter historiquement et philosophiquement sur toute une Nation.

. . . Comme j'assiste pendant le temps que je passe sur la terre aux évolutions de l'humanité à laquelle j'appartiens, je m'amuse quelquefois à essayer de prévoir et même de prédire la direction qu'elles peuvent prendre. Comme j'ai bien étudié celles de votre race, que je l'ai vue asservie et persécutée de tous temps et en ces mêmes temps toujours patiente et laborieuse, je me suis, dans mon intérieur, pris de sympathie pour elle, et si j'avais été capable de pratiquer une religion c'est à celle de ces persécutés et de ces laborieux que je serais allé. Quand un peuple a établi toute la morale humaine sur dix petits versets, il peut vraiment se dire le peuple de Dieu, étant donné la conception que les hommes les plus éclairés peuvent se faire, derrière Moise

[1] *Archives Israélites*, 1er Fevrier, 1873, *p.* 86.

d'un Dieu personnel. Seulement j'ai le tort d'appliquer à ceux que j'étudie et qui m'intéressent les idées que j'aurais si j'étais à leur place . . ., quand j'ai vu les évènements politiques nous apporter en 1870, en établissant la République et en nous retirant de Rome, vous apporter la revanche de tant d'injustices et d'humiliations patiemment supportées, je me suis demandé quelle mission je me donnerais, si dans les idées où je suis, j'étais membre de ce peuple particulier. Je me suis dit alors que je n'aurais qu'une idée, ce serait de reprendre possession de mon sol d'origine et de tradition et de rebâtir le temple de Jérusalem, sinon sur la place du tombeau du Christ, du moins en face. C'est cette idée que j'ai incarnée dans Daniel. On m'a dit souvent depuis, que je me trompais sur les ambitions des Israélites, qu'ils ne pensaient plus à ces représailles-là, que leur idéal était de vivre en paix avec les différentes nations qui leur ont donné droit de cité et qu'ils ont renoncé à finir leurs jours dans un foyer à eux. Tant pis pour eux, si c'est vrai. Il est bon d'avoir un idéal, même quand il est irréalisable. Voilà mon cher ami, aussi brièvement que possible, mes idées sur vos coreligionnaires. Ils m'ont toujours inspiré les sentiments que leur courage, leur persévérance, leurs malheurs, leurs efforts de toutes sortes doivent inspirer à des esprits de bonne foi et à des consciences désintéressées. . . .[1]

LXXI

Appeal of Dunant's Association for the Colonisation of Palestine (1867)

Palestine Colonisation

To the Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle.*

". . . International undertaking for the Rejuvenescence of Palestine.—Palestine is a rich and fertile country, although now little populated, and therefore uncultivated. A soil greatly subject to a variety of circumstances is the cause of a great variety of meteorological conditions. Hence a great variety of productions peculiar nearly to every latitude ; hence also a great facility for every colonist to find in his new country a climate approaching that of his native land.

" It is not to be feared that the colonisation of the Holy Land, judiciously carried on, can lack warm sympathies or labour under a want of colonists. Numerous adhesions from emigrants by the thousand, easy in circumstances and willing to work, have already addressed themselves to the founders of the undertaking for the rejuvenescence of Palestine."

[1] The foregoing are extracts from a hitherto unpublished letter sent by Alexandre Dumas (fils) to a prominent French Jew. It is dated 1873.

" The new reforms introduced by the Ottoman Government, the law which authorised strangers to purchase and hold real estate in the Turkish empire, the road now being constructed from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the works projected in the port of Jaffa, the improvements effected in the great lines of communication—all these undertakings and circumstances united seem to indicate that the moment could not be better chosen for commencing the colonisation of Palestine. . . ."

" The capital required for such an undertaking would not long remain unproductive ; indeed, the financial operation of the company that should be formed for this purpose would be one of the simplest.

" The uncultivated land in Palestine purchased of the Ottoman Government at a comparatively small price, and with facilities for payment, resold at a higher figure, would bring in an important profit. The increase in the value of this land—a direct result of the colonisation—would be an additional guarantee for the realisation of this expectation.

" The supply to the colony of agricultural and industrial tools, a trade of importation organized on a scale strictly proportionate to the acknowledged wants of the new settlement, would offer to the company a field for a second operation, which, presenting neither risk nor peril, would nevertheless insure from the very beginning undoubted profits.

" The life which begins to stir in the port of Jaffa will take a fresh rise with the development of agriculture and manufacture in colonised Palestine. The rejuvenescence of Central Asia, which England on the one hand and Russia on the other pursue with so much vigour—the former in the way of peace and the latter in that of war—will not fail favourably to react on the trade of the coast of Syria, once so flourishing, and the decline of which only dates from the fall of the great empire of Persia.

" Ancient Phœnicia, the cities of Tyre and Sidon, the richest of antiquity, owed their prosperity only to the intermediate trade carried on between the east and the west. The fall of the empire founded by Cyrus produced in Central Asia so great a moral and material decay that the trade and industrial pursuits of these immense regions perished from inanity. Tyre and Sidon had no longer any basis for existence ; their grandeur accordingly gradually declined. Alexander, after these splendid and proud cities, succeeded in forming direct relations with India, which the founder of this empire had brought nigh to Europe. But Alexandria in its turn had to experience fortune's inconstancy. Since the discovery of the route to India to the day when steamers and the railway to Suez restored to it some life, desertion and oblivion were its lot. The piercing of the isthmus of Suez will end by restoring to Alexandria its pristine importance. The trade of India will once more completely come back to it, but the cities

on the coast of Syria and Jaffa in particular will not the less remain mistresses of every commercial market of Central Asia, upon which a new destiny is dawning.

"A great economical revulsion in the old world is preparing, and the coast of Palestine will again become as in days of old, in common with that of Lower Egypt, the centre of all exchange between the old continents.

"The Palestine Company has therefore an immense future, which it is easy to foresee even now, but we must allow events to proceed in the development of its activity beyond the modest limits which we at present mark out for it.

"Paris and Jerusalem, March, 1866 and September, 1867."

The address of the secretary-general of this undertaking is Paris, 24, Rue de la Paix.[1]

LXXII

Edward Cazalet's Zionist Views

"It was through the armed intervention of England, that, in the year 1841, Syria was transferred from Egyptian to Turkish rule. At that time Lord Palmerston was in office; and his policy, as he explained to the French Ambassador, M. de Bourgoing, was to turn Syria into a desert under Turkish rule, and interpose this desert between the Sultan and his Egyptian vassal. In confirmation of this, which may seem to some an astounding statement, I can only refer you to 'Guizot's Memoirs,' vol. 2, p. 525.... to Syria assuredly reparation is due on the part of England.... To attempt to improve the Turkish Government of Syria is, for obvious reasons, a hopeless task.... No other country has anything like the same interest in Syria, that we have; besides which, it is to the English nation alone that the population of Syria look for protection and support....

"It was England who handed this country over to the Turks in 1841. Turkey has ever since abused her charge, and it is only just that she should be now called upon to transfer it into more capable hands."

"The Arabs, who form two-thirds of the whole of the population of Syria, and are for most part lords of the soil, are with very few exceptions completely illiterate, regardless of truth, dishonest in their dealings, and immoral in their conduct. In large towns the greater proportion of the upper classes are both physically and mentally feeble, owing to the effects of polygamy, early marriages, and degrading vices. Out of such elements there is no possibility of creating a ruling class. The other sects are too few in number, and too bigoted and superstitious, to be of any

[1] *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*, December 13, 1867, *p.* 6.

assistance in the government of the country. If, then, the regeneration of Syria is to be attempted, it must of necessity come from without, and can only be brought about by an influx of an industrious and more enlightened people. Fortunately this last resource is not denied to us. The restoration of the Jews to their own land, seems to me the only practicable means by which the regeneration of Syria can be effected. You must not imagine that this event, important though it unquestionably must be, need cause any great perturbation in Europe, or prove in any way a strain upon the resources of England. All that is required is that England should create the conditions under which a large number of Jews would gradually migrate on their own account to Syria and Palestine. The first condition of such a movement is that law and order should be introduced under our Protectorate. . . .

"But there is another influence which would greatly assist the colonization of the country. It has long been a cherished project with the Jews to establish a college in the Holy Land, which would serve as a centre of Jewish philosophy and science. Such an institution would readily meet with support, and incalculably quicken the pulses of their national life. With an extensive literature in their own language, in which every branch of philosophy and science is represented, the Jews would be able to make such an institution a genuine centre of intellectual activity. The leading learned men of the Jewish race would be naturally attracted to such a national centre, and would form a nucleus round which all the intellect of the nation would gather, by means of which the necessary elements of the future government of the country might be formed. I understand that the most suitable site for this college has already been generally agreed upon.

"I have still to show you that these attractions would be sufficient to induce numbers of Jewish families to migrate to Syria. The total number of the Jews throughout the world is variously estimated from eight to ten millions. Of those the greater number—probably six millions—inhabit Russia and the old Polish provinces which now belong to Austria, Germany and Roumania. The condition of the Jews in Russia is deplorable in the extreme. They are denied civil rights. They are forbidden to hold landed property. They are treated as aliens, and are restricted to limited areas in which they suffer from the evils of over-population. These conditions have induced no fewer than 250,000 Jews to emigrate to America within the last thirty or forty years, and it may be confidently predicted that Syria under our protectorate would offer still greater attractions. The land of Palestine alone, is capable of supporting ten times its present population. It may seem strange to say of the Jews who are scattered throughout the world, that they still consider this to be their fatherland. But, if they are denied the actual possession of

it, they still bear it in their hearts. Three times a day every Jew offers up a prayer for the restoration of his race to the land and the temple, from which he has been exiled for eighteen centuries. It is a remarkable fact that this scattered and downtrodden people possess within themselves all the elements which go to form a united nation. They have a code of laws for their own government; they have a literature, a history, a language and a religion, which are peculiar to them. Their education is, with some exceptions, on a par with that of the most civilized nations. Numbers of them excel in all the different branches of mechanics and art; and in trade and finance they are, as we all know, unrivalled. Though last, not least they are a people who would fight bravely in the defence of their country.

"During the last twenty years of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, the military conscription fell heavily upon the Jews. In proportion to their numbers, for every Russian that was enlisted, five Jews were compelled to enter the service; and during the late Turkish war they bore themselves bravely in the face of the enemy. *No one who has any knowledge of the Jewish character can for a moment doubt that if the Jews were restored to their country under an English protectorate they would prove true to our nation, and that Syria would become as firmly united to England as if it were peopled by our own countrymen.*"[1]

LXXIII

A Collection of Opinions of English Christian Authorities on the Colonization of Palestine

1. *General Sir Charles Warren's Views*

"My proposal is simply an *arrangement* by which, . . . Palestine, this unfortunate land may yet be placed in . . . a position which may enable her again to take a place socially among the kingdoms of the earth. . . ."

"It will probably at once occur, 'And what of the Arabs of Palestine?' I ask in reply, 'Who are the Arabs?' They are certainly not Turks in any degree; they are for the most part not Arabs of Arabia, of the Desert. Then who are they? It has long been known, and no person has thrown more light upon the subject than M. Ganneau, that the people of Palestine are of a very mixed race: some of Canaanitish descent, some Jewish, some of Arabia. It is evident that many of them being Moslems are so for convenience, . . . We cannot, therefore, look upon the natives of Palestine as rigid Moslems of one race; but we must

[1] England's Policy in the East: our Relations with Russia and the Future of Syria. By Edward Cazalet. Second Edition. London: . . . 1879. [8°. iv+32 *pp.* in printed wrapper.] *pp.* 22–26.

recognize them as descendants of Canaanites, Israelites, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Crusaders, now professing the Moslem or the Christian faith, according to circumstances, but retaining above everything the ancient traditions—yes, and in some instances, I have little doubt, their veritable old religion."

" Palestine is about the size and shape of Wales, and has now a population of about one and a half millions. Give her good government, and quicken the commercial life of the people, and they may increase tenfold, and yet there be room. The soil is so rich, the climate so varied, that within ordinary limits it may be said that the more people it contains, the more it may. Its productiveness will increase in proportion to the labour bestowed on the soil, until a population of fifteen millions might be accommodated there.

" Let us observe how the country may be improved. It consists of the hill country, or mountain districts ; the Shephalah or swelling hills, or *wolds ;* the maritime and Jordan plains, and the tablelands of Arabia.

" All these are most productive naturally ; but are, for the most part, at present enjoying a long Sabbath.

" In the hill country, even now the white skeletons of the old system of terracing are visible in parts ; but the rich loamy soil is washed down into the wadies, leaving the hillsides bare and desolate, and glaring in their nakedness. A cultivated strip may be seen at the bottom of the wady, subject to being swept away by any storm of rain forming a torrent down the bare hillsides, or withered before its time by the reflection of the sun from the bare rocks.

" Place the valley in proper hands, and note the results. The earth from the bottom will be carefully carried up the hillsides, and laid out in terraces, on which are planted young trees—those of a more delicate nature being placed on the northern declivity, in order that they may suffer less from the sun's rays. The trees thrive rapidly, as they will do in Palestine ; the rain falls, but not as heretofore, rushing fiercely down the bare rocks, and forming a torrent in the valley. No ; now it falls on the trees and terraces, percolates quietly into the soil and into the rocky hillside, and is thus absorbed, scarcely injuring the crops at the bottom of the valley. The rain that sinks into the rocks will shortly reissue in perennial springs, so refreshing in a thirsty land. The trees, having moisture in the soil at their roots, spread out their leaves in rich groves over the land. The sun's rays now do not fall on the ground, but on the green leaves and fruit, by which they are intercepted and absorbed, giving no glare or reflection. The heat of the sun causes a moisture to rise from the trees and soil beneath them, which, on reaching the higher and cooler winds, is condensed into visible vapour, constantly forming as the breeze passes over the grove, so that each grove, so to speak, supplies its own umbrella. The climate is thus changed. Where were hot,

glaring sun, dry wind, dry earth, stony land, absence of vegetable products, are now to be found fleecy clouds floating through the balmy air, the heat of the sun tempered by visible and invisible vapours, groves with moist soil, trickling streamlets issuing from the rocks, villages springing up apace, Palestine regenerated.

" This is no dream. I have seen this change take place in Palestine in three years, on a small scale. Why is the Lebanon so different to the hill country of Palestine ? In a great measure, because, by reason of its position and conformation, its woods have not been cut down. . . .

" Again, on the east of Jordan, in Gilead, I have seen the same. After riding for miles through the ruins in the glaring summer atmosphere, through a country denuded of trees, nearly choking with the scorching wind, I came upon a district where the ancient woods had not been cut down. Immediately a change was felt : clouds were seen hanging over the woods, the air became soft and pleasant, the sun's rays beat less fiercely, flowers were seen under the trees, blackberries on the brambles, water gushing out from the hillsides, birds chirping in the shade. This was not due to any change in the atmosphere generally, but was entirely local, and due to the presence of trees. In fact, there are spots where you can, on the same level, change the climate in an hour by passing from the bare land to that which is well wooded.

" This matter I have frequently examined into in Palestine. I mention one particular instance. During the prevalence of hot winds at Jerusalem, I noticed two clouds constantly stationary a few miles off, in an otherwise cloudless sky. On riding over towards them, I found them to be hanging over two large olive groves about seven miles off, recently planted by the Greek convents. Although the wind was blowing briskly, the moisture ascending was condensed as quickly as it rose, and formed an umbrella over these groves.

" In the wolds of Palestine the same process may be continued. Not so much terracing is wanted, but much planting of wood, particularly on the south side—trees of a hardy growth ; so that, with a green southern slope opposite, the delicate fruit trees planted on the northern slopes may bring their fruit to perfection.

" The water, which will now be found gushing from the rock, from springs which have long been silent, will be carried in ducts along the hillsides, and used for irrigation purposes, passing thence into the plain, where it can still be used for irrigation, or else assist in filling up the wells near to the surface of the ground—wells which have hitherto been between thirty to ninety feet deep.

" Now again we shall find a difference in the crops in the plain. Hitherto there has been but one season, and then a long interval of desolation, from July to November, when the heaven is of brass and the earth iron. During this long period, scarcely a green blade can be seen over the vast plains—nothing but sticks,

and stones, and dust ; the monotony relieved only by the noise of the gulgul careering on the wings of the whirlwind. . . .

" The presence of water brought down on the surface from the hills, together with the vast groves of trees to be planted, causes a change. The latter rains of June will be found to fall, giving a second season—a never-ending succession of crops. The fulfilment of the Prophecies will commence taking place—when the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed. . . .

" The advance of the rolling sand-hills, which is now overwhelming the fairest of the maritime plains, may now be arrested. The rich ground between Gaza and Ascalon, which the sand has swallowed up, must again be recovered. This can easily be effected, by the planting of *coniferæ* along the sea coast, as has been done already at Beyrout. . . . If we examine the Jordan valley, we find even greater changes can be effected : it can be made far more fertile than it ever was. . . .

" The whole valley, however, may be made one vast garden, not merely by rebuilding the great aqueducts, remains of which still exist, and by means of which the great cities were watered, but by means of the Jordan river itself. The Jordan, out of Tiberias, falls ten feet to the mile, or 600 feet in sixty miles. . . . The waters of the Jordan might be brought out of Tiberias in aqueducts falling one foot to the mile, and thus be brought over the great plain of Basan and of Jericho, and be made to irrigate all the lands which the streams have not touched. At the same time, the streams themselves will have increased exceedingly from the development of the country in the high lands.

" The country can thus be transformed."[1]

2. *The Rev. James Neil on the Colonization Movement*

" At a moment when all eyes are turned to the East, it cannot be unimportant to learn that, after the slumber of ages, Palestine is awakening to new life, and Israel are actually returning to its shores in such numbers, and at the same time in such a way as they have never been known to do, or could have done, since their formal banishment by the Emperor Hadrian, in the year A.D. 135. Many Jews, it is true, driven ruthlessly out of Spain in 1492, found a home in the Holy Land. To go still further back, the celebrated Hebrew traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, tells us in the twelfth century that he found considerable numbers residing in the various towns of Palestine which he visited—descendants, perhaps, amongst others, of some of the 30,000 who joined the arms of Chosroes the Persian in his capture of Jerusalem, A.D. 616, or even of the Jews whom

[1] The Land of Promise ; or, Turkey's Guarantee. By Charles Warren. London : George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden. 1875. (8°. 24 *pp.* in printed wrapper) *pp.* 5–6, 8, 14–20.

Julian the Apostate restored, A.D. 363, when he vainly endeavoured to discredit Christianity by rebuilding the Temple. But there is this all-important difference between what happened in the case of those who then returned, and those who are now flocking back to the land of their forefathers. While in the former instances, whether under Pagan, Christian, or Moslem masters, they were, as all history shows, equally the subjects of extortion, oppression and contumely: now they are beginning to hold a position of comfort, independence, and power. This remarkable change is in itself significant, and the whole movement should surely be watched by the student of prophecy with eager and expectant attitude. . . .

"... The feeling everywhere seems abroad that the time has at last arrived to restore the desolations of Zion, and to rebuild the waste places of the land of Israel. The very existence of 'The Syrian and Palestine Colonisation Society,' which is about a year old, constitutes a striking expression of such a sentiment. This society, according to its prospectus, has 'been formed to promote the Colonisation of Syria and Palestine and the neighbouring countries by persons of good character, whether Christians or Jews.' This it proposes to effect by obtaining information for intending settlers, and making arrangements for their transport and reception; by assisting approved applicants with advances; and by making arrangements for the purchase of land by the emigrants, or securing suitable tracts of Government waste lands, under certain guarantees; and by exerting themselves to improve the communications. Having mentioned this association, let me plainly say, from an intimate experience of this matter, that there are at present a variety of reasons why emigration to Palestine by English people cannot possibly be undertaken with any hope of success, in the same way as emigrants to the United States or to a British Colony. In the first place, the heat of the plains is too great to admit of their labouring during summer with their own hands. The German colonists in attempting this have suffered a fearful mortality. Again, to employ Arab labour to advantage, and to hold any dealings with the people, the peculiar manners and customs of the East must be known, and colloquial Arabic to some extent be mastered. But, above all, the want of thorough protection to life and property so long as Palestine remains in Ottoman hands is greatly against any emigration scheme that does not include European government for the whole colony. Hence the evident wisdom in such a case of the plan put forth by Captain Charles Warren, R.E., in a pamphlet, published last year, entitled '*The Land of Promise, or Turkey's Guarantee.*' This officer, who has an intimate acquaintance with Syria, derived from his able work there on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, proposes that, if only as a solution of the pecuniary embarrassments of the Porte,

Palestine should be handed over to a company similar to the old East India Company, to be farmed and governed by such an association for a period of twenty years. He suggests that such a Company should pay to Turkey its present revenues, and to the creditors of Turkey a proportion of the interest due to them, taking for itself six per cent. on its capital and expending the remaining revenue in improving the country. What he considers the ultimate future of the land we learn from his own words. ' Let this ' (the above arrangement), he says, ' be done with the avowed intention of gradually introducing the Jew, pure and simple, who is eventually to occupy and govern this country. . . . Concerning what that settlement is in part to be, I can profess no doubt, because I feel none. It is written over and over again in the Word of God. . . . Israel are to return to their own land. This event, in its incipient stage, I have shown to be now actually taking place. That which is yet to be looked for is the public recognition of the fact, together with the restoration, in whole or part, of Jewish national life, under the protection of some one or more of the Great Powers. . . .' "[1]

3. *Colonel C. R. Conder on Palestinian Colonization*

The greatest authority on Palestine in our generation, Claude Reignier Conder, wrote :—

" It has always seemed to me that the future element of prosperous colonisation is to be found among the Jews of Eastern Europe. The thrift and energy of the race are not their only qualifications. Those who mean to thrive in Palestine must not only be prepared to work on the land, but they must be accustomed to the harder conditions of existence which are common in uncivilised countries, and almost unknown in the west. It is true that they will have to encounter the evils due to bad government and corruption, which are mitigated by civilisation ; but if the accounts received from America are credible it is doubtful if these evils are less apparent in South America than they are in Turkish dominions. A people which has not only been able to live, but which has prospered more than the native born population, under Russian tyranny, will not find it difficult to prosper as subjects of the Sultan. A people which has lived under one form of Oriental despotism will be less discouraged by another similar condition than Europeans would be. It is from the Oriental, Jewish, agricultural class, expelled from Russia for their religion, that the colonists most naturally fitted for agriculture in Syria may evidently be drawn.

" I have often thought that the words of that famous passage in the Law, which predicts the future of Israel, must have come

[1] Palestine Re-Peopled ; or, Scattered Israel's Gathering. A Sign of the Times. By the Rev. James Neil, B.A. . . . Third Edition, Revised. London. . . . 1877. *pp.* v–vi and 34–37.

home with a sad and overwhelming force to the Jews in Russia during the last few years :

" ' And among these Goim shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest, and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee ; and thou shalt fear day and night ; and shalt have none assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even ; and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning ; for the fear of thy heart wherewith thou shalt fear ; and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.'

" But what is the other picture which the Law presents of Israel in its own land ? ' Blessed shalt thou be in basket and in store.'

" The proposal so to settle agriculturists, as freeholders tilling their own lands, is in accord with the general tendency of all enlightened statesmanship of the present age. We have too many artisans starved by competition, and too few tillers of the earth. Whether is it better for a man to sell penny toys in the streets of a foggy metropolis, or to till the red corn lands, and make food for himself, for his wife and for his children, for the citizens beyond the seas ? Even if the whole of Palestine east of Jordan were covered with cornfields and vineyards, with mulberry and fig gardens, with cotton and maize, and pot herbs, and fruit orchards, there would not be too much produce useful to man. There would be markets in which the growers could compete with ease ; and towns would grow up, where manufactories of silk and cotton might arise. There would be rice and indigo grown in the Jordan Valley, where now there are only flowers, and there would be petroleum and bitumen, and other minerals, to be worked near the Dead Sea shores. There would in short be a return of the old prosperity, which once covered this country with great Roman cities, and a prosperity yet greater because of the facilities offered by modern science.

" If then I were asked for advice on this subject I would say : Buy all the land you can get at moderate prices in Bashan and in Northern Gilead, and buy it soon, for the price will go up. Promote as far as possible the making of a railway, which is practicable, and which will bring this region within the pale of civilization. Send out as many fit men as you can, to till the land ; and send their wives and children after them. They will be happy, and, if they work, they will be rich. The difficulties are less than those to be expected elsewhere, and the advantages are greater. The movement is not artificial, not merely due to religious sentiment, or to visionary philanthropy. It is a natural and healthy one, which ought to be encouraged, by giving power and money to the organization which seeks to aid it, and to control its direction in a wise course. The case has been laid before you fairly, and the details and precedents have been sufficiently studied. The experience of ten years will be of high value ; and the consent of the Sultan, whose country it is, has

been gained, both to the construction of a very important line of railway, and to the settlement of Jews, willing to abide by the law of that land as they have obeyed the much more tyrannical laws of the Czar.

" I confidently expect therefore, within a few more years, to see prosperity increasing in Palestine, and the empty lands filling up with an industrious population. And if this be so the Jewish people will have reason to remember with gratitude the name of Baron Rothschild as a generous benefactor, and the Society of the Chovevi Zion, as an organisation which undertook a very important work at a time when help was sorely needed."[1]

4. *Sir John William Dawson on the Future of Palestine*

Sir John William Dawson, Professor of Natural History at Montreal University, the worthy disciple of Lyell and Darwin, in a description of the Holy Land, writes :—

" From the higher parts of Jaffa one may obtain a good idea of the physical characters of the maritime plain of Southern Palestine. Along the shore stretch banks and dunes of yellow sand, contrasting strongly with the deep blue of the sea, and shading off on the east into the verdure of the plain. Near Jaffa this is covered with orange orchards, laden in February with golden fruit of immense size, and which forms one of the most important exports of the place. To the south the plain spreads into the fertile flats of ancient Philistia, interspersed in the distance with patches of sand, the advanced guards of the great Arabian desert. To the north it constitutes the plain of Sharon, celebrated in Hebrew song, and extends for fifty miles to where Mount Carmel projects its high rocky front into the sea. On the inland side, the plain is bounded first by the rolling foot-hills of the Judean range, the Shephelah or low country . . . and then by the hill country proper, which, clothed in blue and purple, forms a continuous range, limiting the view eastward from Jaffa. . . .

" The maritime plain was also a granary . . . and it still produces much wheat and barley, though large portions of it are neglected and untilled, and the culture carried on is by means of implements as simple and primitive as they could have been in the days of Abraham. In February one found it gay with the beautiful crimson anemone (A. coronaria), which may have been the poetical ' Rose of Sharon,' while a little yellowish-white iris represented the ' lily of the valley ' of Solomon's Song. . . .

" . . . Along the shores of the Dead Sea there are springs which produce petroleum ; and this when hardened becomes Asphalt.

" Now the valley of the Dead Sea is an ' oil district,' and from

[1] Eastern Palestine. A Lecture delivered for the Western Tent of the Chovevi Zion Association. By Claude Reignier Conder . . . Chovevi Zion Association. . . . 1892. (8°. 36 *pp.* in printed wrapper) *pp.* 5–6 and 35–36.

the incidental mention of its slimepits, or literally asphalt pits, in Genesis xiv., was apparently more productive in mineral pitch in ancient times. It is interesting in connection with this to notice that Conder found layers of asphalt in the mound which marks the site of ancient Jericho, showing that the substance was used in primitive times for roofs and floors, or as a cement to protect brick structures from damp ; and it is well known that petroleum exudes from the rocks both on the sides and in the bottom of the Dead Sea, and, being hardened by evaporation and oxidation, forms the asphaltum referred to by so many travellers.

" . . . Palestine, to the ordinary traveller, appears, especially in the drought of summer, a bare and barren country. Yet the climate and rainfall of Palestine, with the chemical quality of its rocks and soils, rich in lime, alkalies, and phosphates, render it productive to a degree which cannot be measured by our more northern lands. Its plains, though limited in extent and often stony, have very fertile soil. The olive, the vine, and the fig-tree will grow and yield their valuable fruit in abundance on rocky hills which at first sight appear barren and worthless. Whenever culture has been undertaken with skill and vigour, it has been well rewarded. . In the olden times the Tirosh (often incorrectly translated ' wine '), as the Hebrews called the fruit of their hill orchards and vineyards, was one of the main sources of wealth ; and the vineyards, with their vines trailing over the warm rocks and clothing the ground with their leaves and fruit, realize the prophetic description of hills running with the grape juice, and of a land flowing with milk and honey, if by the latter we understand the ' dibs ' or syrup of the grape. In Palestine a few olive-trees on a rocky hill, that in colder climates would be worthless, may maintain a family. There is also an abundance of nutritious pasturage, more especially for sheep and goats, all the year round, on the limestone hills. . . .

" Palestine must originally have been a well-wooded country, and its forests are mentioned in the historical books of the Bible ; but they have for the most part perished, and this had tended to make the climate more arid. The wild hill-sides are, however, often covered with an exuberant growth of bushes and young trees, which, if permitted to grow, or if replaced by cultivated trees, would soon clothe the land with verdure, and tend to produce a more abundant summer rainfall. With just laws, well administered, there is nothing to prevent Palestine from becoming as wealthy and populous as we learn from the Bible it was in the days of the Jewish kings, and it seems to have been at a later time under the Roman government. . . .

" In Palestine, . . . the country is gay with flowers, especially in early spring, and the conspicuous objects of culture are the vine and the olive. Even in the plains, cultivated fields are few, and much is merely wild pasture. The palm-tree is rare, though

it still grows in the plain of Jericho and the sheltered valleys throughout the country, yielding dates smaller than those of Egypt, but of very pleasant flavour. . . .

"That the future of these old lands may be more important than their present, it requires little penetration to see; and the old Book, whose history of these lands in the past we have been considering, has something to say of their future as well. Whatever belief men may repose in prophecy, they cannot doubt that the word of God has committed itself to certain foreshadowings of the future; and though some of these are shrouded in a symbolism to which varied interpretations have been given, others are sufficiently plain. . . .

"We know, however, that physically these lands are still young, and capable of greater things than those of the past, and we may content ourselves with repeating the inspired words of an older Jewish prophet:—

> 'For the Lord will comfort Zion:
> He will comfort all her waste places,
> And will make her wilderness like Eden,
> And her desert like the garden of the Lord:
> Joy and gladness shall be found therein,
> Thanksgiving and the voice of melody.'
>
> Isaiah li. 3.

"The Holy Land is a fine tract of country well defined by natural boundaries, extending from the shore of the Mediterranean to the Syrian desert. It is a compact district, distinct and complete in itself, enclosed by mountain and sea, and consequently offering great facilities of defence against invasion. It has its highlands and its lowlands, its hills and its valleys, its streams and its lakes, its hot springs and its cold springs, a fine sea coast broken by bold promontories, cliffs towering above, beaches spreading out below, and is replete with all the capabilities essential for civilized life. The Holy Land is rich in vegetation, from the time-honoured "cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop on the wall." Groves of olive and mulberry trees, vineyards of grapes of extraordinary size and richness, interspersed with fields of golden grain, with magnificent hedges of the cactus almost reaching the height of trees; the sycamore with its thickness of foliage—these, and more can be enumerated in a brief outline, are there for the endowment and adornment of the Holy Land. Nevertheless, the wealth of nature is in a great measure of a passing character. The sloping terraces of the hills, made fertile by means of artificial irrigation, and now deprived of the help of the tending hand of man, no longer display that fruitful aspect which was formerly their glory. The land mourns under its present masters. The tillers of the soil do not even sow in tears to reap in joy. With listless fatalism they cast into the ground the seeds of a harvest which they know, as they watch it

come into being, shall minister mostly, not to their wants or wealth, but to the greed of unrighteous local administration. And, wherever these people are crowded together in their miserable villages, all is mud, slum, penury, depression, chaos and picturesque misery. A goodly land, the almond tree white in bloom, orange and olive, everywhere lilies, the scarlet anemone; but no system, no industry, no skill, no capital. No nation has been able to establish itself as a nation, in Palestine, up to this day, no national union, and no national spirit have prevailed there. The motley, impoverished tribes which have occupied it, have held it as mere tenants at will, temporary landowners, evidently waiting for those entitled to the permanent possession of the soil."[1]

LXXIV

Petition to the Sultan

The following is the text of a petition to His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, which was presented by Mr. Samuel Montagu, M.P. (afterwards Lord Swaythling), to Lord Rosebery, with the request to transfer the same to Constantinople. The petition was signed by the officers of the Executive Committee and by the Commander and Secretary of each Tent :—

"To His Imperial Majesty Abdul Hamid Khan, Sultan of The Ottoman Empire.

"May it please your Majesty,

"The undersigned Association of Chovevi Zion (Lovers of Zion) beg humbly to submit to your Imperial Majesty that this Association has been founded to assist a limited number of worthy and industrious Jews to purchase and cultivate land, and to earn their living by agriculture. The Association has purchased some portions of land in your Imperial Majesty's Dominions on the eastern side of the Jordan, and desires to acquire such other portions of land in the same region as may be for sale, and suitable for the cultivation of corn, vines, fruits, and silk, or to the raising of cattle and horses.

"And the Association desires to send to this land fitting colonists, industrious and peaceable men, provided by the Association with sufficient means to till the land and to erect for

[1] Modern Science in Bible Lands. By Sir John William Dawson, G.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., etc. . . . London: . . . MDCCCLXXXVIII. *pp.* 449–450, 487, 522, 524, 527, 533, 536.

themselves houses, and to sink wells and construct roads so that they may be able to reach markets.

"The Association wishes thus to send to your Imperial Majesty's dominions only such men, with their families, as will with God's help and under your Imperial Majesty's protection, increase the prosperity of your Imperial Majesty's dominion, and become faithful subjects to your Imperial Majesty.

"The Association therefore humbly begs your Imperial Majesty to grant the Association of Chovevi Zion a Firman with the following privileges.

"First: that such persons as may be selected by the experienced men who conduct the affairs of the Association may, when provided with proper certificates that they have been so selected, and that land has been purchased for them, be allowed to settle in your Imperial Majesty's dominions, and to cultivate land there, and that the privilege be granted to them of becoming naturalised as your Majesty's subjects.

"Second: That in view of the great expenses attending the beginnings of cultivation, the building of houses, the sinking of wells, and the making of roads, the agriculturists be relieved from the tax of the 'Tenth' for a period of seven years.

"Third: that it be graciously permitted to them, under the direction and on the lands of the Association, to build houses and stables, schools for their children, and temples in which to worship the Most High, to construct roads, drainage and irrigation works, and to sink wells, without having to crave special permission in each case.

"Fourth: that on condition that the Association send only men free from disease or illness and approved by experienced Doctors, such persons may freely travel in your Imperial Majesty's dominions.

"And the Association, reckoning on your Imperial Majesty's benevolence and wisdom, believes that your Imperial Majesty will confer these benefits on deserving and industrious people, and your Imperial Majesty's most humble petitioners invoke on your Imperial Majesty, the blessing of the Most High.

.....President.

.....Honorary Secretary."

The following reply was received:—

"Foreign Office,

"11*th March*, 1893.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Earl of Rosebery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst., forwarding a number of petitions, addressed to the Sultan, by the 'Lovers of Zion' in favour of the colonization of certain lands on the East of the Jordan by Jewish emigrants.

"His Lordship will enquire of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople whether the fact of these petitions being sent in through the British Embassy would be likely to lead to a relaxation of the regulations affecting immigration to Syria.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"(Signed) T. V. LISTER.[1]

"Samuel Montagu, Esq."

LXXV

(1) *Chovevé Zion* and Zionist Workers

A GREAT deal of idealism, energy and capacity has gone to the making of the Zionist movement in its earlier and its more recent form. It would be outside the scope of a history of Zionism dealing mainly with England and France to attempt to do justice to the work of all those individuals—mostly Russian Jews—who have devoted themselves to the national revival, in Palestine or in the Diaspora. The purpose of this Appendix is to place on record the services of some of the most prominent workers (not mentioned in the text of this book) in the field of organization, of propaganda or of Palestinian colonization.

Young men of ability and studious habits founded the *Bnei Zion* Association at Moscow. This Society had indeed concentrated upon and developed most strongly the national and Zionist ideal. The position of the Moscow *Bnei Zion* was so conspicuous, because that organization was the headquarters of prominent Zionist workers who played a distinguished part in the national revival in Russia and in other countries. Among these the most active and important leaders were: E. W. Tschlenow, M. Ussischkin, J. Maze, A. Idelsohn, T. Brutzkus, B. Mintz, S. Mintz and M. Rabinovitz.

E. W. TSCHLENOW's life of strenuous work was characterized by calmness and steadfastness on the one hand, and gentleness and high virtue on the other. Since his earliest youth he combined within him the noble spirit of idealism and great capacity for precise work. As a young student, he soon won his way to the foremost rank among the *Chovevé Zion* workers. The soundness and farsightedness of his views were remarkable. Simple but impressive as a writer, as well as platform orator, his generosity and devotion soon made him a favourite of the *Bnei Zion*, and brought him prominence as organizer, leader and orator. He graduated at the Moscow University in medicine, and distinguished himself, after further study at other universities

[1] *Palæstina*, The Chovevé Zion Quarterly, No. 3, 1893, *p.* 7.

abroad, in a special branch of his science. He then settled in Moscow. His successful medical career, however, never prevented him from devoting a considerable part of his time, and when necessary all of it, to useful Jewish public work in general, and to Zionism in particular. After his important and fruitful work in the *Chovevé Zion* movement he entered the Zionist Organization. He was in Palestine twice, not as a mere tourist but as an investigator. He wrote a great number of pamphlets, reports and articles, and a very good book against Territorialism (*Zion and Africa*, in Russian, 1903). His second journey to Palestine enabled him to increase his already extensive knowledge of colonization, and he laid down his observations and conclusions in another excellent work, which he wrote in Russian, and which has been translated into other European languages. The conspicuous service which he rendered amid formidable difficulties to the Jewish National Fund, of which he was the manager in Russia, his tact, his calm energy and his counsel were of inestimable value to the Zionist cause. After having been for many years a member of the Greater Actions Committee, he was elected at the Vienna Zionist Congress of 1913 a member of the Inner Actions Committee. He then gave up his brilliant medical career in Moscow to undertake a work of singular complexity and extreme heaviness. In this he won the same measure of confidence as that he enjoyed in Russia, and provided the most important personal link between the East and the West. In 1914 he was delegated, together with the author, for Zionist political work in this country; and he came here again in 1918 notwithstanding his failing health. During his brief but momentous excursus into the regions of politics and diplomacy he revealed the same high qualities which had elsewhere marked his mind and character. In consequence of his efforts, his health, which had some years ago been weakened, broke down, and his tragic death took place on the 31st of January, 1918, in London—the greatest loss Zionism has sustained since the death of Wolffsohn.

M. USSISCHKIN'S career as Chovevé Zionist and modern Zionist is unique as well as remarkable. In some respects, and in some quarters, his influence was far greater than that of anyone else. A strong, perhaps the strongest organizer, possessed of deep nationalistic convictions and of intense Jewish feeling, and endowed with the wonderful gift of being able to impress the masses, he succeeded in establishing a very high reputation when a mere student, and later on as one of the founders and leaders of the *Bnei Zion*, and subsequently among the *Chovevé Zion* leaders. He was also a founder of the *Bilu*. On his long visits to Palestine, in propaganda work for the purpose of raising funds for colonization, and throughout his whole long and fruitful career of nationalist work, he exhibited the most indefatigable activity and greatest courage. Having graduated at Moscow in Tech-

nology and Engineering, he settled in Ekaterinoslaw, where his strong, unbending personality, his power of leadership, and the general respect he commanded, soon brought him into prominence, and gained for him a high reputation in Russia, in Palestine, and elsewhere. The very strength of mind, energy, outspokenness and self-reliance, combined with inflexible determination and ardent zeal, distinguish his untiring efforts on behalf of the Zionist Organization. While others faltered and failed, he remained firm; while others despaired, he remained confident, and his zeal and perseverance gained for him the respect even of those who opposed some of his methods, while it increased the admiration in which he was held by many of his adherents. He greatly distinguished himself in his strenuous work for the Zionist financial institutions, and was also the most influential champion of the idea of immediate practical work in Palestine. His pamphlets on Palestine and the Zionist programme are written with admirable cleverness. He has lived now for some years in Odessa, where he is the Chairman of the Society for the promotion of Jewish colonization work in Palestine. Being Jewish Nationalist to the backbone, he naturally takes a great interest in the revival of the Hebrew language.

A. Idelsohn is the most modern and the most ingenious Zionist publicist in the Russian language. His influence has been underestimated rather than justly appreciated. While, on the one hand, the pathetic devotion and enthusiasm of others are undoubtedly most useful and indispensable conditions for the success of the movement, an analytical mind, as a temporizing element and corrective, is of no less importance. This mind was devoted to the cause by Idelsohn since his youth, and found expression in his writings in the Zionist organ, written in the Russian language, its name being *Razswiet* and *Ievreiskaiu Shisn.* A critic, and a somewhat ironical thinker, he never permits an emotional effort to mar his clear intellectual discrimination. In later years he formed, with M. A. Soloveitschik, A. Goldstein, J. Klebanow, A. Seidemann, M. Aleinikow, D. Pasmanik, S. J. Janowski, J. Brutzkus, Ch. Grinberg, J. Eljaschew, I. Gruenbaum, and others who comprised the editorial staff of his paper, a brilliant ensemble of Zionist intellectuals which has recently been augmented by L. Jaffe, who sometimes acted as editor. Idelsohn is an eminent Zionist and a member of the Actions Committee.

Julius Brutzkus was an active and highly appreciated member of the *Bnei Zion.* Most gifted and learned, with a clear mind, and generally well informed, he adhered to the national idea from early youth. He graduated in medicine at the Moscow University, and settled for some years in Petrograd, where he became active in matters communal, literary and journalistic. He wrote several excellent articles and pamphlets.

The two Mintzs were also appreciated for their faithfulness,

sincere devotion, and excellent and tactful propaganda. B. Mintz has since settled at Rostow, where he takes a leading part in Zionist work. S. Mintz graduated at Moscow in medicine and settled in Warsaw, where he attained a high reputation in his profession as well as in communal activity. A sincere Nationalist, of a serious and studious turn of mind, deeply attached to Zionism, an excellent Hebraist, most active in all movements making for the revival of the national language, he has remained true to *Bnei Zion* traditions. There are, further, the zealous Alperin, and Michael Rabinovitch, resident at Rostow, a distinguished Zionist worker who was member of the Actions Committee.

The great earnestness and untiring assiduity of the *Bnei Zion* did not fail to attract attention and to produce a deep impression. The immense zeal for this cause dispelled the apathy of those around them. Thus the Moscow *Chovevé Zion* and Zionist Group became indeed one of the best, the most esteemed and the most active in the world. Of those in touch with the first pioneers was Kalonimos Wolf Wissotski (1824–1904), the well-known *Chovev Zion* and Zionist, a zealous supporter of the colonization of Palestine, a generous friend of Hebrew literature, a patron of learning and learned men. The representatives of his great firm have to the present day remained faithful to the traditions of the founder in a most liberal-minded and far-reaching manner.

The following names are arranged in alphabetical order.

Elieser Ben-Jehuda, born in Russia, is a prominent representative of the revival of the Hebrew language and of the national renaissance. As early as 1880 he expounded his political views on Zionism in Smolenskin's monthly *Ha'shachar*. In 1881 he went to Palestine, where he became a sturdy and independent fighter for Hebrew as a living tongue and for Jewish nationalism. In 1885 he founded the Hebrew weekly paper *Ha'zevi*, which he edited for several years, assisted by his wife (Hemda) and his son. Together they formed the first Hebrew-speaking family in the country. He has revolutionized Hebrew style and introduced many new colloquial and journalistic expressions. As a pioneer of modern methods, radically opposed to the old ways of thought and action, he defended his heterodox ideas with energy, became involved in controversies, and was arrested by the Ottoman authorities for his nationalistic propaganda. Many years ago he started the publication of his great Hebrew dictionary (*Millon*). He was one of the first Palestine Zionists who approached Herzl and devoted themselves to Zionist propaganda in Palestine.

Vassyli Bermann (1862–96) was a young man of high intellectual attainments and endowed with exceptional literary gifts, and would undoubtedly have risen to great eminence had he continued to devote himself to literature. But he gave almost all his time to the *Chovevé Zion* movement. His name is closely connected with the history of the national Jewish movement in

Russia. Born at Mitau, he received his elementary education at the school founded by his father, a capable pedagogue, in Petersburg, and completed his college studies in the same town. Already, as student of the faculty of Law in Petersburg, Bermann placed himself at the service of Judaism, and strove, through the foundation of a suitable association, to spread the idea of the liberation of the Jewish people into wide circles of the community. In the year 1884 he published the compilation *Palestine*. Even this first work drew general attention upon the highly gifted young writer. At the meeting of the Russian *Chovevé Zion* at Drusgenik, in 1887, Bermann was considered, by the side of the spiritual father of the national Jewish movement in Russia, Leo Pinsker, as the leader of the "Zionophiles," as Bermann called the adherents of the national Jewish idea. When it was found desirable to obtain the authorization of the Russian Government for the "Odessa Association for Supporting Jewish Artisans and Agriculturists in Syria and Palestine," the shrewd lawyer, Vassyli Bermann, employed his utmost energy in order to help in overcoming all difficulties which stood in the way of the foundation of this association. He was one of the members of the first official congress of the Russian *Chovevé Zion* which was held at Odessa in the year 1890. Once again in Petersburg, Bermann devoted all his zeal to the editing of his continued compilation, which he intended to transform into a year-book. In this way *Zion*, published in the year 1891, was brought out. It is considerably superior to its predecessor in contents and get-up. *Zion*, which is dedicated to Pinsker, affords an interesting insight into the phase of development of the national Jewish thought of that time. From Bermann, who was well aware of the influence of historical knowledge upon the strengthening of the national consciousness, came also the initiative towards the foundation of the "Historio-Ethnographic Commission" within the "Society for the Propagation of Culture among the Jews in Russia." When, in the year 1892, the Petersburg central committee of the Jewish Colonization Association was formed, and the necessity for a scientific basis of the colonization question became evident, Bermann undertook, at the request of the J. C. A., a mission of study, the result of which he recorded in a comprehensive memoir, and thus afforded the central committee valuable material towards the work of colonization. The exertions of travelling had much affected Bermann's health. But he would not allow that to prevent him from further work in favour of his brethren with the greatest devotion. At last he found himself compelled to seek the mild climate of Egypt. There, on March 18th, 1896, Vassyli Bermann breathed his last. His tombstone bears the inscription: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget (her cunning)." The dying man had wished it so.

Gregor Belkovsky, a distinguished lawyer, born in Odessa,

was one of the first pioneers of the *Chovevé Zion* movement. He was a member of the Societies *Nes Ziona* and *Ezra*. In 1895–7 he was Professor of Law at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria. On his return to Russia, he entered the Zionist Organization and came into prominence from the First Congress onwards. He was one of the most notable workers for the establishment of the Zionist financial institutions. He also did important work in connection with the movement in Russia.

JEHIEL BRILL (1836–86), born in Russia, and taken to Constantinople when he was quite young, was later brought to Jerusalem, where he received a talmudic education. In 1863, with the assistance of his father-in-law, Jacob Saphir, he established the Hebrew monthly, *Ha'lebanon*, which, after the appearance of the twelfth number, was suppressed by the Turkish Government. He then went to Paris, where he resumed publication of *Ha'lebanon*. After the Franco-Prussian War he removed to Mayence, where he renewed the publication of his paper. When the *Chovevé Zion* movement was inaugurated, Brill, who was well acquainted with Palestine, was chosen by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, on the recommendation of Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer, to conduct a group of experienced farmers from Russia to Palestine. He gave a vivid description of his mission in his Hebrew pamphlet *Yesod Ha'maalah* (Mayence, 1883).

H. BRODY was, when in Berlin, a studious, scholarly worker, and at the same time active in Zionism. Later he was appointed Rabbi in Nachod, Bohemia, and, being a scholar and a prolific writer, he became very active in scientific and literary matters. He has contributed to *Ha'magid*, *Ha'eshkol* and *Ha'shiloach*; has edited (with A. Freimann) a Bibliographical Review, and has written valuable books on Jehuda Ha'levi and Moses Ibn Ezra. In defence of Zionism he has written, under the *nom de plume* Dr. H. Salomonsohn, an excellent pamphlet, in which he proves that Zionism is an essential principle of Jewish tradition.

MARTIN BUBER, born in Galicia, was a member of the Vienna *Kadima* who afterwards studied in Berlin. He was closely akin to Berthold Feiwel in aspirations and activity. Buber was one of the founders of the *Verlag* and one of its principal contributors. He was really one of the authors of the Jewish Renaissance, not a product of it. He has no equal as an inspirer of the Jewish intellectuals in Western Europe. He has been a Zionist since the inception of the Organization, but he has devoted himself mostly to literary work in connection with the Jewish Renaissance. Sweet and pathetic legends, delicate Chassidic sketches, tales of wonder, mystic and philosophical treatises and allegories, profoundly Jewish and reflected in deep Murillo-like shades, such are the subjects of his *Story of Rabbi Nachman* (1906), *Legends of the Baal Shem* (1907), *Daniel* (1914) and other writings.

Rabbi I. H. DAICHES, a great Talmudist, formerly Rabbi of

Neustatt Shirvint, and now in Leeds, supported the *Chovevé Zion* movement, and was afterwards a delegate to the Zionist Congress.

Joshua Eisenstadt (Barzilai), the oldest, and, as far as enthusiasm is concerned, still the youngest among the propagandists in Palestine, a man of high aspirations, who looks at things from the standpoint of a devotee rather than of a critic, exercises considerable influence through his speeches and popular articles. He died in Switzerland in 1918.

Rabbi Mordecai Eliasberg (1817–89), Rabbi of Bausk in Russia, an eminent Talmudist, a profound theologian and a diligent student of history, who wrote valuable books and articles on talmudic subjects, was one of the most ardent advocates of the ideas of the *Chovevé Zion*. By his numerous contributions to *Ha'melitz* he helped very much in the spread of Zionistic ideas, and his memory will be cherished as one of the representatives of orthodox Judaism who raised the banner of Palestine.

Berthold Feiwel, born in Brunn, Moravia, was a member of the Vienna *Kadima*, but did most of his work in Berlin. A young man of exceptional attainments, he early attracted the notice of Herzl, and was for some time editor of the *Welt*, for which work he was particularly well qualified. But the work of leader-writing did not satisfy the poetic and æsthetic side of his nature, and he turned to literature. The promise of his early writings, with their beauty and originality, is amply fulfilled in the literary activity which he subsequently developed in the *Almanach* and in other publications of the *Jüdischer Verlag*, which was founded by him and his friends. His poems, as well as his excellent translations of Rosenfeld and other works, have won him a lasting reputation. He has also taken an active part in the work of the Zionist Organization, and was a member of the Actions Committee. He was editor of the *Welt* for the second time in the years 1906–9, and has written many pamphlets.

The brothers Isaac and Boris Goldberg hold a specially distinguished place both in Russian Zionism and in the movement at large. Isaac Goldberg has made himself indispensable to all Zionist institutions, and has attained the highest repute in the Zionist Organization, and in Palestine. Boris Goldberg is a very influential member of the Actions Committee, with a thorough knowledge of all matters concerning Zionism and Palestine, and an important contributor to the Zionist press. He was a member of the Zionist Commission of Inquiry which visited Palestine five years ago.

J. Grazowski has written popular and useful books on general Jewish history, and has collaborated in a Hebrew dictionary. He is now in the service of the Anglo-Palestine Company at Jaffa.

Mordecai (Marcus) ben Hillel Ha'cohen was even in his

early youth an excellent, versatile contributor to the Hebrew and Russian Press. Possessed of great vivacity and a humorous and enthusiastic disposition, an enlivening speaker, with the national idea deeply at heart, he has worked for Zionism, Hebrew and the national idea with considerable success. His writings in *Ha'melitz, Ha'zefirah, Razswiet,* and other papers and reviews, as well as his own pamphlets, the description of his journey to Palestine, and his reminiscences, written in a brilliant style, have won him a well-merited popularity. After working several years in the *Chovevé Zion* movement, and in the Zionist Organization, he settled in Palestine, where he is active as one of the most popular leaders of the Tel-Aviv community, and is particularly engaged in educational, communal and literary work.

Dr. William Herzberg (1827–97), a highly educated writer and communal worker, who, though not writing in Hebrew, greatly influenced the movement, and his work was translated into Hebrew. He wrote the famous book, *Judische Familienpapiere* (1875–6). This book made a stir in the Jewish scholastic world. Zacharias Frankel welcomed the book as a modern Kusari. It was only after some time that the identity of the author was discovered, for it was published under the *nom de plume* of Gustav Meinhardt. Perez Smolenskin was much inspired by the nationalist spirit of this phenomenal literary production, and translated the most important parts of it in the *Haschachar* (he had made it a rule not to publish any translation, but in this case departed from the rule). Herzberg intended to obtain a professorship in a German University, but, finding that this was impossible for a Jew, he contented himself with a professorship in the Gymnasium. He passed his probationary year in the Gymnasium of his native town, Stettin, but, when his final appointment was recommended by the Head Master, who was much impressed by the fine scholarship of the young teacher, the Minister of Education confirmed it cordially, on the supposition, however, that the candidate had embraced Christianity, as a Jew could not be appointed Professor in a Gymnasium. In 1877 he was induced by his friend, Professor Grätz, to accept the post of Director of the Agricultural School, Mikveh Israel, near Jaffa. Dr. Herzberg remained one year in this position and then accepted the Headmastership at the Von Laemel School at Jerusalem.

Isaac M. Hirschensohn, born in Russia, has rendered great services to the progress of the Jews in Palestine as a publisher, bibliophile and Talmudist. He advocates rabbinical ideas, in harmony with the national principle.

Dr. N. Katzenelsohn, of Libau, Russia, holds an important place in the history of Zionist organization. After having joined the Organization at one of the first Congresses, he soon became a prominent member, particularly in the domain of financial affairs and institutions. One of the devoted friends of Herzl, he

Friedländer, Kattowitz O/S — Freidenberg, Bialystok — Moses, Kattowitz O/S — Rittenberg, Warschau — Freuthal, Kattowitz — Pines, Rosana — Mirkin, Pultawa

Rabinowitz, Warschau — *Dr.* Chasanowitz, Bialystok — Jasinowsky, Warschau — Schalit, Riga — *Dr.* Dräbinowitz, Rostow a. Don — Luntz, Riga — Wollrauch, London — Meyersohn, Warschau — Davidsohn, Warschau — Löbinger, Kattowitz

Wissozki, Moskau — Klewansky, Kowno — Gordon, Lyk O. P. — *Rab.* Mohilewer, Bialystok — *Dr.* Pinsker, Odessa — *Rab.* Friedmann, Karlin — Zederbaum, St. Petersburg — *Dr.* Rabbinowitz, Paris — Deiches, Charkow

accompanied him on his visit to Russia in 1903, and took part in some of his political efforts there. In 1905 he was appointed President of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and regularly gave his reports of the activities of this Institution, as well as of those of the A.P.C. at the Zionist Congresses. He visited Palestine in 1907, and particularly investigated the financial and economic situation of the country. He also accompanied Wolffsohn in the same year to Constantinople on a political mission. Dr. Katzenelsohn was a member of the First Russian Duma, and was for many years very active in the work of the I.C.A. for the emigration of the Russian Jews, a question on which he also submitted reports to the Zionist Congresses.

Dr. Jacob Kohan-Bernstein, of Kishinew, was one of the earliest of the *Chovevé Zion*. His speeches and appeals when he was in charge of the so-called " Post-Centre " were most effective in kindling Zionist enthusiasm. As a member of the Actions Committee he has occupied a high position in the movement.

The late Abraham Moses Luncz (1854–1918), born in Russia, lived since his early youth in Palestine. He rendered great services to the exploration of the Holy Land from the historical, geographical and physiographical standpoint, by means of his guide-books for Palestine, his Palestine annuals, and his Jerusalem almanac.

Joseph Lurie was born in Russia, and became a prominent nationalist at the Berlin University. He settled later in Warsaw, where he was engaged in educational work, and afterwards edited a Zionist Yiddish weekly paper, published by the *Achiasaf*. After the suspension of this paper he lived for about two years in St. Petersburg, where he was assistant editor of the *Fraind*. Thence he went to Palestine, and became a teacher at the Jaffa Gymnasium. Some time afterwards he was elected President of the Union of Teachers (*Agudath Ha'morim*) of Palestine. He has not, however, given up his journalistic work. His articles on Palestine are unequalled for clearness of exposition and logical argument.

Rabbi Samuel Mohilever (1827–1903), of Bialystok, wrote many appeals in favour of the *Chovevé Zion* movement. He was a lifelong adherent of the national cause, helped to promote colonization, and gave his unqualified adherence to the new Zionism. Even in very advanced age he was still a fighter in the forefront, travelling, preaching, collecting funds and generously spending his own means. At the outbreak of the pogroms in 1881, he took the Jewish refugees to Lemberg. Here he became acquainted with Sir Samuel Montagu (afterwards Lord Swaythling) and Laurence Oliphant, and he sought to win the former for the Palestinian colonization movement. On his return to Russia he called a conference at Warsaw and formed a *Chovevé Zion* Society. In the same year he undertook a journey to Paris to

obtain, through the Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn and M. Erlanger, Baron Edmond de Rothschild's support for the colonization movement. Returning again to Russia, he went on a propaganda tour, agitating in several towns in favour of Palestinian colonization. In 1885 he presided at the Kattowitz Conference. In 1890 he journeyed to the Palestinian colonies and witnessed the founding of the colony of Rechoboth.

Leo Motzkin was born in Russia and educated in Berlin. His intellectual versatility made him a leading personality in student circles and Jewish societies, particularly in the Zionist Organization. He soon attracted attention at the Congresses, and was delegated to proceed to Palestine and inquire into the condition of the colonies, on which he prepared a report. As a member of the Actions Committee, he took part in 1914 in a Commission consisting of Zionists appointed to inquire into the state of affairs in Palestine. He has also written valuable books and pamphlets on the Russo-Jewish problem.

Isaac Nissenbaum, born in Russia, lives in Warsaw, where he was one of the sub-editors of *Ha'zefirah* and a lecturer at the Zionist Synagogue. Though not a Rabbi, he belongs by virtue of his education, associations and the nature of his occupation to the Rabbinical world. A learned Talmudist, a powerful preacher and a prolific Hebrew writer, he has a worthy record in all these spheres.

Alfred Nossig, scientist, artist and journalist, was one of the first, perhaps the first in Galicia, to publish pamphlets in Polish in defence of Jewish nationalism. He has pursued a line of his own in Zionism, and from the point of view of the Zionist Organization his activities have often been open to criticism. But he deserves recognition, both as a man of letters and as a strenuous advocate of Palestinian colonization.

Daniel Pasmanik is a Russian Zionist who has done much propaganda work and proved himself a writer and journalist of extraordinary capability. His book *Die Seele Israels* (written in Russian and translated into German) is a noteworthy contribution to Zionist thought.

Jehiel Michael Pines (1842–1912), born and educated in Russia, a Hebrew writer and Talmudist, was elected delegate to a conference held in London by the Association *Mazkereth Mosheh* for the establishment of charitable institutions in Palestine in commemoration of the name of Sir Moses Montefiore ; in 1878 he was sent to Jerusalem to establish and organize such institutions. Thenceforward he lived in Palestine, working for the welfare of the Jewish community and interesting himself in the organization of Jewish colonies. In his Hebrew book, *Yalde Ruchi*, and particularly in Part I, *Rib Ami* (Mainz, 1872), he expounded the Jewish national idea. He was a contributor to all Hebrew periodical publications, especially to those in Palestine.

Samuel Poznanski pursued his studies at Berlin, and was already, as a young man, a rising representative of the Hebrew Revival. Having graduated, he returned to Poland, where he is now the Rabbi and Preacher of the Great Synagogue at Warsaw. His achievements in the field of Jewish scholarship are great and universally recognized. He has written many valuable books and treatises, all of which are the result of careful observation and patient study, and are distinguished by depth of thought. A devoted Hebraist, he contributes to Hebrew literature and the Press, and as a communal worker he has succeeded in counteracting destructive assimilationist tendencies by the advocacy of a sound traditional nationalism.

Rabbi Samuel Jacob Rabbinowitch, of Sopotkin (now in Liverpool), was first a *Chovev Zion* and early joined the Zionist Organization. His calm piety and gentle nature won him the hearts of all Zionists. He was for several years a member of the Zionist Actions Committee. He contributed a number of articles to *Ha'melitz*, which later were published under the title *Ha'dat Weha'leumit* (Warsaw, 1900). He has also written talmudic works.

Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines (1839–1915) was a great talmudic authority, author of halachic works, in which he taught the rigid application of logic to the solution of talmudic problems, and founder and principal of a modern *Yeshivah* (Rabbinical College) in Lida. He was an ardent *Chovev Zion*, and joined the Zionist movement, in which he became one of the most prominent workers, orators and propagandists. He occupied a high and influential position in orthodox Zionism, and was the founder of the orthodox Zionist section, *Misrachi*.

Rabbi Pinchas Rosowski, a great talmudic scholar and prominent Hebraist, was an enthusiastic *Chovev Zion*, and later a member of the Zionist Organization. He wrote articles inspired by the nationalist idea.

Jacob Saphir (1822–86), a Russian Jew, who settled in Palestine, was not directly connected with the new colonization. He was commissioned by the Jewish community of Jerusalem to undertake a journey through the southern countries, in order to collect alms for the poor Palestinian Jews. In 1854 he made a second tour, visiting Yemen, British India, Egypt and Australia. The result of this journey was his Hebrew book *Eben Saphir* (vol. i., Lyck, 1866; Mayence, 1874), in which work he gave the history and a vivid description of the Jews in the above-mentioned countries. There is in his book a touch of *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) and even of national sentiment.

His grandson, Elie Saphir, who died a few years ago, was a conspicuous figure among the pioneers of the new colonization by virtue of his great knowledge, especially of the Arabic language and literature, and the laws and customs of the country. A man of keen judgment, he occupied the position of assistant-manager

of the Anglo-Palestine Company at Jaffa. The leaders of financial and agricultural institutions were always eager to consult and confide in him. But he was essentially a scholar. His Hebrew writings, and particularly his last work *Ha'arez*—a physiographic and scientific examination of the conditions of Palestine —are of great value.

M. Smilanski, of Rechoboth, has one of the longest and best records of work in Hebrew literature. His writings on Palestinian colonization are as sound as his literary sketches are instructive.

A. Tannenbaum, of St. Petersburg, was an ardent *Chovev Zion* and an excellent Hebraist. Of his Hebrew writings, his study on "The Architecture of the Synagogues" (in the first volume of *Knesseth Israel*) is of enduring merit. This group strongly supported the local *Chovevé Zion* Society, which was of considerable importance. At that period Rosenfeld undertook with great courage and determination the propaganda in the first *Razsweet*, which, however, had to be suspended after a period of brilliant journalistic exploits in troublesome and stormy times (in the eighties), in which period the two years of that organization happened to fall. Later on, the late Salomon Gruzenberg, a medical man of great knowledge and an ardent Zionist, whose articles were characterized by soundness of argument, took up the same work in a new Russian weekly paper, entitled *Boudoushtshnost*, which managed to exist a little longer.

Vladimir Temkin was one of the most important and, undoubtedly, the most popular champion of the *Bilu*. An idealist, an enthusiast, an attractive personality and a powerful speaker, he possessed a special gift for propaganda, and became one of the chief organizers of colonization in Palestine. He belonged to the Zionist Organization from its inception, was a prominent Congress representative and member of the Actions Committee, and is to-day one of the leading Zionists.

Davis Trietsch has not always found the appreciation he deserved. He has been frequently drawn into controversies and misunderstood owing to the support he has given to schemes which appeared to be impracticable and fantastic, but in ordinary circumstances would not have given rise to opposition. But he is a man of varied experience and untiring activity, and his advice has often been very useful. He lived for a couple of years in Palestine, where he grappled with many forms of industrial work; he has written books, pamphlets and articles, and is an indefatigable advocate of the idea of colonization. He has given a considerable impetus to the study of Palestine and to many practical ideas.

Semion Weissenberg worked hard with Berman and Temkin in the St. Petersburg Students' Palestinophile Association, took part in the Odessa *Chovevé Zion* meetings, and later entered the

Zionist Organization, of which he is a prominent member. His bent lies in the direction of work in connection with the Jewish problem in Russia.

David Yellin (1858), a son-in-law of J. M. Pines, is one of the most eminent Hebraists and educationists in Palestine. The Zionist idea captured him early in life and grew upon him during his many-sided literary and educational career. He has written the best text-books of the Hebrew language, based on the principle of the modern method *Ibrith B'ibrith* (Hebrew in Hebrew), and has thus helped to make Hebrew a living language. He has been teacher and principal of several Hebrew schools and of the seminary for the training of teachers. He has many connections in England, and is on the Montefiore foundations in Palestine.

In St. Petersburg Zionism has now gained a strong footing, owing to the steady efforts of the distinguished, devoted and indefatigable member of the Actions Committee, Israel Rosoff, Michael Aleinikow, the able and gifted Abraham Idelsohn, A. J. Rapaport, as well as of the very able and devoted workers S. S. Babkow, W. Grossmann, A. Goldstein, S. J. Janovski, A. Seidemann, M. Sachs, and others. As far as Nationalism is concerned the learned and talented historian, Shimon Dubnow, and the group of his followers, are undoubtedly most faithful adherents to this idea, and the same may unhesitatingly be also said of N. M. Friedmann, M. Ch. Bomesch and E. R. Gurevitch, the members of the Duma, and many other leading St. Petersburg Jews. The old Zionist leader, Gregor Belkovsky, a man of high standing in the Zionist Organization, who has already been mentioned, has for many years been very active, his influence being still as great as ever.

The number of the *Chovevé Zion* societies increased. They watched each other's activities and emulated each other in brotherly devotion. The University groups were influenced by the literature and the press, as well as by the old leaders; and the old leaders were in their turn again stimulated by the ardour of the younger men. To return to the older *Chovevé Zion* societies and later Zionist societies, a few of the most important should be mentioned, as, for instance, the Odessa Group (or the Official Society), under the leadership of Pinsker, *Achad Ha'am*, M. L. Lilienblum, A. Grünberg (who was for some years President of the Society), Ch. Tschernowitz, L. Lewinski, Rawnitzki, S. N. Barbasch, A. E. Lubarski, Frankfeld, J. Klausner, M. Scheinkin, Ben Ami Rabinowitsch, and at a later period, Ussischkin, Bialik, S. A. Benzion-Guttmann, M. Kleinmann, Ch. Grinberg, and others. The Bialystok Group, with Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer, Dr. Chasanowitsch (who deserves an honoured place as a zealous pioneer of Nationalism and a great worker for the Hebrew revival in Palestine, and for his noble, almost life-

long efforts for the purpose of establishing his Hebrew library, "Baith Neeman," in Jerusalem) and Nissenbaum was of great importance during the lifetime of Rabbi Mohilewer and retained a great practical influence later, especially in consequence of the fact that the Bialystok *Chovevé Zion* themselves took a prominent part in various colonization schemes. The Warsaw Group had a principal leader in Isidore Jasinowski, a man of great sincerity, enthusiasm and love for the cause. An ardent *Chovev Zion*, he afterwards joined the Zionist movement, and, till the Territorialist split, remained devoted to the cause. The most energetic workers there were Schefer-Rubinoscitsch; J. M. Meyersohn; Eleasar Kaplan, who died recently and was an able and enterprising Nationalist, a most zealous worker, to whom great praise is due in connection with the *Achiasaf* and other Hebrew literary enterprises; W. Gluskin (one of the most notable workers and leaders), who joined with L. Kaplan in the foundation of the *Achiasaf* and *Ha-Zofe*, undertook afterwards the Directorship of the Palestine Wine Company, "Karmel," and settled in Rishon L'Zion, in Palestine, where he is now one of the leaders of the new colonization); Stawski; Mates Cohn; Dr. Bychowski; Samuel Luria; Dr. T. Hindes (who lived some years in Palestine, and takes a useful part in the propaganda); M. M. Pros; M. Feldstein (the well-known *Chovev Zion* and supporter of the literary movement, a prominent member and representative of Zionist institutions); J. Lewite; Jacob Braude; Rafalkes; Ginzburg; Friedland; L. Davidsohn; and others.

All these important workers were afterwards active in the Zionist Organization. The development of Zionism gave a new impetus to the Palestine propaganda and to the national movement. The University movement, though most vigorous in other parts of the Russian Empire, had only few adherents in Poland. It is worthy of note that Dr. Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto, was, during a certain period of his university career, a Jewish Nationalist of great zest, and a contributor to Rosenfeld's *Razsweet*. Meierowitz, the old *Bilu* pioneer, as well as the pioneer Freimann, came from Warsaw; Mekler, Elie Margulies, Manson (who died young) were the most prominent *Chovevé Zion* among the Warsaw students in the eighties. Only with the new Zionist Organization a strong movement of a local character came into being with adherents who were natives of the country, and this resulted in the production of literature and a Press in the native tongue. In this respect, the activity of the late Jan Kirszrot was very helpful. A great idealist, an honestly and deeply convinced Zionist, who had been brought to the cause out of assimilated surroundings, a worker of the most generous impulses, and a writer *par excellence* in the Polish language (like many other young Zionists of assimilated education he had acquired the knowledge of Hebrew), he worked side

by side with the gifted and devoted Isaac Grunbaum, who became in later years a prominent leader, a publicist of excellent abilities and a worker of great intellectual integrity; also with the zealous Nahum Syrkin, whose significant activities extended over a large sphere, with the remarkable, energetic, indefatigable worker Leon Lewite, with the keen, persistent and conscientious Zelig Weizmann, the graceful and judicious S. Seidemann, the sound and forceful Isaac Gruenbaum, the talented and consistent Hartglass (for a certain period), the keen and learned Shimon Rundstein, the intellectual and devoted Julian Kaliski, and a number of other young writers and organizers—in connection with older Zionists and men of letters, and together with the general Zionist Organization, particularly with the younger and more progressive element. They had founded a Nationalist group "Safroth," issued a Zionist weekly in Polish (*Prgyszlose*), and published a very interesting miscellany in that language. Kirszrot's life of devotion to the highest ideals and his brilliantly youthful career were unhappily cut short by the hand of death.

But the University nationalist Jewish movement had begun. A change was in process, the extensive scope of which was scarcely noticed by the representatives of Assimilation, to whom it seemed that the small group of students and intellectuals consisted merely of visionaries and dreamers. Yet there obtained in this apparently insignificant group a vitality which was destined to become a powerful factor in the life of Polish Jewry. The evolution of this young movement was the result of the whole Zionist movement, the rapid growth of Jewish cultural life, of Jewish education, of the Jewish literature and press, of which all Warsaw had become a very important centre. At that period we see already the influential Zionist leaders busy with great Zionist work. Zionism, the Hebrew Revival, national education, the defence of Jewish interests and of the national principle in communal affairs, now engaged the attention and support of the generous, experienced, and beloved Abraham Podliszewski, of the acute and energetic H. Farbstein, of the thorough and dignified Dr. Poznanski, of the calm and pacific Dr. Mintz, of the strong, vigilant and inflexible Isaac Gruenbaum, the devoted and popular Nissenbaum, Dr. Klumel, Olschwanger, M. I. Freid, Dr. Hindes, Horodischtsch, Dunajewski, Dr. Gottlieb, Zabludowski, the educational worker and excellent Hebraist S. L. Gordon, and of many others. In this camp we meet again all the *Chovevé Zion* of bygone days.

The same development took place at Lodz, where the able, eloquent Dr. Jelski, Dr. Silberstrom and others had long been at work, and where afterwards a strong Zionist group, with the esteemed and influential Dr. M. Braude as guide and leader, was doing most useful work. In Minsk we find working in the *Chovevé Zion* movement Joshua Syrkin, the man of faith and

energy, whose mind is well stored with treasures of Hebrew literature, and here we also meet with the zealous Neifach, the late Rabbi Chaneles, and the eminently able Wilbuschewitsch family. We come again across them later in Zionism together with the active Zionist workers Kaplan, Churgin, Berger and others. In Pinsk at the *Chovevé Zion* period, Eisenberg, Rosenbaum, Hiller, Naiditsch, Pinchas Breymar, J. Breyman, L. Berger, Maslanski were the leaders. The aged Reb Dowidel (Friedmann), the great Talmudist, pious and saintly, supported the Movement and took part in the Kattowitz Conference. Among them we can trace Naiditsch, now of the Actions Committee; Eisenberg, the great authority on colonization—in Rechoboth, Palestine; Maslanski, the powerful preacher at New York; Weizmann, a member of the Inner Actions Committee, and S. Rosenbaum, the lawyer, the member of the First Duma, and Lithuanian statesman, who proved his worth during many years as member of the Actions Committee, as legal adviser, as representative of several Zionist institutions, as a great worker in the Organization, and as a defender of Zionism in Russia. In Wilna, the late S. J. Finn, and his son the late Dr. Finn, Joseph Gurland, Ch. L. Markon, Triwusch, Gordon (who settled later on in Palestine), Miriam Zalkind, who founded the Society of the "Daughters of Zion"; Lewanda, Fischel Pines, who attended the Kattowitz Conference; Ben-jakob, Isaac Goldberg, Boris Goldberg, Neuschul and others very early took an interest in the *Chovevé Zion* movement. In the Zionist Organization, Wilna at a certain period was the centre of activity, from the point of view of organization, propaganda and press. Ben-jakob did good work for the Jewish Colonial Trust, Neuschul is a thorough and devoted Nationalist. Among those in Wilna who succeeded in rising to the height of national importance, doing at the same time great national work of a general character, and useful, indispensable local work in Russia, belong the two excellent and distinguished Zionists: Isaac and Boris Goldberg.

The influence of these Russian and Polish enthusiasts soon spread further. Mention has already been made of the *Kadimah* of the Vienna University and of Nathan Birnbaum, one of its leaders. Others of its prominent members were: Dr. N. T. Schnierer, the physician, scholar and editor, who was a highly respected member of the First Zionist Actions Committee; the gifted brothers Marmorek, supporters of Herzl and his political Zionism; Schalit, who represented the sympathetic, real Viennese type; the very capable and devoted Werner, who became later one of the secretaries of Herzl and editor of the *Welt;* the well-known polemical journalist, S. R. Landau; the reserved and learned Berkovitsch; the energetic and faithful Alkalai of Serbia, who has been a member of the Actions Committee since the inception of the Zionist Organiza-

tion ; [1] the devoted worker, M. Moscowitz of Roumania, who was a member of the Actions Committee (he recently died in Palestine, where he was physician of the colony Rechoboth) ; the enthusiast, Caleff of Bulgaria ; Erwin Rosenberger, and many others from different countries.

The similarity of their views on Jews and Judaism brought them more and more closely together, and they soon agreed that the fundamental views of the higher-educated Jews of the time were in need of a change, and that a vigorous attack against the theory of assimilation prevailing among Western European Jews would have to take place. They clearly realized that the lever ought to be applied to the academical youth, not only because those circles were nearest to them, but because in their midst the assimilation theory had found most adherents. The assumption seemed justified that the academical youth once converted would propagate the national Jewish idea with all the fire of its enthusiasm and authority among the largest strata of the population. These few young men soon obtained a small addition of courageous fellow-combatants, and a phalanx was at once formed which undertook the foundation of an academic Jewish national union. Their aspirations met with powerful support and advancement from a man whose name shines in golden letters in the history of Jewish literature—Perez Smolenskin. A profound judge of the human soul, an even more thorough investigator of the Jewish national psyche, he at the same time wielded in a masterly way the language of the prophets. He had fought for years in numerous writings, and particularly in his monthly publication *Hashahar*, against the dissolving tendencies and for the nationalization of Judaism with all the brilliancy of his mind and all the sharpness of his caustic satire. How welcome to him must have been the small band of Jewish university students who undertook to carry his ideas into practical life and to make them the common property of the Jewish academical youth. Until his death Smolenskin was to them a kind and wise leader. Among many other obligations, the Union owes him its name.

At the beginning of the summer term of 1882 there appeared for the first time upon the notice-board of the Vienna University an appeal of a Jewish national society, addressed to the corporation of Jewish students. The sensation produced by this appeal was extraordinary. The Christian students shook their heads incredulously, while most Jewish students poured out upon the

[1] It is noteworthy that Zionism is an old tradition of the Alkalai family. Rabbi Jehouda Alkalai (died in 1878) was a precursor of political Zionism which he expounded in his *Goral L'Adonai* (Vienna, 1857 ; Amsterdam, 1858; Warsaw, 1903). He was the author of *Minchath Yehouda* (Vienna, 1843) in honour of the Montefiore and Cremieux mission, 1840. He addressed also a special appeal to the English Jews in favour of Zionism and wrote further series of other Zionist pamphlets in Hebrew. There were also other members of the Alkalai family who were closely connected with Palestine and devoted to the idea of its colonization by the Jewish people.

innovators a flood of scorn and ridicule. And not only the students but the middle-classes, the official representatives of Judaism, opposed the *Kadimah* most mercilessly. It was a contest of all against a few. But the few went on, calm and undismayed ; engrossed by the magnitude of the idea for which they fought, they unswervingly pursued their aim. The *Kadimaner* propagated the Jewish national ideal by innumerable lectures, meetings and publications. Their number increased constantly, and by and by a specific Jewish national student life developed at Vienna University, which began to throb with increased intensity when the *Kadimah*, compelled by the conditions of the Vienna University, was transformed into a fighting, " duel-bound " association. People may hold different opinions about duelling at most Western European Universities, but one thing must be admitted, namely, that it has had a favourable influence upon the physical development of the Jewish young manhood, and that the duelling Jewish student corporation gained the esteem of its Christian colleagues. Partly through this transformation and partly through the growing propagation of the national ideal among the Jewish students, the number of Jewish national academical unions was gradually increased. One association after another came into existence : " Unitas," " Ivria," " Gamala," " Libanonia," " Hasmonäa," and others ; so that there exists at the present day, at nearly every university at which Jewish students study, a Jewish national student association.

Old Assimilants looked upon this movement at first as a farce. Certainly no one at that time anticipated that the mainsprings of new life perceptible in many different places would soon become a powerful source of cleansing and reviving Judaism. As the preparatory work for creating a clearer conception of things was at first confined to groups of such young men, most opponents looked upon it as a pastime only fit for young, inexperienced schoolboys. Meanwhile, the movement continued to make rapid progress. At the end of the eighties there existed an important association in Berlin, which was at first somewhat theoretical in character, but very soon afterwards became a sister society of the Vienna Association, taking also the name of *Kadima*. In this organization we come across a great number of workers whose names are inseparably bound up with the history of the Zionist Organization and with Jewish national literature in all languages.

The large number of young men who have been associated with the Jewish National Students' Association at Berlin would make a list too long for detailed enumeration. But the following must specially be mentioned :—

Shemaryah Levin was born in Russia. He is an enthusiastic nationalist, a good Hebrew scholar, and as an exceptionally effective speaker he attained considerable popularity already as a young student. He lectured on Hebrew literature and attracted much attention. Having graduated, he returned to

Russia, and was Rabbi in Grodno. Later, he lived for some time in Warsaw, where he devoted himself to Hebrew literary work in connection with *Achiasaf*, and possessing great mastery over the Hebrew language, he wrote books and pamphlets of great value. Since then he has contributed to numerous Hebrew reviews. Some time afterwards he was Rabbi in Ekaterinoslaw and Wilna, and was elected a member of the first Russian Duma, where he distinguished himself as a most able speaker and worker. Then he left Russia and settled abroad. Already as a youth he was most active in the *Chovevé Zion* movement; later he took a prominent part in the Zionist Organization, and is now a member of its Small Actions Committee and one of the most influential leaders. An excellent orator, closely attached to Palestine, where he has lived for a considerable time, a plodding worker, he has for some years been busily engaged in propaganda work in Europe and America.

Victor Jacobsohn was born in Russia, and brought up from his infancy in an intensely assimilated (Russianized) environment. His father was a judge at Simferopol, but the son became irresistibly drawn towards Jewish nationalism. He was much influenced by the Berlin Students' Group. An accomplished young man, of splendid literary taste, a lover of fine art, thoroughly impressed with the righteousness of the national cause, he soon became one of the leaders among the students. After having graduated, he returned to Russia, where he took a large and active share in the *Chovevé Zion* movement, and took up the Zionist Movement from the time of its inauguration. He was very soon elected member of the Actions Committee, but, apart from his work for the Organization as a whole, he was, when still in Russia, a steady and successful local worker. He then moved to the East, living in Palestine and in Constantinople, where he devoted himself entirely to Zionist work, both financial and political. Being a business man as well as a man of letters, a political thinker as well as an able financier, he has become one of the most influential Zionist leaders. He is a member of the Small Actions Committee.

Chaim Weizmann, who was born in Russia, was already in his boyhood very active in the young *Chovevé Zion* movement. During his studies at the Charlottenburg Polytechnic he took a leading part in the Berlin Jewish National Students' Association. Of amiable and genial disposition, a pleasant and persuasive speaker, inseparably bound up with the deep national affection and humour of the Jewish home in Russia, young Weizmann soon gained great popularity among his fellow-students. Later he came into great and well-merited prominence at the Zionist Congresses and Conferences. With Feiwel, Buber and others he was most active in the Students' propaganda, and during his visits to Russia took a prominent part in the propaganda there. Having graduated, he went to Switzerland, and was soon ap-

pointed Lecturer of Chemistry at the Geneva University, where he became the central figure of the West Zionist Group. About that time he, with Feiwel, Buber and others, conceived the idea of a Jewish University. At the Basle Congress in 1901 the Actions Committee had included the question of the establishment of a Palestine University in their programme, and Herzl took steps to obtain a concession for the University from the Turkish Government; but, in consequence of the pressure of other problems, this project was lost sight of for some years. The movement in favour of this idea, however, continued to develop, and its inception as well as its popularity is due to Weizmann more than to any other Zionist. The general Zionist activity of Weizmann grew from one Congress to another. He was elected member of the Actions Committee and of several important Zionist institutions. He has been living in England for some years now, occupying a chair in the faculty of chemistry at the Manchester University and taking a leading part in the English Zionist Federation. (The new University Scheme, and Weizmann's activity in this direction, are described elsewhere.)

Leo Motzkin, Berthold Feiwel, Martin Buber and Joseph Lurie, also prominent in this circle, have already been mentioned.

In the Berlin group we also come across Isidor Eliaschew, a refined critic of great artistic culture, an important contributor to Jewish literature—mostly in Yiddish. His talents and information are of the most varied character, for he is the author of charmingly written essays, studies, monographs and sketches extending over a wide sphere of thought. He occupied a leading position in the radical wing of Zionism and among the literary workers of the Renaissance. We also come across Soskin, a clear-minded, enterprising and practical Zionist, a young man of wonderful foresight and an agricultural engineer of renown; further, Berman, whose studies were concentrated on colonizing work. Both of them went to Palestine later, and supervised colonization work there, acquiring in that way much valuable information and experience, which they recorded in various instructive books. We also find there Nachman Syrkin, the radical propagandist, the leader of the Zionist-Socialists; the able and cautious Estermann; Elie Davidsohn, who took a prominent part in discussing the open controversy between the various sections; Wilenski, an active and enthusiastic worker of considerable influence, first abroad and later in Russia; Mirkin, powerful, energetic and highly respected; Meschorer, determined and broad-minded, who, though not identifying himself with the Organization, worked hard in Warsaw when first the propaganda for securing capital for the Jewish Colonial Trust was set on foot, and died recently; Grigory Wilbuschewitsch, one of the family of energetic enthusiasts for and in Palestine; Salkind of Minsk;

Kunin, a loyal and devoted worker; Pevsner, who worked zealously; and—last, but not least—Ch. D. Gurevitsch, the excellent Hebrew writer and essayist, novelist and publicist, a contributor to the Hebrew and Yiddish Press, a learned economist who was particularly interested in introducing his economic programme into Zionism, who expounded the idea in a lecture he delivered at a Conference of Russian Zionists held at Minsk in 1902. Then there were also Davis Trietsch and Ephraim Lilien, who have already been mentioned.

In course of time the movement spread steadily and systematically. Similar associations were soon founded in Heidelberg, Munich, Leipzig, Königsberg, Breslau, Berne, Zurich, Geneva, Lauzanno, Montpellier and Galicia.

The Jewish University students, particularly those hailing from Russia, pursued their studies at different universities, often passing from one to another. We, therefore, find some of them changing their places and activities in the Movement. For this reason it is impossible to follow a precisely geographical or chronological course.

At Heidelberg, Joseph Klausner and Saul Tschernichewski were already active before the First Zionist Congress took place. Loeb Jaffe of Grodno, who combined idealism with practical astuteness, wrote emotional Zionist poetry, and at the same time did organization work perhaps more than any other Jewish student who happened to be at Heidelberg. Later he became a great Zionist worker, organizer, editor and member of the Actions Committee in Russia. Gurland of Wilna, Eliasberg of Pinsk, Feitlowitsch, J. Melnik, Blumenfeld and others were the pioneers of the Zionist idea who had rallied around Professor Herman Schapiro, that venerable and cherished veteran, who, aided by his devoted wife, made his home a rendezvous of the local Zionist group. In Munich, the intellectual and kind-hearted brothers Strauss, members of an old noble Jewish family, worked together with G. Halpern, who during his University career had already distinguished himself by his great talents, and who was a good economist, a journalist of great skill, and a devoted Zionist worker. At a later period he was elected member of the Actions Committee. Lew, Izkovitsch, Abramowitsch and Nemzer may be mentioned among others. The last-named had greatly endeared himself to his fellow-students by his sincerity and warm-heartedness. He died very young, in Riga (1906), in a tragic way, a martyr's death. At Leipzig there was also Loeb Jaffe, working with the devoted Kunin, who became in the last few years one of the pioneer workers in Palestine, as manager of Medjdel; and also Gurland, the engineering student at Mitwreida, as well as others.

It is interesting to glance back upon the various stages of propaganda in order to discover how the Russian Jews influenced their brethren abroad, how Zionism infused new life into the

older *Chovevé Zion* movement, and how the present important representatives of new Zionism gradually appeared upon the scene and took up so strong a position.

A little society for the support of Palestine colonization was already in existence in Berlin as recently as 1871, but there seems to be little on record about it. At the beginning of the eighties there was a venerable, orthodox Rabbi, Dr. Israel Hildesheimer, assisted by his son Hirsch, together with some other members, notably the philanthropist S. Lachmann, Willy Bambus, a devoted Zionist, who travelled in Palestine, and has published many pamphlets and articles, and in connection with a *Chovevé Zion* of Russia, M. Turow, took an important part in the *Chovevé Zion* movement, and the late Moses of Kattowitz. We read already, in Dr. Rülf's appeal of 1882 : " Do not divide us ; take us to places where we can live together, remain together, and work together as a united community, *arranged like any other human society*, where we may be Jews, without being interfered with " (this circular was issued in English by Haim Guedalla), and that is a trumpet-call of Zionism. Rülf, the Rabbi of Memel, was a man of genius and thoroughness, who was well known for his talent as an author of philosophical works, a theologian, preacher, and above all a noble character : he afterwards took part in the Zionist Movement and in the Congress. In 1884, a society for the support of a Jewish colonization in Palestine, called " Esra," was founded in Berlin. In Cologne a *Chovevé Zion* group was established through the efforts of David Wolffsohn, Dr. M. Bodenheimer, Rubensohn and others. The Jewish National Students' Association, consisting first almost exclusively of foreigners, gradually attracted the best elements of the local Jewish youth. One of the first and foremost was H. Löwe, a young man of great enthusiasm and energy, of vigorous eloquence, who travelled in Palestine and appeared at the First Congress as a delegate from Jaffa.

Arthur Friedemann, an able student, a member of an old and honoured family ; Gronemann, the son of a respected Rabbi, a brilliant student and an excellent Jew ; Klee, a keen propagandist and attractive speaker ; Jungmann, a humorous, attractive and talented writer ; Hantke, who distinguished himself by profound honesty of purpose and love of detail, and as a highly gifted, indefatigable and successful organizer ; Jeremias, a faithful adherent to the movement (he died recently) ; Elias and Israel Auerbach, who possessed, besides their noble Jewish national aspirations, the most excellent literary gifts ; Zlozisti, a fine writer and a poet full of wit and humour ; Kalmus, a quiet, steady and enthusiastic Zionist worker ; Sandler, an eminently able young scholar ; Kollenscher, a strong political Zionist ; Chamitzer, a faithful and zealous adherent of the Organization ; the late Pell, an eminent propagandist and organizer ; Leszynski, a quiet, persistent and conscientious member of the party ;

Witkowsky, an intelligent and active supporter; Oscar Levy; Emil Cohn, an eminently able theologian; Goldberg, a determined worker in the Organization; Edelstem; A. Wiener, a whole-hearted, ardent worker; and at a later period, Gideon Heymann, a young man of burning zeal and considerable attainments; Blumenfeld, a propagandist of great eloquence and literary talents; Brunn, Hildesheimer and other medical men, steady workers, who devoted themselves to medical work in Palestine; Salomon, the brothers Treidel, Biram, a studious and very clever pedagogical worker, who recently was engaged together with Tachauer in Haifa, Löwenberg in Jerusalem, and others in national educational work; Richard Lichtheim, a gifted adherent to the cause; Rosenblüth, an able worker; Weinberg; Goitein (the latter died recently), who assisted in the work of the Palestinian Office, and many others—all of them took part in the University movement.

We find most of them joining in later years the Zionist Organization, which was in course of time supported by a representation of the older generation. Otto Warburg, botanist, author and professor, was an active member of the "Esra" for a long time. He then joined the Zionist Organization, and placed his great scientific knowledge at the service of the Movement, especially for the purpose of colonization work. Simple-minded, of high integrity and unassuming, he worked with a quiet determination and an intense love of Palestine. He edited *Palästina*, *Altneuland*, founded the Palestine Land Development Company, was elected member of the Small Actions Committee and succeeded David Wolffsohn in 1911. Hantke, so devout in national aspirations and with such great capacity for organization, and an exceptional record of local work for some years, entered the Small Actions Committee at the same time. Dr. Bodenheimer, one of the oldest and most prominent Zionists, was an excellent practical worker in the management of the Jewish National Fund. Dr. Oppenheimer, the famous economist, gave a great impetus to co-operative work in Palestine. Dr. Ruppin, a man of great learning, high intelligence, wonderful energy, and an exceptionally active administrator, had the largest share in the management of practical work in Palestine, and a considerable record of literary work in connection with the problems of colonization. And in the work of organization Julius Simon proved an eminent worker; likewise Dr. Moses, an experienced Zionist; H. Schachtel, indefatigable in important work; Hermann Struck; Wagner, a splendid worker, the well-known painter and Zionist worker of high religious sentiment, and Dr. Frank, the leader of the "Misrachi."

A similar development took place in all other countries. The revival among the Jewish students at the Swiss universities commenced in the eighties, and there again we come across many who in later years have achieved leading positions in literature,

in the Zionist Organization, or in educational and practical work in Palestine. Among the names of note at the Bern University we may mention: Mossensohn, Bogratschow, Jacob Rabinovitscz, Metman-Cohn, Jochelmann, Aron Michael, Boruchow, Isaac, Loeb Boruchowitsch, J. Becker, Chissin, Glikson, Rabin, Salkind, Melamed, Klazkin, Bernstein, Seleger, Robinsohn, Marschak, Meir Pines and many others; in Geneva: Weizmann, Harari, M. and Mme. Aberson, Grunblatt, Stupnitzki, and later Daniel Pasmanik, Ben Ami Rabinowitsch, and others; in Zurich: David Farbstein, Felix Pinkus, Mlle. Reines (later Mme. Davidsohn); in Basle: Ezekiel Wortsmann—and many others.

Switzerland, the favourite place of students and political international workers, became of course a great centre of intellectual Zionist activity. The circumstance that the First Zionist Congress, as well as most of the following ones, took place in Switzerland, contributed much to the importance of this centre. The number of Jewish students from Eastern Europe, particularly owing to the great facilities with regard to university studies in Switzerland at that time in comparison with other countries, has for some time been very considerable. The pressure occasioned by the exceptional restrictions, which interfered with Jewish education in Russia, caused a steady increase in this number, while, as a natural and psychological effect, the baseness and injustice of the restrictions awakened in the Jewish young men a consciousness of their real position and of the necessity for a radical solution. It was there that the battles were fought between the young, enthusiastic champions of the different movements: Socialists, Bundists and various schools of Zionism, conservative, radical, political, practical, etc.

All the aforementioned pioneers could be found at work at those different periods, and afterwards. To mention only a few of them, Weizmann's activities had considerably developed when in Geneva; Mossensohn, a man of striking individuality and an orator of renown, was a most active propagandist, thoroughly nationalist; he became afterwards professor and subsequently director of the Hebrew Gymnasium at Jaffa; Metman-Cohn and Bogratschow, both widely read and fine scholars, also Marschak and Harari did much to cause a great revival of Hebrew in Palestine; Rabin is a pedagogical worker who did good work in Palestine and Russia; A. U. Boruchow, pre-eminent among Zionist intellectuals, took a conspicuous part in the Poale-Zion movement; Chissin distinguished himself in practical work in Palestine; Klazkin, Boruchowitsch, Melamed and Bernstein are well-known Hebrew writers, most gifted and very active, and regarded as important in the Zionist Movement; Aberson was well known as a smart disputant and propagandist; Stupnitzki is a thoughtful Yiddish publicist; J. Becker, who really belongs to the Berlin group, has for many years been most actively

engaged in the Movement, he has been editor of the *Welt* and has published many reports of the Congresses ; in the same direction, and of a similar character, was the activity of Pinkus ; Jochelman joined, after years of useful and honest Zionist work, the Territorialist movement, of which he is one of the leaders ; Wortsmann is an arduous Zionist writer of inexhaustible energy. David Farbstein of Warsaw was one of the most prominent pioneers. A very learned and discreet lawyer, with a mind stored with useful information, and a good Hebrew scholar, he was highly appreciated at the First Congress, and was able to give valuable legal advice in matters appertaining to financial questions. Daniel Pasmanik developed considerable activity at a later epoch and devoted himself with exceptional sincerity to propaganda work ; as a writer and journalist of extraordinary capabilities and of great vivacity, he became an invaluable contributor to the Zionist press, particularly in Russia. Lastly, we must mention the Montpellier group, with its leaders : Mohilewer, Kalwaryjski, Buchmil, Mlle. Imas (later Mme. Buchmil), Einhorn, Katzmann, Miss Ginsberg (later Mme. Krause), and others.

Old Zionists will remember what a significant impression the appearance of the Montpellier delegates created at the First Congress. Later experiences confirmed this favourable impression. Kalwaryjski is now successfully engaged as manager of the Rothschild Colonies in Upper Galilee, in Palestine ; Mohilewer, the grandson of Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer, worthily upholds the traditions of his family, and occupies the post of a capable communal Rabbi in Bialystok ; Buchmil is engaged in propaganda ; Katzmann did good work in America, where he lives ; and Einhorn, an excellent agricultural engineer and a fine Hebraist, has written a very useful book on this subject.

In Galicia, the Movement can be traced back to the early eighties, and it was closely connected with the Vienna *Kadima*. Some of the Galicians belonged to different groups in Germany, Switzerland and other countries. In later years the Universities of Lemberg and Cracow became great centres of the Jewish national movement. Ruben Bierer belonged to the founders of the *Kadima*, also Birnbaum, who is a Galician. Practically most of the Vienna *Kadima* students were Galicians, and also a certain number of the Berlin *Kadima*. To the most distinguished Zionist leaders belongs Mordecai Braude of Lemberg, who graduated at Freiburg, was Rabbi at Stanislau, and only missed by a small minority being elected to the Austrian Diet. He is now Rabbi and Preacher at the Great Synagogue in Lodz, Poland. A man of learning and high character, he showed immense capacity for Zionist work, as also in his rabbinical career.

Stand, Korkis, Zipper, Rabbi Schmelkes, Malz, Schiller (living in Palestine), Thon, Wahrhaftig, Hausmann, Waschitz, Emil Reich, Silbermann, Kornhäuser, Reis, Waldmann, Schorr, Zimmermann, Samuel Rapaport, Balaban and many others—

now important Zionist workers—were mostly influenced by the University movement. Stand has a fine record as a brilliant Zionist and politician. He, with Mahler, Straucher and the late Gabel, formed a Jewish National Club, composed of members of the Austrian Parliament. As a political speaker he always strove to spread the truth concerning the Jewish situation in all its purity and strength. Alfred Nossig, mentioned already in another connection, also came from Galicia.

Although Zionism played an important part in Western Europe, Russia has yet always been the most important centre of Zionist propaganda. The penetration of Zionism into University circles began, naturally enough, in that country, where Jewish life is so real, where the knowledge of the Hebrew language and of the national past is so widely diffused, and where the persecutions have always been so strongly felt. There were several centres of the movement; but, while one of those centres was considered the foremost as far as national aspirations were concerned, and others in other directions, there was one that seemed the most prominent from the beginning, and which seemed destined to rank far above the others, namely, Charkow.

A *Chovevé Zion* group was founded at Charkow in 1882, which was the *Bilu*—mostly composed of University students. Israel Belkind, the most zealous, true-hearted and indefatigable worker, was one of the first leaders; this group was in connection with another *Chovevé Zion* Society, which was at that time already in existence in Krementhsug, of which David Levontin (now Managing Director of the Anglo-Palestine Company), one of the first *Chovevé Zion* of Russia, and one of the first pioneers in Palestine, was the President. The latter Society was in touch with David Gordon in Lyck, and with some other societies which were already in existence in various parts of Russia. They were also in touch with Jehiel Brill, the editor of the *Ha-Lebanon*, and with M. Pines of Rishnoi. The banker Karassik in Charkow was the Treasurer of the *Bilu* Society. Joseph Feinberg, an intellectual communal worker and a good linguist, who had graduated in chemistry in Switzerland, was at the time in touch with Dr. Mandelstamm, in Kiew, who was greatly interested in the movement. The *Bilu* Society sent twenty propagandists all over Russia, with the result that 525 members joined. The central office was in Charkow. The Society eventually came into touch with Dr. N. Adler, Sir Moses Montefiore and Laurence Oliphant. An office was opened in Odessa and another in Constantinople, where an Appeal was issued (see Appendix LXXIX, "The Manifesto of the *Bilu* (1882)"). After a meeting in January, 1882, Levontin and Feinberg were sent to Palestine for the purpose of purchasing land. The negotiations with Oliphant, who was at that time in Constantinople, having fallen through, the representatives of the *Bilu* addressed themselves directly to the Ottoman Government, and were

received by the Grand Vezir. And Levontin and Feinberg, having found some suitable plots of land in the South of Palestine, negotiated with the Bedouins for the purchase of them.

In June, 1882 (the 7th of Tammus), the first *Bilu* party, consisting of fourteen persons (among whom was one girl, Debora, the sister of Israel Belkind, now the wife of Dr. Chissin), and later joined by further six persons, arrived in Palestine. Grave difficulties arose, however, in connection with the formalities for the purchase of the land. Meanwhile, a number of new pioneers had arrived also from Roumania.

In Roumania, in 1882, the Zion Society at Galatz had voted ten thousand francs towards the project of the colonization of Palestine. At Jassy a committee, comprised of the most influential members of the Jewish community, was formed to collect subscriptions for the same object. The Palestine Colonization Society at Berlad sent a delegate to the Holy Land to confer with the Governor on the question as to the purchase of land. The office of the Central Committee of the Society for Promoting Jewish Emigration from Roumania (preferably to Palestine) was in Galatz, under the control of M. Samuel Pineles. The President was (in 1882) M. Isaac Löbel, and M. Abeles at Galatz, M. Neuschotz at Jassy, M. Marco Schein, L. Goldberg, Dr. L. Lippe, M. Mattes and M. Weinberg. Dr. Moses Gaster, at that time a young but influential man, strongly supported the movement. On the 4th May, 1882, a general meeting was held at Jassy concerning the Palestine Colonization Scheme. Laurence Oliphant was the central figure of this assembly, and power of attorney was given him by the Committee to negotiate on their behalf at Constantinople. It was also resolved to send a commission to Palestine to purchase land (E. Cohn, Helman, Denirerman). At that period there were forty-nine Palestinian societies in Roumania. A new Society was founded: "The Advanced Guard" ("Chaluzei Yessod Ha-Maala") (see Appendix XCI: "The Advanced Guard"), with David Levontin as President, F. M. Halsoferes, Treasurer, A. N. Hillel, A. Lande, S. Sogrisebas of Roumania, as members, and later on S. A. Schulman as Secretary.

At this period Mr. Moore was the British Consul at Jerusalem, and M. Hayman Amzulak, a respected Jaffa citizen, was British Consular Agent at Jaffa. The *Chovcvé Zion* expected great help from England. M. Amzulak, who was himself a Jew, took a keen interest in the movement and, evidently encouraged by Mr. Moore, went to Constantinople for the purpose of helping to surmount the difficulties. Unfortunately, the war in Egypt had just broken out, and owing to the strained diplomatic relations between Britain and Turkey in consequence of the occupation of Egypt, the moment did not prove opportune for the intentions of M. Amzulak and Laurence Oliphant. It looked as if in that way nothing could be done. At last 3300 Dunan

were bought at Rishon, but new funds were much needed. M. Amzulak was elected Honorary President of the "Advanced Guard," and appeals were sent to England. Meanwhile new groups, which despatched their envoys to several countries, were formed. In April, 1882, M. Hirsch Braun and M. Isaac Temkin of Elizabethgrad, Russia, proceeded to Vienna, Paris and London on behalf of 150 families of Elizabethgrad, comprising nine hundred persons in all, who had raised a fund of thirty thousand roubles for the purpose of migrating to Palestine. But this plan and similar schemes were still in an undeveloped stage, while the *Bilu* business, which had already been started, was really pressing. The Company wanted a loan of thirty thousand francs. In 1883 M. Feinberg was delegated to go abroad to get this loan. He went first to Vienna, where the *Chovevé Zion* Society (called "Ahirath Zion"), with Perez Smolenskin, Dr. Schnirer and Kremenezky was already in existence. M. Feinberg was introduced to various committees which promised contributions, provided the Paris *Chovevé Zion* would head the list. M. Feinberg went to Paris holding letters of introduction from the former teacher, Professor Herman Schapiro, to M. Zadoc Cahn, the Grand Rabbin of France, and was well received by the French rabbi, who got him in touch with M. Michel Erlanger. In that way he was introduced to the *Alliance Israélite*, and to Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and succeeded in getting the required loan.

This was practically the first colonization experiment of Jewish *immigrants*. The die was cast. The nucleus of colonization by immigrants had been formed. This pioneer group naturally could not remain very long in that place, because it was badly suited for that purpose. There were no means, skill, method, or experience. Great privation was endured. The little group soon found itself in a deplorable condition ; some of them, overwhelmed by hardships, anxiety, disappointment and despair, had to leave ; but the "survival of the fittest" prevailed. Some went to *Mikveh Israel*, where they worked as farm labourers, others to Katra, twenty-five miles south-west of Jaffa, where M. Pines had bought some three hundred Dunam of land for them. But the fact remains that these students and idealists were the first in the field as Palestinian colonizers. The present writer had the moral satisfaction to meet survivors of these pioneers in Palestine six years ago : the old-experienced settlers, M. Tschernow in Rishon L'Zion and M. Leibowitz in Katra, and Israel Belkind, the most enthusiastic worker—all three veterans of the struggle for the survival on the land.

But all these difficulties only stimulated the efforts of other new pioneers. The *Bilu* stirred up the enthusiasm of all noble-minded Jewish students at the Russian Universities.

(2) Modern Hebrew Literature

The necessarily brief outline in the text may be supplemented by some account of the principal figures in Hebrew literature during the last generation. The names are in alphabetical order.

Ben-Avigdor (Schalkowitsch, 1866), born in Warsaw, was Secretary of the *Bnei Mosheh*, for some years assistant manager of the Publication Society, *Achiasaf*, and founded in 1897 the new Publication Company, *Tushiah*, which has published hundreds of new Hebrew books, particularly in the domain of education. His idea was to create a popular Hebrew literature, and he has greatly stimulated Hebrew writing and Hebrew education. He is himself a successful and prolific Hebrew novelist.

S. Benzion (Gutman), born in Russia, has done important literary and pedagogical work in Odessa, and during the last few years in Palestine. He is one of the best Hebrew writers of our time ; his stories are remarkable for beauty, charm and vividness of language. He has contributed to many Hebrew reviews and newspapers, and has co-operated in the publication of *Achiasaf*, *Tushiah*, and *Moriah*, chiefly in the domain of pedagogical literature. He was also editor of the excellent review *Moledeth* at Jaffa. A selection of his sketches and tales was published not long ago.

M. J, Berditchevski is an original stylist and a prose-poet of great sensibility and mystic beauty, distinguished especially for his gift of allegory. His mode of thought is original, sometimes eccentric, but always spiritual.

Simon Bernfeld, born in Galicia, and graduated in Germany. He is one of the most prolific and distinguished of Hebrew writers. During the last years of David Gordon's life he was a regular contributor to *Ha'magid*, and after Gordon's death was for a time editor of that paper. At that time he ardently supported Jewish nationalism and the *Chovevé Zion*. After a couple of years as Chief Rabbi at Belgrade he returned to Germany and devoted himself entirely to literary and journalistic work, mostly in Hebrew. He has been a regular contributor to the Hebrew press all over the world. He has written also a large number of books on history and the philosophy of religion, and many biographies. His vast erudition and his popular style have won him a prominent place in Hebrew literature.

Reuben Brainin, born in Russia, has lived in Vienna and in Berlin, and is now in the United States. He is a critic, essayist and publicist. His contributions to the Hebrew press, as well as his biographies of Mapu, Smolenskin and others, have won him a high place in this domain of letters. His style is fresh and easy, and distinguished by correctness and taste. He edited

Mimisrach Umimaarav, and has written novels and treatises of great literary value. He was one of the pioneers of the national movement in Vienna, and was in the closest connection with the *Kadima* and Herzl.

R. A. Broides, born in Russia, belonged to the old Wilna school. He had a pure and pleasant Hebrew style, and wrote some novels of value. He contributed to *Ha'shachar*, and was afterwards sub-editor of Gottlober's *Ha'boker Or* in Lemberg. He worked for the Zionist movement in Galicia and Vienna, and wrote several articles for the propaganda of Zionism. He died in Vienna in 1902.

M. M. Dolitzky, born in Bialystok, Russia, lived for many years in America. He was a contributor to *Ha'shachar* and *Ha'melitz*, and wrote several novels and essays, as well as poems full of Zionist enthusiasm. Critics may differ as to the exact literary value of his poems, but there is no doubt as to their depth of feeling and beautiful Biblical style.

Drujanow, born in Russia, active in Odessa, in Palestine and in Wilna, belongs to the most prominent representatives of "cultural" Zionism. He was Secretary of the *Chovevé Zion* in Odessa, lived a few years in Palestine and acquired a high and well-deserved literary reputation as editor of *Ha'olam*. A conscientious publicist, of consistent and independent judgment, with an admirable mastery of the Hebrew language, he is an intellectual worker in the best sense of the term. Besides his work as a publicist, he has written some excellent essays.

Mordecai Ehrenpreis, born in Galicia, graduated in Germany, was Rabbi in Esseg, Austria, then Chief Rabbi in Sofia, Bulgaria, and is now Chief Rabbi in Stockholm. He is a Hebrew nationalist of genius and experience, many-sided, with international associations and wide knowledge. He belonged to the Nationalist Students' Association in Berlin, and has been in the Zionist Organization since the first Congress, at which he played a prominent part. He represents the intellectual and spiritual side of the movement. A man of clear judgment and of strong character, he is very active in important work connected with the international Jewish problem. In Hebrew literature he is one of the best critics and essayists. He writes excellent Hebrew, and has sound literary judgment.

Eleasar Eisenstadt, born in Russia, was Rabbi at Rostow, and is now official and communal Rabbi at St. Petersburg. As a student at Berlin, where he graduated, he was one of the most enthusiastic of the young nationalists. Endowed with a keen perception, and intimately acquainted with the life of the Russian Ghetto, he is a master of anecdote, and has turned his gift to account in a series of Hebrew tales. A many-sided and energetic communal worker, particularly interested in Jewish education (in which he was formerly engaged at St. Petersburg), he enjoys a wide popularity.

ZALMAN EPSTEIN, of Odessa, now in Warsaw, who belonged to the *Achad Ha'am* circle, and was Secretary of the *Chovevé Zion* in Odessa, is an ardent nationalist and a zealous worker for the Jewish revival. He contributed during several years to *Ha'melitz* and other Hebrew periodicals. His productions are distinguished by a vivid, nervous style, and by a deep earnestness of conviction. An acute controversialist, with a strong predilection for traditional ideas, he has written several articles against the extravagances of modernism.

A. S. FRIEDBERG (*Har Shalom*), born in Grodno, lived in St. Petersburg and in Warsaw. He was one of the most popular Hebrew writers of his time. He wrote with ease and elegance and was at one time considered the successor of Mapu, particularly for his translation of Grace Aguilar's *Vale of Cedars*—into Hebrew, *Emek Ha'arazim*. He possessed a wonderful Hebrew style, and had the closest acquaintance with current Jewish affairs. A convinced and enthusiastic nationalist, he was a member of the editorial staff of *Ha'melitz*, afterwards of *Ha'zefirah*, and of the first volume of the Hebrew Encyclopædia, and became ultimately one of the principal writers of the *Achiasaf*, for which he wrote a series of popular books.

S. I. FUCHS, born in Russia, graduated in Switzerland, and was a scholar of great versatility and deep learning. As a student he belonged to several nationalist students' associations and was distinguished by his earnestness and high moral sense. His treatises dealing with Jewish historical and literary topics are of enduring value. He was one of the assistant editors of *Ha'magid* and had a considerable share in the propaganda of Zionism.

S. J. HURWITZ, born in Russia, a Hebrew writer of marked individuality. A learned Talmudist, with considerable erudition in ancient, mediæval and modern literature, a keen, inquiring and independent thinker, he pursued "Jewish science" and historical studies in a way which often brought him into collision with established and accepted traditions. He contributed to several reviews, and edited his own review, *He'atid*. He is a devoted champion of the Hebrew revival.

WOLF JAVITZ, born in Warsaw, scholar and writer, is a master of the Hebrew language, in the knowledge of which he has few equals. A student of extraordinary assiduity, he has amassed a vast fund of erudition, which is revealed in the writings of his later years. An enthusiastic nationalist and *Chovev Zion*, and at the same time an upholder of strict traditional principles, he is the most eloquent interpreter of the national idea in the spirit of traditional Judaism. He lived for several years in Palestine, and has written several books. Many years ago he began writing a complete History of the Jews, of which several volumes—works of great learning—have already appeared.

ISAAC KAMINER, born in Russia, was a physician and a prolific contributor to the Hebrew press. His essays, causeries and

parodies are distinguished by skill and "temperament." His poems are full of fight and an honest zeal for the Jewish national cause. He had an original and entirely free metrical and rhythmical system. A selection of his works appeared posthumously in Odessa (1907), with an introduction by *Achad Ha'am.*

Aaron Kaminka, born in Russia, studied abroad, mostly in Paris. He contributed regularly to *Ha'melitz, Ha'zefirah,* and several reviews. He also translated classical poems and wrote original verses. He took a considerable share in the *Chovevé Zion* movement, preaching with great zeal the spiritual progress of the nation, and emphasizing the importance of a living Hebrew language. He was then appointed Rabbi in Slavonia, afterwards at Prague. He joined the Zionist movement, but left it through a difference of opinion. He has since become Secretary of the *Israelitische Allianz* at Vienna, for which he has travelled much. He has published records of his travels, as well as a selection of his Hebrew poems.

Dr. J. C. Katzenelsohn (1848–1917) (*Buki ben Yogli*) wrote essays and short stories which are literary jewels. His scientific works in Hebrew are unequalled for learning and mastery of style.

A. S. Kerschberg, of Bialystok, Russia, is a Hebrew scholar and writer of great ability. He has contributed to *Ha'zefirah* and *Ha'shiloach,* and has written treatises dealing with talmudical matters. An ardent nationalist, he has been connected with the *Chovevé Zion* movement since it began. He has lived in Palestine and has published his observations and experiences in an interesting pamphlet.

Joseph Klausner, born in Odessa, a graduate of Heidelberg, is one of the most prominent disciples of *Achad Ha'am,* whom he succeeded in the editorship of *Ha'shiloach.* A devoted *Chovev Zion* and a keen Hebraist, he commenced Hebrew journalistic work in his earliest youth. At Heidelberg and elsewhere he assisted in the formation of the Nationalist Students' Association, in which he took a leading part. He has done valuable work in the field of Biblical and historical studies. He was for many years lecturer at the Rabbinical College in Odessa. Palestinian nationalism and culture based upon Hebrew tradition are the guiding principles of his numerous publicistic writings. He is a pioneer of Palestinian Hebrew education. The impressions of his last visit to Palestine are given in his *Olam Mithhaveh* (A World in Evolution).

L. Levinski, born in Russia, lived during the most important period of his life in Odessa, where he was a prominent member of the *Chovevé Zion,* of the editorial staff of *Ha'shiloach,* of the *Moriah,* of the Zionist Synagogue *Javneh,* and other institutions. His quaint felicity of style, continual flow of wit, and easy, vivacious narrative won him a great reputation as a satirist. He

contributed to the Hebrew press feuilletons and reviews of current events, and also wrote some pamphlets of value. A selection of his works has been published since his death by the *Moriah*.

MORDECAI ZEVI MANE was born in the village of Radoshkevitsch, in Russia. He studied at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, and won distinction as a gifted painter, a Hebrew poet, and an excellent writer in prose. He contributed to *He'assif* and *Knesseth Israel*. Though he may not rank among the Olympians, he produced in his modest way many a Zionist poem of enduring worth. He died young, and a collection of his works appeared posthumously (Warsaw, 1907).

DAVID NEUMARK, of Galicia, studied at Berlin, and was one of the most original and prominent figures in nationalistic students' circles. After having graduated, he was appointed Rabbi at Rakowitz, Austria, where he officiated for a few years. He entered the Zionist Organization and became a loyal and zealous worker, with a strong inclination towards "cultural" Zionism. He soon devoted himself to philosophy, and, besides his History of Jewish Philosophy, first written in German, he contributed a series of philosophical articles, written in an elaborate and exact style, to *Ha'shiloach*. He also wrote other essays of value. Later he was appointed Professor at the Cincinnati Hebrew Union College, where he has pursued his educational and literary activity.

SAUL PINCHAS RABINOWITSCH (*Schefer*) (1875–1911) won a very prominent place among the distinguished pioneers of Zionism in Russia, as well as among the ablest and most popular Hebrew writers and publicists. He devoted many years of his life to the propaganda of the *Chovevé Zion* movement, and was for many years Secretary of the Warsaw *Chovevé Zion*. He was an ardent and active Zionist from the very beginning of the Zionist Organization. In close connection with Rabbi Mohilever, Leo Pinsker and Alexander Zederbaum, he often travelled on important missions, maintaining a world-wide correspondence with hundreds of Jewish leaders and writers, and occupied principally with *Chovevé Zion* affairs, but also with Russian-Jewish affairs generally, particularly during the period of the pogroms. He was a zealous and devoted Jewish national worker, was assistant editor of the *Ha'zefirah*, 1857–80, contributor to several Hebrew and other newspapers, editor of the year-book *Knesseth Israel*, one of the editors of the first volume of the Hebrew Encyclopædia *Ha-Eschkol*, and author of many monographs and biographies. His greatest work was the Hebrew translation of Graetz' *History of the Jews* (with many valuable original additions of Harkavy and of other scholars, as well as of his own).

J. CH. RAWNITZKI, born in Russia, author and educationist, whose activity has lain mostly in Odessa, has for many years been engaged in Hebrew literary work of a nationalist character in the *Chovevé Zion* movement. He edited *Ha'pardes*, contributed to

several reviews, and is one of the principal editors and authors working for the *Moriah* in Odessa.

A. J. Slutzki, born and living in Russia, was an able and shrewd Zionist publicist. He contributed to *Ha'melitz* under J. L. Gordon, and actively assisted the *Chovevé Zion* propaganda.[1]

O. Tavievi, born in Russia, lives in Moscow. He is one of the most prominent Hebrew journalists, authors and educationists. He is one of the originators of the modern Hebrew style. For several years he contributed regularly to *Ha'melitz* and other Hebrew papers and reviews. He has written causeries and critical essays in an easy and pleasant style, and has also translated some works of *belles lettres*. His principal services, however, lie in the domain of pedagogy.

Joshua Thon, born in Galicia, now Rabbi and preacher at the temple of the Jewish Congregation at Cracow, took an active part in the Students' national movement as a student in Berlin, where he graduated, and distinguished himself by great learning and strength of character. A convinced Zionist and an enthusiastic champion of Hebrew, he entered the Zionist Organization, of which, owing to his oratorical powers and personal influence, he is one of the most active leaders. Besides his numerous writings in Polish and in German, he is a Hebrew writer of value, and his essays, mostly published in *Ha'shiloach*, exhibit a considerable critical faculty.

Chaim Tschernowitz, born in Russia, had a thorough talmudic education, was Rabbi in Odessa, then studied at a German University and graduated in Switzerland. His contributions to *Ha'shiloach*, under the *nom de plume*, *Rav Zaair* (A young Rabbi), attracted attention by the broadminded views and comprehensiveness of historical sense in dealing with religious and ritual matters which they disclosed. He has also written historical and talmudic sketches. He was for several years Principal of the Odessa Rabbinical College. He is in the closest touch with the *Chovevé Zion* movement, and is one of the leaders of those nationalistic Rabbis who unite faithfulness to the old traditions with a modern spirit of science and critical inquiry.

Hillel Zeitlin, born in Russia, active in Wilna, and more recently in Warsaw, was one of the editors of the Wilna *Ha'zman*, to which he contributed valuable essays and articles. A Talmudist of erudition, an authority on Chassidism, a semi-mystic enthusiast endowed with a poetical imagination, a master of the Hebrew language and of the forms and methods of modern literature, he achieves a degree of pathos and beauty unsurpassed in modern Hebrew literature. He joined the Zionist movement, but afterwards identified himself with Territorialism. In recent

[1] He was killed, together with his wife, in a pogrom which took place at Novograd Sieversk in 1918.

years he has gone over to the Yiddish press, of which he is one of the most gifted and influential writers.

Other Hebrew writers worthy of mention are Joshua Steinberg, from a scientific point of view one of the most important of the Hebraists of Russia; Bendetsohn, who exceeded Mapu in biblical purity of language in the form of an idealistic prose; Moses Reichersohn; Mordecai Wohlmann; T. E. Epstein; A. B. Gottlober, the popular poet, superficial yet clear and graceful; Eleazer Ha-Cohen Zweifel, the sweet Midrash-like moralist, homiletical critic and essayist; the wonderful modern novelists Feuerstein, Jehuda Steinberg, Berschadski and Grassin; Eleasar Atlas the sharp-witted critic, M. A. Schatzkes, who notwithstanding his loquacity had a rich style and some good ideas, and his other protagonist in the same field of *Agada*-explanation; Jehouda Schereschewski, distinguished by his concentrated calm—and their followers; Weissberg; Dubzevitch; Edelman ("Adulami"); Maskileison; the learned and thoughtful Joseph Rosenthal; the serious scholars Jacob Bachrach; A. I. Bruck; David Kahane; Salomon Mandelkern, the industrious scholar and skilled poet who translated Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* with masterly skill; Slominsky; Lichtenfeld; Lipkin; Medalie; Barasch; Y. Margulies; Hirsch Rabinovitch; and Sosnitz, who introduced natural science into Hebrew literature; J. L. Kantor; Proser; Silberman; J. Kohn Zedek; Werber; Frumkin; Fischer; Ch. L. Markom; Joseph Brill, masters of journalistic style—all these writers and many, many others were the precursors of the revival of Hebrew. In this connection, special mention must be made of some of the living writers who, though not showing any special nationalistic or Zionist tendency, have greatly contributed to the enrichment and development of the Hebrew language and literature.

Great attention and acknowledgment are due to David Fischmann, the charming poet, the brilliant causeur and essayist, the wonderful critic who deals in a witty way with the most serious questions, the translator of many works of science and fiction; to the old Hebrew novelist and poet, Nathan Samuely, whose poetry is replete with sweetness and harmony; to the greatest of Jewish historians, bibliographers and critics of world-wide fame, Dr. Abraham Harkavy; the learned Israelsohn; the able Abraham Cahan; the Talmudist, N. A. Getzow; the learned and thoughtful Heller; the ingenious scholar and mathematician, Ch. J. Bornstein (who translated *Hamlet* into Hebrew); the bibliographer, Wiener; the orientalist, Isaac Marcon; the studious T. Ratner, magid; the old writer of lyric impulse, I. L. Levin (Jehabel), a poet and publicist of merit; the critic and essayist, A. J. Paperna, one of the last representatives of the old school; the able journalist and talmudical critic, Benzion Katz; the talented modern novelists: Brenner, Schofman, Berkowitsch, Kaabak; Sneur, the young poet of vigour and

ardour, noble spirit and bold fancy, who refreshed Hebrew poetry by a new stream of modern fiction; and Isaac Katzenelsohn, Ben Schimon, Heftmen, Pinski and others, who gave us sunny thoughts and beautiful pictures, in which delicacy of taste is accompanied by versatile and roaming fancy. Shalom Asch, the greatest in the coterie of the artists of the Polish Ghetto, gave us some of his tales in Hebrew; the gifted Abraham Reisin, a master of Yiddish, and the talented Numberg, who masters the Hebrew language, and who besides writing essays and tales of value in Hebrew worked hard and successfully in Hebrew journalism, have contributed very much to the modernization of Hebrew literature. And, as regards the two greatest stars of the Yiddish literature, "J. L. Peretz" and S. Rabinowitsch ("Scholom Aleicham"), whose loss we so deeply lament, and whose undying names belong to the chief glories of our literature of the present age, it is well known that both of them were partly Hebrew poets and writers of considerable genius.

Finally, there are Ben Ami Rabinowitzch (Mark Jakovlevitch), born in Russia, lived in Odessa, and now in Geneva, Switzerland, who is one of the best writers of fiction on Jewish life in Russia. His writings breathe a noble passion of love for the Jewish people, his observations are those of a high-minded man and an artist, and are full of national, noble emotion. He joined the Zionist movement from its very beginning.

Vladimir Jabotinski, born in Odessa, studied in Russia, in Italy and in Austria, and graduated at Petrograd, is a brilliant journalist and an orator of great eloquence and power. He is a contributor to great Russian newspapers, and has established a reputation as correspondent and an essayist of admirable skill. He worked with great devotion and success in the Zionist propaganda. Having acquired a sound knowledge of Hebrew, he translated Bialik's poems into Russian, and wrote also some articles in Hebrew.

It will also be interesting to mention that the famous Russian-Jewish writer of the last generation, Lewanda, who was one of the representative writers of the period of enlightenment, during his successful literary career adhered in the last years of his life to the national idea, and supported the *Chovevé Zion* movement.

It is impossible to enumerate all the literary and educational representatives of the National Revival in Palestine; but a few names of note, in addition to those which have already been mentioned, cannot be omitted.

Israel Belkind has given proof of considerable literary ability in a series of pamphlets dealing with Palestine. J. Menuchas, who was born and is still living in Jerusalem, is a prominent contributor to the Hebrew press, as well as an excellent teacher. Ahroni, the zoologian, a scholar of renown, is pursuing his idealistic, scientific work at Rechoboth. Isaac Epstein now lives in

Switzerland, but he is in spirit and style decidedly a Palestinian. He lived for years in seclusion, in a rustic tent among the hills of Upper Galilee, and wrote his work by the light of heaven. He remained faithful, as few priests have ever remained to their calling, a priest of the Hebrew language, which was revealed to him in all its beauty. M. Scheinkin, the devoted and popular worker, is a prolific publicist. Freimann, the old settler of Rishon, writes excellent books. Aronovitz, with his contributors, made the *Ha-Poel Ha-Zaiv* one of the best Hebrew weeklies which have ever existed; the *Ha-Omer* and the *Moledet*, splendid magazines, had a real Palestinian charm. (Of the last-mentioned the excellent essayist, pedagogical writer and poet, Fischmann, was recently the editor.) The numerous and various writings of Ben-Zion Guttman have been added to in Palestine; the "Waad Ha-Lashon" (Committee for the Language) at Jerusalem, with Yellin, Ben Yehouda, Zouts, Dr. Mazie and others, has done good work. Nearly all the specialists in agriculture and in medicine write in Hebrew; and Brenner, the most modern belles-lettres writer in Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the new Hebrew schools brought into the country a host of intellectual workers: Metman-Cohn, Bogratschow, Turow, Mossinsohn, Alexander Rabinowitsch, Lurie, Zutta, Segal, Schiller, Ladyshewski, Marschak, Biram, Tachower, Rosenstein, Ziphroni, Feldmann, Mowschensohn, Ozerkowsky, Jehieli, Papper. Others added merely their young modern efforts to the brilliant abilities of a Yellin or of that admirable type of a national educator represented by Vilkomitsch at Yessod Ha-Maaleh. All these pioneers are inspired Zionists, and they are paving the way for a great Revival.

In addition to these writers, the following prominent Hebrew journalists may be mentioned:—

Abraham Loudvipol, a writer of great ability and strength of conviction, who became editor of the *Ha'zofeh*; Moses Kleinmann, a shrewd journalist, and a publicist of sound judgment; Samuel Tschernowitz (the brother of Chaim Tschernowitz), a journalist of a high order, who worked with great success for *Ha'zefirah* and *Ha'zman*; Nahum Syrkin, a wholehearted Zionist, an orator and a publicist of keen observation, and an eloquent exponent of the national idea, author of hundreds of articles, sketches, causeries and speeches[1]; N. J. Frenk, a moderate and consistent publicist of wide experience, who takes a leading part in the work of *Ha'zefirah*; and S. Jatzkan, at present editor of the *Haint*, formerly a contributor to *Ha'melitz* and *Ha'zefirah*, a zealous journalist and fighter: and among those of the older generation, M. Braunstein of Roumania ("*Mibaschan*"), master of a flowery and elaborate biblical style, author of many pedagogical books, but best known by his innumerable contributions

[1] He died in 1918 at Kiew.

to the Hebrew press; Lazar, the able editor of *Ha'mitzpeh* in Cracow; M. M. Pross of Warsaw, a judicious writer of causeries and criticisms in the old style; Ch. Z. Zagorodzki of Warsaw, a polished Hebrew stylist, author of several fine sketches, for many years one of the principal collaborators of *Ha'zefirah*; Shimón Volkov, a talmudical parodist with a peculiar style of his own; Dr. Berkowitz, of Vienna, a Jewish scholar and an excellent Hebrew writer, who was at one time Hebrew Secretary of the Vienna Zionist Organization and a regular contributor to *Ha'zefirah*; M. Rabinsohn, author of several sketches and translator for *Ha'zman* and *Ha'zefirah*; Z. Prilutzki, an old *Chovevé Zion* writer and worker. These and many others have perhaps done more to make Zionism popular by their everyday work as journalists than many authors of books.

Other contributors to modern Hebrew journalism are: Leon Rabinowitsch, who was editor of *Ha-Melitz* in Petrograd after Zederbaum; S. Rosenfeld, who afterwards came into prominence as a Yiddish publicist; J. E. Triwusch of Wilna; Samuel Leib Zitron of Wilna; the late Hirsch Neimanowitsch and M. Weber of Warsaw; E. Goldin of Lodz; J. D. Berkowitsch, now in New York; P. Lachover of Warsaw; Hermoni of Palestine; and E. D. Finkel of Warsaw. To the new Hebrew pedagogical literature: Ch. D. Tawiow of Riga, Salomon Berman, P. Kantorowitz, A. Libuschitzki of Warsaw, P. Berkman of Lodz, and the two great Yiddish poets Simon Frug of Odessa and Jehoasch of New York have played important parts in the awakening of the national feeling.

LXXVI

Note upon the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the Anglo-Jewish Association

In considering the relationship of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the Anglo-Jewish Association to the Jewish National Movement, regard should be had to the foundation period of these institutions, when not only were those associated with their establishment men of Jewish Nationalist sympathies, but their activities were met by similar criticism to that which has confronted the Zionist leaders of recent years. Time has brought about a change in the personnel of the leadership of the *Alliance* and the Anglo-Jewish Association, but it is useful to bear in mind that this change is simply personal and that there is nothing changed in principle in the organizations which should prevent them being expressive of that nationalist spirit, charac-

teristic of their earlier days. M. Charles Netter, Dr. Abraham Benisch, Dr. Albert Löwy and Mr. Baron Louis Benas, J.P. (M. Netter, one of the founders of the Alliance, Dr. Benisch, Dr. Löwy and Mr. Benas, associated with the establishment of the Anglo-Jewish Association) were all men of Jewish Nationalist sympathies. M. Netter is permanently identified with the foundation of the *Mikveh Israel* Agricultural School near Jaffa, the foster-mother of the Jewish Colonies of Palestine. Dr. Benisch, to whom the suggestion of an Anglo-Jewish Association on the lines of the *Alliance Israélite* was made by Mr. Benas, who had established in Liverpool the first branch of the *Alliance* in England in 1867, enthusiastically took up the idea and became the organizer of the English institution founded three years later. The formation of the first English branch of the *Alliance* at Liverpool called forth in 1868 at the end of its first year's work the highest appreciation of M. Crémieux. Dr. Benisch had in his student days inaugurated with Dr. Löwy and Professor Steinschneider a Zionistic movement, and in the foundation of the Anglo-Jewish Association the two former saw the possibilities of the realization of many of the hopes and aspirations of their youth. Mr. Benas, Dr. Benisch and Dr. Löwy were active propagandists on behalf of the Association. Mr. Benas and Dr. Löwy were members of the International Palestine Committee which was formed in 1878 on the recommendation of the Palestine Section of the International Jewish Conference held that year in Paris, and of which section Mr. Benas was one of the two English representatives, the other being the Rev. S. Jacobs. The Palestine Section undertook to institute an examination of the general condition of the Jews in the East and especially of the Jews in Palestine with a view of effecting such improvements as might be needful, that country being known to several members who had visited it at various times. This section had the advantage of being attended by delegates from both Europe and America. This section of the Conference resolved "That the *Alliance* be requested to bring about the formation of a special commission on Palestine. This Committee is to be composed of persons of every country who take an interest in the welfare of brother Israelites and in the prosperity of the Holy Land." On its formation, the Committee was entrusted with the establishment of new schools and particularly the control of the Institution *Mikveh Israel.* The report significantly added, "in entrusting the control of this Agricultural School to the Committee, with the view of further aiding in the development of that Institution, the *Alliance* would obtain a solid basis for its civilizing action" (Anglo-Jewish Association, 8th Annual Report, pp. 30, 36). In 1885 Mr. Benas and the late Chief Rabbi, Dr. Hermann Adler, visited Palestine together. En route they had an interview with Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Paris, at whose request materials were collected for a report of the condition of Jewry in the

Ancient Jewish Homeland. The late Chief Rabbi gave an oral account of the educational institutions in Palestine to the Executive Committee of the Association. Mr. Benas' "Report of his Travels in the East" was published as an Appendix to the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Association. The Report, which drew from the historian Graetz a most appreciative letter to the author, disclosing Graetz' strong Zionistic sympathies, is not only valuable as one of the few historical documents in English giving a contemporary account of the early renascence of Jewish life in Palestine by a Jewish writer, but because of its accurate forecasting of the conditions of future development, the revival of Hebrew as a living language being particularly noted. The following are extracts from the report:—

"*Jaffa.* Jaffa was reached on April 26th, and I at once, in company with Dr. Adler, visited the *Mikveh Israel* or Agricultural School. The director, Monsieur Hirsch, happened to be absent at Aleppo, but we were received by the sub-director, M. Haim.

The whole neighbourhood of Jaffa is most charming, full of the choicest exotics, whilst palms, citrons, and oranges luxuriate everywhere. The vines are in splendid condition. Everything seems to flower there in profusion, even wild roses and poppies in the cornfields, whilst the fig takes the place of our bushes and thickets. There are some charming properties about Jaffa.

As far as a model farm and beautifully cultivated garden is concerned, the *Mikveh Israel* holds its own with any institution of its kind, I would almost say, in Europe, and is a perpetual monument of the efforts of the late Mons. Netter.

There are 240 hectares, mostly under cultivation. They produced excellent wine, which, I am informed, is sold at a good profit. They have oranges, lemons, and various other fruit trees, besides cereals. The technical instructor, M. Klotz, an Alsatian, told me that there is considerable promise for the estate. There are now thirty-five pupils in the school, one of whom is a Moslem. They have a carpenter's shop, where three boys are at constant work. They have thirty cows—ten giving a full supply of milk; they have eight calves, two horses and ten mules to assist the agricultural operations, and a good supply of water and a complete system of irrigation.

Everything in the establishment is thoroughly well kept. We were shown through the dormitories, and found twelve slept in each room, but the chambers were tolerably large.

Jerusalem. I arrived at Jerusalem on the night of the 27th April. The first thing that strikes the visitor is the fact that Jerusalem is a Jewish city. The Jewish population has so steadily increased as to tower head and shoulders above all others; this can best be noticed on a Sabbath, when almost all the streets and bazaars are silent. The native born Jewish population are in physique superior to their European co-

religionists; they are taller, more dignified, and are decidedly of a handsome type. I am indebted for my statistics to M. Nissim Behar and the banker, M. H. Valero, both of these estimable gentlemen being natives of Jerusalem. The total population of Jerusalem is about 35,000. There are conflicting accounts as to the Jewish population; some put it at 20,000, others at 18,000.

There are two Jerusalems, the one within the walls of the city, the other outside the Jaffa Gate, which has sprung into existence during the last five or six years, and inhabited almost exclusively by Jews. I am undervaluing rather than exaggerating when I state that the villas and residences outside the city are quite equal in neatness and in their inviting aspect to some of the best parts of the Cheshire side of the Mersey, which they much resemble.

The Asiatic Jews are wealthy, and have mostly emigrated from the neighbourhood of Batoum, Poti and Tiflis. Their residences might almost be described as attaining a degree of positive comfort. They are a large community, and are quite independent in their means; they have their own rabbi, and give considerable assistance, when required, to their more indigent co-religionists. These Jews are scrupulously clean in their habits, are above the average height, and their flowing robes of spotless white cashmere betoken at once their manners. Credit must also be given to the Montefiore Testimonial Fund Buildings, which, if small, are decidedly clean and well kept, especially those tenanted by the Sephardi Jews—a great number of tenements having been built through the aid afforded by this fund. There are also the buildings of the *Meah Shearim*, a kind of building society, who have erected a large square block of tenements, which compare favourably with artisans' dwellings in Lancashire cities.

The Judah Touro houses outside the city walls are fairly well kept, but, of course, the more modern houses have the advantage of superior construction. The defects in earlier constructions have here been carefully avoided.

The Yemen Jews are very poor; they present a most peculiar ethnological type. They have a very dark complexion, almost of a deeper shade than that of the Arabs; they have beautifully chiselled features, lustrous eyes, are most simple in their piety and devotion to the Holy City. They still retain their manuscript prayer books, which Dr. Adler states are most interesting. I saw a Yemen woman with her child working in the heat of the sun at what, in Lancashire, would be termed navvy's work, and at the close of the day saw the clerk of the works give her sixty centimes as her daily wages. They were in terrible distress at first and slept in caverns, but, thanks to the exertions of Mr. Marcus Adler, who raised a fund in England,

they are building cottages on the hillside upon which they work themselves, and owing to their thrifty habits and aptitude for labour, it is to be hoped that their worst difficulties are passed, and that they will attain some degree of independence. There are two sets of tenements being built for them, the one by the London Committee and the other by the help of the Society called *Ezrath Nedachim*. I may add, the Yemen Jews, both male and female, dress exactly like the native Arabs, from whom they are hardly distinguishable.

When I write upon the Jewish tenements in the interior of the city my report, of course, must be less favourable. I took the means of going alone with M. Valero, when unexpected, into some of the back streets and slums of Jerusalem; I dropped into various houses here and there, and saw matters from a practical point of view. It is most unfair for any one coming from Princes Park, Liverpool, or Kensington, London, or the Champs Élysées, in Paris, instituting a comparison between those neighbourhoods and the lanes of Jerusalem. But I maintain that the old streets of Marseilles and Florence, the Ghetto in Rome, the labyrinths in Naples, and the slums of Venice, are infinitely worse than the worst slums of Jerusalem. Nay, more, I maintain that the old Judengasse in Frankfort, the Judengasse in Worms, and some of the by-lanes in Vienna are decidedly no better than those of Jerusalem. They are more ancient and grimy than dirty; the absence of timber, and the constant employment of stone for building purposes in Old Jerusalem, gives a rough and jagged appearance to the walls, but there is nothing except the absence of drainage (and that is the same in every continental city, whether it be in France, Italy, or Austria) that calls for especial condemnation, nay, the dingy tenements inside Jerusalem, inhabited by the Sephardi Jews, are made presentable by a considerable use of clean white calico hung over the walls and covered over their simple furniture and beddings.

The future prospects of Jerusalem rest entirely with the rising youth, and I shall speak later on of the enormous value and high hopes I entertain of the Lionel de Rothschild School, conducted by the admirable and excellent director, M. Nissim Behar, of whose devotion, ability, and conscientiousness nothing too much can be said.

The Lionel de Rothschild School, or "Institution Israélite pour Instruction et Travail," contains 140 pupils, all boys. The institution is singularly fortunate in possessing M. Behar as its chief. To be able to effect good work in Jerusalem it is almost imperative to be a native of the city. A teacher from England, France, or Germany who has longings for Europe or his native land, however able he may be, or however zealous, is incapable of infusing enthusiasm in his pupils, and when one is found like M. Nissim Behar, who is a man of great culture, and combines

Parisian refinement with an ardent love and patriotism for the city in which he was born, and feels that he has a mission to perform and is perfectly oblivious to pecuniary advantages, it is to have already gained half the victory. Everything is neat, clean, and methodical.

The hours of instruction are from 8 o'clock until 12, and from 1 to 5.

I shall devote my report principally to the course of technical education, with which I believe the future prosperity of the Jews of Jerusalem is bound up.

The Technical School contains a forge, a carpenter's shop, a cabinet-maker's bench, a tailor's department, a shoemaker's shop, a turner's lathe, a school of art for modelling, drawing, and sculpture, and a gymnasium for physical development.

Of these schools, the forge, the carpenter's shop, and the school of art have produced capital results ; we saw Jewish lads, who have only been a few weeks at the classes, making some excellent sketches, and in order to test their genuineness gave them several impromptu subjects to execute in our presence, which they did admirably.

The Forge is another successful institution.

Although the French language is the medium of tuition and the general language adopted, Hebrew is used side by side, not only as a language of prayer, but also as a means of conversation. French, as a medium of intercommunication amongst Europeans and officials, is very much required in the East.

The Girls' School—Evelina de Rothschild Institute—contains 184 girls.

Hebron. I regret to have to report very adversely upon the condition of our co-religionists in Hebron. The pleasure and hopefulness I experienced in Jerusalem present a marked contrast to the disappointment I felt at the abject position of the Jews in the City of Abraham.

I met several Jews on the road who were trading with the neighbouring villages in butter and cheese ; of course their profits would be exceedingly small. The soil around Hebron is most fertile, and the natural resources of the immediate neighbourhood decidedly good.

I venture to think that it is not eleemosynary aid that will do any real good for them. Food of all kinds and wine of a good quality is abundant and very cheap. I believe the Jews would work hard if taught what to do. Technical and general education would very soon transform an abject congregation into a happy and prosperous community."

Mr. Benas delivered a large number of lectures upon the subject of his visit to Palestine and granted many interviews, all of which helped to arouse interest on behalf of the budding Jewish life in the Ancient Homeland. In its earliest days the Anglo-Jewish Association received from members of the Board

of Deputies criticism not unakin to that which in later days members of the Board levelled at the Anglo-Jewish Association. In those days the Board was oligarchic, assimilative, and insular in outlook, while the Anglo-Jewish was popular, national and world-Jewish—true to the motto כל ישראל חברים. If to-day, while the Association cannot be called insular there are those who would ascribe to it the characteristic of the Board of Deputies of earlier days, signs are not wanting of a change towards the original outlook, particularly among the branches. It is in fairness due to the Anglo-Jewish Association to bear in mind that the Public Demonstration, the Conference, the International gatherings for Jewish purposes now a phenomenon of everyday life in Jewry owe to the Association and the Alliance their origin. To both no inconsiderable share of the foundation and the interest in the Western world in the foundation of the Jewish colonies in Palestine may justly be credited. Thus the organizations and those who established them merit the recognition and the gratitude of all who hold to the Jewish national ideal and strive for its fulfilment.

[The Reports of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the Anglo-Jewish Association contain much valuable material for the History of the Resettlement in Palestine.]

LXXVII

An Appeal of the Berlin *Kadima*

In 1891 the Russian Jewish Students' Colony in Berlin submitted to the International Committee for the assistance of the Russian Jews a memorandum, in which they urged the Committee to use its endeavours to divert the stream of Jewish emigration, and, above all, of well-to-do emigrants, from America to the Holy Land. The document is of very great interest. What is called the wave of emigration, say the writers, is not so much emigration as flight. Only well-organized colonization can prove a remedy in the present calamity. A Jewish peasantry must be founded, consisting not only of the poor, but to a great extent also of the middle and intelligent classes. Palestine is the only country which affords the possibility of attaining that aim, because (1) Palestine itself, and especially Galilee and the land on the other side of the Jordan, and also Syria and Mesopotamia, contain an amount of land ready for sale and scarcely populated. The settlement of Jews there cannot meet with any objection. The Turkish Government will not only tolerate, but favour the immigration, if properly organized. An additional advantage is that in the near future no competition need be feared, because other emigrants, as a rule poor people, are not attracted by an uninhabited, uncultivated country. (2) The soil is fertile everywhere. Where no corn can be grown, wine can be produced. The Jewish wine-growers in Palestine will shortly be able to compete in the markets of Europe, and will greatly shake the monopoly of other wines. The climate of Palestine is as healthy as that of Italy, so that invalids will go there on the recommendation of their physician instead of to Italy. In the colony Rishon Le'Zion, which was founded about nine years ago, there has been up till now only one death, although there are between three hundred and four hundred people living there. (3) It is the only country able to create a peasantry, because there is no trade there. It is true that in other countries also the Jews will at first turn to agriculture; they will watch for anything offering them the means of subsistence. But a great portion will always be anxious to settle in the towns and again apply themselves to trade, whereas in Palestine the colonists will be compelled to persist in agricultural pursuits. Thus, in America, the colonists have gradually returned to the cities after millions have been wasted. But in Palestine the colonies founded by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and by the efforts of the colonists themselves are in a most thriving condition. Of course, the fact that the Jews are animated by love for Palestine and inspired by the many associations connected with the country must not be overlooked. Only in a country where every stone bears biblical

reminiscences the labour is sweet to them. This idealistic motive will assist in turning traders into agriculturists. It is to this idea that some twenty larger and smaller colonies owe their existence. It is owing to this motive that the great Palestine Committee in Odessa, under the presidency of Dr. Pinsker, is able annually to give land and tools to Jewish peasants to the value of 200,000 frcs., that there is in Jaffa an Executive Committee, presided over by the engineer Vl. Temkin, that in London enormous meetings are being held in favour of the Palestine idea, that limited companies have arisen, like the *Dorsche Zion* in Minsk, in Kovno, in Bialystok, in Wilna, as well as in Warsaw, Riga, etc., which intend to buy land in Palestine for their members, to be repaid to them by instalments. (4) The more civilized and intelligent class of Russian Jews will also be induced to go to Palestine for the purpose of following agricultural pursuits.

The students concluded by saying that they were willing to seek for happiness and safety by readily submitting to the harvest labour in the fields of Palestine. "Then we shall be enabled to pass a happy life, for enthusiasm will make our paths straight, and provide us with a healthy courage." The document bore sixty-four signatures.

LXXVIII

The Jewish Colonies in Palestine

(The figures are taken mostly from the Report of the Jewish Colonisation Association for 1910.)

Name.	Year.	Area. Hectares.	Population.	Gross Income. Francs.
I. Judea.				
Mikveh-Israel[1]	1870	225	150	—
Mozah	1873	59	28	—
Petach-Tikvah	1878	2275	1500	466,971
Katra	1882	500	150	76,415
Rishon-le-Zion	1882	1180	1190	121,213
Wady-el-Chanin	1882	285	200	—
Jehudie	1883	12	15	—
Ekron (Mazkeret Mathya)	1884	1275	300	144,918
Kastinieh	1888	550	150	—
Rehobot	1890	1300	600	128,415
Artuf	1896	460	50	—
Ben Shemen	1906	210	100	—
Bir Jakob	1907	200	70	—
Ain Ganim	1908	65	100	—
Hulda	1909	182	40	—

[1] The Mikveh Israel Colony is situated outside of Jaffa, to the south. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* has here a fine and large agricultural school for Jews. At the time of our visit—in 1914—about 150 pupils were

Name.	Year.	Area. Hectares.	Population.	Gross Income. Francs.
II. SAMARIA.				
Zichron Jacob	1882	1850	1000	183,210
Um-el-Dschemal	1889	253	80	—
Schweja	1891	851	50	—
Hedera	1891	1750	200	121,915
Kefar Saba	1894	635	30	—
Atlit	1897	460	50	18,950
Hefzi-bah	1905	200	8	—
Tanturah	—	40	16	—
III. GALILEE.				
Rosh-Pinah	1882	3800	800	48,096
Yessod Ha-Maaleh	1883	910	300	29,913
Mishmar Ha-Yarden	1890	230	100	27,453
Ain-Seitun	1891	509	20	—
Metula	1896	1350	310	69,685
Sedjera	1899	1850	200	—
Mahanayim	1899	100	100	—
Milhamie	1902	1350	100	74,100
Mescha	1902	900	200	70,122
Yemma	1902	2750	400	91,027
Kinnereth	1908	550	80	13,300
Delaika	—	—	—	—
Mizpah	1908	360	40	—
Dagania	1909	320	30	—
Migdal	1910	450	100	—
Merchavyah	1911	900	100	—
Poriah	1911	350	30	—
IV. TRANS-JORDANIA.				
Bene Yehuda	1888	315	83	—

enrolled. Some of them we found in the well-kept garden, weeding and hoeing. Others were engaged in planting through a newly planted vineyard. Still another group were piling brush and rubbish; while a considerable number were in classrooms undergoing just then an examination in the theoretical branches of study. They were a fine and manly-looking lot of young men and boys, mostly Russian-Jews. The glow of health was on their cheeks. They had none of the hunted and depressed look which has been imprinted upon millions of Jews by persecution and oppression. It seemed to us that, in a minor sense, these young Jews were already lifting up their heads because of the drawing nigh of the redemption of their land and their nation. They looked as though it afforded them great satisfaction to till the soil of the land, which some day must be the happy home of their people. There was a quiet modesty, coupled with justifiable pride, in their bearing.

LIST OF COLONIES IN 1913.

Name of the colony.	Year of foundation.	Approximate number of souls.	Area in Dounams.	Kind of work, institutions, etc.
JUDEA.				
Mikveh Israel	1870	150	2,612	Agricultural School of the " Alliance Israélite Universelle "; 100 pupils, 15 teachers and officials. Manager: M. Krause.
Rishon le-Zion	1882	—	—	Plantations. School for boys and girls. Kindergarten. Religious school " Netzah Israel." People's Hall (Bet Am) with library and orchestra. Great wine cellar and centre of the wine trade.
Nachlath Jehuda . . .	1913	850	11,402	Plantations. Founded in commemoration of Dr. Leo (Jehuda) Pinsker. Dwellings for labourers. The colony is situated in the neighbourhood of Rishon.
Rehobot	1890	800	14,193	Plantations ; vines, olives and almonds. School for boys and girls. Kindergarten. Religious school " Netzah Israel." Zoological collections of Dr. Ah'roni. Place of the yearly celebration " Chagigah."
Wadi el Chanin (Ness Ziona) .	1882	200	2,793	Plantations. School for boys and girls. Vineyards and gardens planted by J.C.A. for the labourers of the neighbouring colonies. Kindergarten. Bee-keeping.
Ekron (Maskeret Batja) . .	1884	350	12,723	Agriculture, Plantations. School for boys and girls. Kindergarten. Religious school. Most of the colonists were engaged in agricultural work in Russia.
Katrah (Gederah) . . .	1884	200	5,632	Plantations, Agriculture. School for boys and girls. Religious school " Netzah Israel." This colony was founded by the *Bilu* pioneers.
Kastinie (Beer Tobia) . . .	1896	150	5,622	Agriculture. Religious school " Netzah Israel." This colony was founded by the Odessa *Chovevé Zion*.
Dschemama (Ruchama) . .	1911	25	6,000	In the early stages of colonization. The land was bought by two companies of Russian Jews, and is cultivated by a group of labourers.

LIST OF COLONIES IN 1913.

Name of the colony.	Year of foundation.	Approximate number of souls.	Area in Dounams.	Kind of work, institutions, etc.
Bir Jacob	1907	25	2,048	Colony of labourers. Plantations. Was founded by Dagestan Jews.
Hulda	1909	50	1,890	Jewish National Fund Domain. In this colony the so-called Herzl Forest (of olive trees) in commemoration of Herzl is planted.
Ben Shemen	1906	120	2,329	J.N.F. Domain and Farm. Second part of the Herzl Forest. Houses for Yemenite Jews. Agricultural institutions and experiments (Mr. I. Wilkanski).
Abu-Shushe	1912	—	7,000	In the early stages of colonization.
Kafruriah	1912	20	5,000	In the early stages of colonization. Cultivated by a group of labourers.
Artuf	1896	70	4,670	Agriculture. School for boys and girls. The first settlers were Bulgarian Jews, Sephardim. Now property of Mr. Isaac Goldberg of Wilna.
Mozah	1890	40	1,100	Agriculture, three-quarters of an hour from Jerusalem. Synagogue. Mill. Vines and vegetable-growing.
Dilb	1913	—	1,800	In the early stages of colonization.
Petah-Tikvah	1878	—	—	Plantations. The largest colony in the country. Schools for boys and girls. Centre of the religious schools (Dr. Auerbach). Home for orphans. Soup kitchen for labourers. Agricultural school.
Machne Yehouda	1913	2,500	23,837	Settlement for Yemenite Jews.
Yehoudieh	—	—	—	—
Ain Ganim (Fedje)	1908	—	762	Settlement for labourers. Founded by *Chovevé Zion* for the Petah-Tikvah labourers (a little house and orchard for every family).
Bir Ados	1912	40	4,220	In the early stages of colonization.

LIST OF COLONIES IN 1913.

Name of the colony.	Year of foundation.	Approximate number of souls.	Area in Dounams.	Kind of work, institutions, etc.
Kinnereth Colony	1908	25	5,572	In the early stages of cultivation.
Kinnereth Farm	1909	60	3,703	Farm of the Jewish National Fund. Farm for girls of the "Union of Women."
Dagania (Um d'shuni)	1910	45	3,072	Farm of the Jewish National Fund. Farm for girls of the "Union of Women."
Poriah	1911	60	3,703	Property of one of the American Achuzah Companies.
Mispah (En Katab)	1908	50	3,420	Agriculture.
Hattin	—	—	2,000	Agriculture.
Lubic	—	—	7,082	—
Near Tiberus	—	—	830	—
Migdal	1910	—	5,000	Farms and Plantations belonging to a Plantation Company.
Jessod Ha-Maaleh	1883	225	12,228	Agriculture. School for boys and girls.
Rosh Pinah	1882	650	20,102	Agriculture and Plantations. School for boys and girls. Centre of the Baron's (I.C.A.'s) administration for the Colonies of Upper Galilee (M. Kalvaryjski).
Machanaim	—	—	21,885	—
Ain Zeitun	1891	—	6,016	—
Mishmar Ha-Yarden	1884	125	7,596	Agriculture. School for boys and girls.
Metulah	1896	325	16,907	School for boys and girls.
Bene Yehouda	—	50	—	—
JAULAN.				
Lands in the Jaulan	1886	—	70,000	Belong to the Jewish Colonization Association—not inhabited.
SAMARIA.				
Kafr Saba	1892	—	7,321	Plantations, mostly almonds. Occupied by a little group of labourers.

LIST OF COLONIES IN 1913.

Name of the colony.	Year of foundation.	Approximate number of souls.	Area in Dounams.	Kind of work, institutions, etc.
Chederah	—	—	—	Agriculture, Plantations. School for boys and girls. In the neighbourhood of the "Garden of Samaria" (Mohilewer) *ethrogim* (citrons) and oranges. Baron Rothschild's eucalyptus wood, the greatest in the country.
Nachliel	—	500	31,355	Settlement for Yemenites.
Chederan Ann.	—	—	1,200	In the early stages of colonization.
Chefzibah	—	—	7,000	Property of the Company "Agudath Netaim." Olives and almonds.
Kerkur and Bedus	1912	—	11,400	In the early stages of colonization.
Zichron Jacob (Samarin)	1882	—	—	Plantations, Agriculture. School for boys and girls. Mostly Roumanian Jews. Centre of the Baron's (the I.C.A.'s) administration with beautiful buildings. Library. Hospital with 20 beds.
Shveia	1888	—	—	School for boys and girls.
Bath Shlomo	1888	1,150	30,668	—
Marah	1907	—	—	—
Herbet Menshie	1911			
Tantura	—	—	300	—
Atlit	1897	50	6,800	Experimental Station.
LOWER AND UPPER GALILEE				
Merchavia (Fule)	1911	100	9,415	Co-operative Labourers.
SedjeraFarm	1899	100	—	Farm. Co-operative Labourers.
Sedjera Colony	1900	200	17,717	Agriculture.
Mesha	1902	—	—	Agriculture.
Melhamieh	1902	200	16,023	Agriculture.
Yemma	1902	300	24,422	Agriculture.
Bet Jen (Bet Gan)	1904	100	4,549	Agriculture.

LXXIX

The Manifesto of the *Bilu* (1882)

In 1882, in a little lodging-house in Galata, Constantinople, a meeting of young Jews was held. Most of those present were students, artisans or scholars. The assembly resulted in the formation of a Society called *Bilu*, from the initials of the words: *Beth Iakob Lechu Venelcha* (House of Jacob, come, let us go!). The Society had many branches, each bearing some name well known in Jewish history, as *Kreti U'phleti*. There was an artisans' branch, called *He'charash Ve'hamasger* (carpenters and locksmiths). From headquarters was issued the following manifesto (in Hebrew):—

"To our Brethren and Sisters in the Exile, Peace be with you!
"'If I help not myself, who will help me?' (Hillel).

"Nearly two thousand years have elapsed since, in an evil hour, after an heroic struggle, the glory of our Temple vanished in fire and our Kings and chieftains changed their crowns and diadems for the chains of exile. We lost our country, where dwelt our beloved sires. Into the Exile we took with us, of all our glories, only a spark of the fire, by which our Temple, the abode of our Great One, was engirdled, and this little spark kept us alive while the towers of our enemies crumbled to dust, and this spark leapt into celestial flame and shed light upon the faces of the heroes of our race and inspired them to endure the horrors of the Dance of Death and the tortures of the autos-da-fé. And this spark is now again kindling and will shine for us, a true pillar of fire going before us on the road to Zion, while behind us is a pillar of cloud, the pillar of oppression threatening to destroy us. Sleepest thou, O our nation? What hast thou been doing till 1882? Sleeping and dreaming the false dream of Assimilation. Now, thank God, thou art awakened from thy slothful slumber. The Pogroms have awakened thee from thy charmed sleep. Thine eyes are open to recognize the cloudy structure of delusive hopes. Canst thou listen silently to the flaunts and the mockery of thine enemies? Wilt thou yield before the might of . . .? Where is thine ancient pride, thine olden spirit? Remember that thou wast a nation possessing a wise religion, a law, a constitution, a celestial Temple, whose wall is still a silent witness to the glories of the Past, that thy sons dwelt in Palaces and towers, and thy cities flourished in the splendour of civilization, while these enemies of thine dwelt like beasts in the muddy marshes of their dark woods. While thy children were clad in purple and fine linen they wore the rough skins of the wolf and the bear. Art thou not ashamed to submit to them?

" Hopeless is your state in the West ; the star of your future is gleaming in the East. Deeply conscious of all this, and inspired by the true teaching of our great master Hillel: ' If I help not myself, who will help me? ' we propose to build the following society for national ends :—

" 1. The Society will be named *Bilu*, according to the motto : ' House of Jacob, come, let us go ! ' It will be divided into local branches according to the number of members.

" 2. The seat of the Committee shall be Jerusalem.

" 3. Donations and contributions shall be unfixed and unlimited.

" What we want :—

" 1. A Home in our country. It was given to us by the mercy of God, it is ours as registered in the archives of history.

" 2. To beg it of the Sultan himself, and if it be impossible to obtain this, to beg that at least we may be allowed to possess it as a state within a larger state ; the internal administration to be ours, to have our civil and political rights, and to act with the Turkish Empire only in foreign affairs, so as to help our brother Ishmael in his time of need.

" We hope that the interests of our glorious nation will rouse the national spirit in rich and powerful men, and that everyone, rich or poor, will give his best labours to the holy cause.

" Greeting, dear brethren and sisters.

" Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one, and our Land, Zion, is our own hope.

" God be with us ! " *The Pioneers of Bilu.*

The last survivors of the *Bilu* still in Palestine are : Israel Belkind, S. Belkind, Mrs. Feinberg (*née* Belkind), Dr. Chissin, Drubin, Swerdloff, Leibowitz, Hurwitz and Zaladichin.—Of the veterans of the *Chovevé Zion* Colonization we met in 1914—to mention only a few—Gissin in Petach Tikvah, the Stamper family (Stamper was one of the first, and the most energetic settlers, he came from Roumania) ; Shalit, Meerowitz, Lubman, Freimann in Rishon ; Idelowitz, now in Alexandria, managing the " Carmel " Wine business ; Eisenberg, Goldin, Hirschensohn, Mme. Basia Makow in Rechoboth, and of the old " Menucha Ve-Nachla " (the Warsaw Colony) settlers : Bucharski, Padua, Weinstein, Bresner, Rafalkes, Appel.

LXXX

Zionism and Jewish Art

It is somewhat difficult to distinguish between Jewish art, that is to say between art expressing the Jewish national spirit, and ordinary art cultivated by the Jews.

Is Jewish art possible to-day ? National art requires a soil out of which to issue, and a sky towards which to unfold. We—present-day Jews—have neither. We are inhabitants of many countries, and our thoughts ascend to different skies. Within our innermost soul we know of no earth and no sky. We have no country to bear our hopes in its lap and lend firmness to the tread of our feet, and we have no national sun to bless our sowings and irradiate our day. National art requires a homogeneous community out of which it arises and for which it exists. We have merely fragments of a community, and as yet there is hardly any stirring of the part to assemble into a whole. But without these premisses national art cannot come into existence ; it cannot be made. It is no hothouse growth, but healthy, sapful plant life in a free native atmosphere. No artificial conditions may be created for it, it must come and develop with the progressing renascence.[1]

Another question presents itself. Are, at present, Jewish artists possible, i.e. artists who respond inwardly and in their works to Jewish individuality ? If we may answer this question in the affirmative, the inner possibility of Jewish art is affirmed too. Because, as a rule, two elements have to co-operate so that a national artist may be evolved : a strain of national heredity, and a national environment ; the former consecutive, not acquired by experience, but brought in unconsciously, the latter rather atmospheric, and up to a certain point consciously experienced. Since, in the most favourable conditions, present-day Judaism contains only the material and the elements of transformation of national environment, a Jewish artist would have to derive his national individuality chiefly from qualities received through heredity. But this would tend to prove that the artistic aptitude of the Jewish race is still aglow like live coal under ashes, and that it only needs personalities gifted with creative energy, and in whom this aptitude concentrates, condenses and transmutes into works, to bring forth Jewish artists. Are Jewish artists possible nowadays ? By way of reply it may suffice to show that there are Jewish artists, or rather that with many Jewish artists we have the impression that their art has a national character.

It is very doubtful indeed whether any clear definition can be given of Jewish national art equally acceptable from the standpoint of the nationalist and that of the artist. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a brief outline of the evolution of Jewish artistic activity in painting and sculpture in modern times, without entering into the old and much-discussed question of ancient Palestinian Jewish painting, sculpture, architecture, etc., medieval Jewish miniature-painting of a religious or semi-religious character and more or less Jewish origin, and the

[1] Martin Buber, *Jüd. Künst., Lesser Ury.*

arts of poetry and music cultivated by Jews since remotest antiquity and bearing undoubtedly in some cases the national character.

The sphere of art, particularly painting and sculpture, became accessible to the Jews at the same time as the realm of modern science and European culture and education, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fugitives from the Ghetto began to devote themselves to the study of art with more or less zeal, according to the opportunities afforded and conditions prevailing in the countries in which they lived—in Western Europe at an earlier period and in Eastern Europe somewhat later. Having received their training in different countries, they were naturally influenced by various schools of art. Some attained great distinction and merit, deserving to be placed in the foremost rank of European art, but these repudiated their Judaism, *e.g.* Munkácsy; others gained locally a high reputation; the majority of them, however, did not rise above mere mediocrity.

Benjamin Ulmann, an Alsatian, born in Strasburg, 1829, was a historical and portrait painter of some merit; Jean Jules Worms, born in Paris, 1832, painted genre-pictures with a good deal of animation; Leopold Pollack, born in Lodenitz, Bohemia, 1809, was a genre-painter of much refinement. He was an artist possessed of various accomplishments, who gained distinction in artistic circles as a "Slav"; Felix Schlesinger, born in Frankfurt o/M., 1814, and educated at Paris, became a famous French painter and was much appreciated as a genre-painter; Emil Lévy, born in Paris, 1826, deserves mention as a painter of idyllic scenery that showed considerable skill combined with simplicity; Louis Neustaeter, born in Munich, 1829 (*d.* 1899), achieved a reputation as a portrait painter; Felix Possart, born in Munich, 1837, was a most versatile popular painter; Nathanael Sichel, born in Mainz, 1843, was a historical painter of great talent; Eugene Benjamin Fischel, born in Paris, 1821 (*d.* 1895), was a historical painter ("The Arrival at the Inn" at the Luxembourg Museum since 1863), and devoted himself later on to painting of miniatures; Eduard Bendemann, born in Berlin, 1811 (*d.* 1889) was a painter of good taste and highly artistic accomplishments: he painted for the most part historical pictures, some of which are hung in German museums; Carl Jacoby, born in Berlin, 1853, distinguished himself among German painters of his time for his remarkable correctness in drawing; Friedrich Friedlaender, born in Vienna, 1825 (*d.* 1895), displayed the peculiar style of "Viennois" painting of his time; Toby Rosenthal, born in New Haven, U.S.A., 1848, was a disciple of Pilloty, and endeavoured to emulate his master; Herman Junker, Frankfurt (*b.* 1838); Karl Blosz, Munich; Edmund Edel, Charlottenburg; Julius Ester, Munich; August Gross, Vienna; Tullo Massarini,

Rome; Albert Raudnitz, Munich; Ernest Raudnitz, Paris; Emanuel Spitzer, Munich; Ernst Nelson, Berlin, and others are known more or less as painters of various subjects.

The most notable of Jewish sculptors of the earliest period were: Antoine Samuel Adam Salomon, born in La Grete, France, 1818; Max Klein, born in Hungary, 1847; Josef Rona of Budapest; Adolf Huszar of Budapest, among whose important works should be mentioned the famous monument of the Hungarian national poet, Petöfi; Johann Silbernagel of Vienna, famous for his charming little statuettes; Charles Samuel, born in Brussels, 1862, who executed the monument of the great Belgian statesman, Frère d'Orban; Moses Jacob Ezekiel, born in Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A., 1844, who established a great reputation in America and in Italy, and others.

It cannot definitely be said that this imposing host of artists belonging to the Jewish people who have enriched Art, during a comparatively short period—proving in that way the Jewish capacity for art—have in their works revealed a pronounced Jewish spirit. Jewish artists and their works are scattered all over the world, and there is no possibility even of bringing copies of their works together in one collection, so as to ascertain *ad oculos* whether there is, in spite of all the differences of schools and influences of environment, any trace of a special character to distinguish them from other collections of this kind, as the special character can only be distinguished when a number of pictures can be reviewed together. Seeing that the racial element is no doubt a potent factor in art, the work of the Huszars of Budapest, the Massarinis of Rome and the Possarts of Munich must have something in common because, after all, in the depths of their being, they are neither Magyars, nor Italians, nor Germans, but Jews. On the other hand, one may say that these Jews, having become an assimilated unit of the peoples among whom they had lived, been educated and worked, have no longer anything in common with and do not represent any specific school of Jewish art.

Another question is, whether the aforementioned Jewish artists have been engaged in presenting Jewish subjects (which is a question altogether removed from the previous, more fundamental question). This question can be easily answered: Jewish subjects were dealt with by Eduard Bendemann ("Boaz and Ruth," "The Mourning Jews," "Jeremias"); Emile Lévy ("The Feast of Tabernacles" and other pictures); Moses Jacob Ezekiel (various statues of great artistic value).

Apart from these artists who proved that Jews were capable of becoming more or less important artists, there were even at an earlier period some who not only displayed generally great artistic skill, but also gave evidence of understanding something about Jewish art.

First and foremost among these pioneers was Henry Leopold

Levy, born in Paris, 1840, who painted "Joash saved from the Massacre of the Grandsons of Athaliah" (1867), "Hebrew Captives weeping over the Ruins of Jerusalem" (1869), and other pictures. Being, so to speak, a divinely inspired artist, his works give proof of profound emotions and transcendental beauty and force. His mastery of dramatic effect, his extent and depth of passion remind one of an old Hebrew prophet.

Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, who was known as "Professor Oppenheim" of Frankfurt (1801–82), is not of much importance from an artistic standpoint. In his time he was one of the most prominent illustrators of Jewish patriarchy. His "Pictures of Jewish Life" give the impression of great devotion and have gained considerable popularity through thousands of reproductions.[1]

A tragic figure in the annals of art was Simeon Solomon, born in Bristol, 1834 (d. in London, 1905). At an early age he showed signs of artistic ability and—as his biographers say—"came under the influence of D. G. Rossetti." His drawings and paintings developed the mystical and sensuous tendencies of the pre-Raphaelite school to the extreme. He published a number of designs for the "Song of Songs" and reproductions of the drawings illustrating Jewish ceremonies. Keen critics of art ascribe to his genius a stimulating originality which influenced the whole pre-Raphaelite artistic school.

The pinnacle of Art, speaking generally, was reached by three prominent masters: Joseph Israels (1824–1911), Max Liebermann, and Solomon J. Solomon, R.A.

It was Joseph Israels who succeeded in representing the twilights of the Dutch atmosphere in all their individuality and tender charm. To understand how to portray Nature and Humanity, and more especially suffering Humanity, with equal care and art, and to bring into relief their organic interaction; to represent rural scenes, not as a stage setting but as an atmosphere, not forcible but imbued with poetic feeling; to invest human nature with a breath of such delicate lyricism that the

[1] The Jews of the Continent offered a splendid album, bound in marone velvet, inlaid with gilt bronze, in 1842 to Sir Moses Montefiore after his return from the East, in commemoration of his efforts on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Damascus. On each cover is a painting by Jewish artists. About these paintings the authors of the address—which was signed by 1490 subscribers—say:—

"The consecration of Joshua by the legislator Moses, as the leader of the armies of Israel, was the first step towards creating Israel a separate state. The pencil of Professor Oppenheim's genius has here worthily represented this event. Israel's mourning at the streams of Babel, painted by the masterly hand of Bendemann, brings in the background before our spirit, Jerusalem in flames, and the house of God in ruins. Thus both representations combine whatever constitutes Israel's pride and grief; whatever in the pages of history is capable of inspiring the champion of Israel with courage and zeal" (*Allg. Zeit. d. Judenthums*, 10 September, 1842).

impression created is one of love rather than of mere beauty; that is the chief characteristic of Israels' art, which to us seems so entirely Jewish. It is the enchanting melancholy, the gentle, delicate longing, the half-uttered tones, the soft harmonies which are divined rather than seen or heard that make Israels appear so extraordinarily modern. It is not merely because Israels was a Jew, not merely because his greatest works represent Jewish subjects, but because his art was characterized by a rich poetic fancy, by kindliness and melancholy, and at the same time by a priestly solemnity and a great simplicity which harmonize so wonderfully with the deepest emotions of the Jewish Psyche, that we are justified in regarding Israels as a national-Jewish painter. We are acquainted with the Jewish Rabbi, the calm, discerning, introspective thinker, seeking for the great *ethos* of existence in all the passing phenomena of life. Joseph Israels was a painter-rabbi. He painted with the same fervour as a *midrash* scholar would teach, with which a Jehuda-ha-Levi would sing. A "Gaon" in the domain of Art, a "Baal-Shem" who works spells, causing angels to appear not by means of prayers and texts; not by means of cabbalistic incantations, but by means of colours, light and shade effects. Where so visible as in Israels, creations are the groups of Divine sparkle flying about the world, the creative embodiment of the "naked souls" thirsting for existence, peace and incarnation of which the Cabbala speaks with so much enthusiasm and of which Chassidism dreams.

In all his paintings Israels succeeded in effecting a concentration in composition which focussed all interest upon the soul, upon sensation. Israels has not been content to fix by the masterly stroke of the brush a moment of dramatic intensity surprised in his model [as for instance, in the *Writer of the Law* (*The Thora-Writer*)], or the influences of the moment upon the emotions and expressions of the subject, but the soul itself and the whole soul-state. This directness was attained by Israels through the double study of man and his destiny in direct relation to nature.

Encyclopædias give the names of his masters and types in Amsterdam and Paris. But had Israels been a mere follower of his masters, then his name would not be found in encyclopædias. For decades, for many decades, he, the versatile painter, devoted himself to historical painting. No catalogue has rescued the titles from oblivion. When questioned concerning his early works, he answered the present writer with one of his characteristic subtle smiles: "How should I know where they are?" It was not until he had attained full maturity, or according to general ideas, after he had well passed maturity, that Israels became what he now is: he found himself after the sun of his life had passed the meridian.

Max Liebermann regards himself as a disciple of Israels, but is considered by others to be superior in the brilliancy and

versatility of his genius. He was practically the father of the German "Secession," and is the greatest living painter in Germany and one of the greatest in the world. Solomon J. Solomon is one of the most celebrated English painters. Dignified and serene, he has a wonderfully extensive and many-sided grasp of his art. As to Jewish art, it is a disputable point whether Liebermann's pictures bear indications of a pronounced Jewish character—some writers having maintained that such is the case. Israels' "Thora-Writer," and particularly his "Son of an Old People"—which is justly supposed to have been inspired by the new national movement—appeal undoubtedly to the Jewish consciousness by their exceptional impressiveness. The picture which established Solomon J. Solomon's reputation was his "Samson and Delilah," while his "Allegory" of 1904 is said to depict the triumph of Judaism as the last and only religion of the world.

In closing the review of this epoch, mention must be made of Lesser Ury of Berlin, an artist of great severity and sadness, whose "Jeremias" and other pictures display some originality singularly independent of influences from without—in which fact some critics thought they could trace some visions of Jewish awakening.

A similar change was noticeable in Eastern Europe during the period of transition which began there some decades later than in the West. Here, too, some young Jews entered the academies of art just as others went to the universities for scientific study, but, of course, with that difference in the prospects of success which distinguish art from science, that art depends more on natural gifts than on capacity to study. Some Polish, Galician and Russian Jews pursued their studies in Cracow or Petrograd, some others studied at Munich and Paris. Some deliberately emphasizing their national origin and country, others showing, through their new environment, a leaning towards a diversity of practical and theoretical motives.

Joseph Redlich (1821–81) was an engraver of world-wide fame during the first half of the century. Alexander Lesser of Warsaw (1819–91), the son of a Jewish merchant, was described as "the father of Polish historical painting." Of no importance as a painter, the curious fact remains that this typical Polish Jew was in his time appreciated as a painter of Polish national history (the first and most important publishers of illustrated books and periodicals in Warsaw were Merzbach, Gliksberg, Lewenthal, the son of a Hebrew teacher, and Wolf, who was of Jewish origin).

Leopold Horowitz, born in Hungary in 1831, who lived many years in Warsaw, and since the expulsion of foreign Jews from Russia in Vienna, has the twofold distinction of being an eminent portrait painter of European fame, and a well-known and noble-minded Jew His Jewish picture "The

Ninth of Ab " (the anniversary of the Destruction of the Temple) is a work of grand style, exquisitely finished ; his portraits, too, gained highest praise. He is much interested in Jewish matters, and was prominently associated with the foundation of the " Jewish Museum " at Vienna.

One of the greatest painters of the last generation in Russia was Isaac Levitan, born in 1860 (d. 1900), the master of Russian landscape. This Jew of the Russian Ghetto taught Russian artists to abandon mere topography for a poetical treatment of landscape scenery. He did not only paint admirably the rich purple of the northern sunset, the thin clouds, dawn and darkness, but also the very soul of the landscape. A writer in the (anti-Jewish) *Novoye Vremia* had to admit that " this full-blooded Jew knew as no other man, how to make us realize and love our plain and homely country-scene." Levitan's pictures adorn the Tretjakov Museum at Moscow, and have the right of undisturbed shelter in that city that was not unconditionally granted to their originator. Leonid Pasternak, born in 1862, is an important Russian painter, particularly known for his connections with Tolstoi.

The most wonderful romance of Jewish vitality and force of self-regeneration is the story of Mark Antokolski (1842–1900). Whatever modern critics may think of the special value of his master-works—classical or pseudo-classical—from an up-to-date point of view, the fact remains that this Lithuanian Jew, who was a son of poor parents at Vilna, brought up in the atmosphere of the *Cheder* (religious school) and the Vilna *Schulhof*, which is the most typical and best known centre of what is distinctly Jewish, is recognized, as far as sculpture is concerned, in Paris the metropolis of art. He introduced Russian sculpture into European art and his works have been highly appreciated, seeing with what intense delight and admiration they have been regarded by the highest in his native land, where he was entrusted with the task of executing the greatest national monuments, but his works have also received the highest praise throughout the world. Bernstamm Aronson and Guenzburg, distinguished by exceptional maturity in study and powers of concentration, the former an eminent master where powers of imagination and fascination were concerned, the latter of an observant, subtle intelligence, which proved so useful to him in the careful reproduction of details dealing with nature. They are devoted to the art of sculpture in Paris and in Russia.

All these artists proved that Jews can be artists. Jewish art in Jewish subjects was here and there to be observed. Isidore Kaufmann, a Hungarian Jew, born in 1853, executed some appreciable work in genre-painting of Polish-Jewish life. He displayed in his " Visit of the Rabbi," " Talmud Students " and other little pictures, a great simplicity and freshness, and a

delightful sense of humour, but these pictures, humorous as they are, have merely anecdotes for the outlines of their scheme. A real awakening of Jewish art in a higher sense was left to the present period of the Jewish National Revival and Zionism.

This new period was inaugurated by two Polish-Galician Jewish artists, who, while their respective artistic achievements were of different value, were instrumental in opening new perspectives for Jewish art; these were Moritz Gottlieb and Ephraim Moses Ha'Cohen Lilien.

Moritz Gottlieb, born in a small village in Galicia, about 1860, was a disciple of the great Polish national painter Jan Matejko. Of great imaginative power and intense feeling, a real artist, he succeeded in mastering the intricacies of modern painting. He soon became a favourite of his tutor, and was much admired in artistic circles at Cracow, where his works were immensely appreciated on account of the suave and well-balanced style of his pictures. His prospects of a great future increased with his popularity. It is said—*se non é vero é ben trovato*—that when he expressed his intention of devoting himself to Polish historical painting, Matejko remarked: "My son, you are a Jew; you cannot weep on the graves of Polish kings; leave it to others." So Gottlieb devoted himself to Jewish subjects, the most important of which was his admirable "Jew Praying in the Synagogue." This masterpiece so full of inspiration was more than a picture; it was a message to Jewish artists, one of the most simple and impressive: You shall go back to your own people; you shall find and see your own greatness and glory; you shall be your own selves again!"

The hand of death removed him in early manhood—at the end of the eighties of the last century—Moritz Gottlieb's name was cherished by the new generation of Jewish artists as that of a noble pioneer who had ushered in the era of Jewish art.

About ten years later, Lilien, having terminated his studies at Munich, settled in Berlin, and got in touch with the young Zionist intellectual movement. By means of his illustrations in black and white, which combined modernism with archaic forms, permeated by the Hebrew spirit, he soon succeeded in introducing a new element in artistic skill, and played a prominent part in shaping the modern tendencies of a somewhat independent young Jewish art. As to the artistic value and originality of his remarkable and exceedingly fruitful art, opinions may differ considerably, yet there is no doubt, as a master of an unique style of drawing, touch, finish and execution, and as a pioneer and advocate of methods expressing Jewish aspirations, types and ideas, he is unrivalled, and his works have had a far-reaching effect in encouraging Jewish artists to devote themselves to the extension of Jewish art on a self-dependent

and self-inspiring basis. The message of Gottlieb and the impulses of Lilien can be easily traced, even among the important Jewish artists who have been their contemporaries or have lived at a later period and have occupied honoured positions in general as well as in Jewish art.

Samuel Hirschenberg, Leopold Pilichowski and Henry Glitzenstein form, with all the distinction of their individualistic and high artistic qualifications, a sort of triumvirate in the realm of art. All these came from the same country—Poland—and from the same district of that country; they were contemporaries in age as well as in their outlook on life, seeing that all these represent the new, emancipated intellectual type of the Polish Jew with a touch of Jewish nationalism of the eighties, who differ so distinctly from the old type of the "assimilation" Jews of a previous period.

Samuel Hirschenberg excelled in the painting of a variety of subjects. His distinctness and fine blending of colours, his skill in creating broad and accurate outlines of figures are indeed remarkable. He was a modest, earnest and most industrious worker of really artistic aspirations. He had a strong predisposition for big canvases and was averse from anecdotal subjects. He was unable to paint anything of a small type. The Jewish people, its suffering, and his persecuted brethren formed the subjects of his brush. "Golus" (copies of which are well known) is a specimen of his art and outlook. Of keen perception, the life-blood of Jewry pulsing through his veins, he painted his "Wandering Jew," presenting with tragic force the synthesis and the resentment caused by Jewish Martyrdom.

He was one of those who had penetrated most deeply and powerfully the tragedy of the *Golus*, with all its great and desperate dreadfulness and all its abysmal horror, who felt it within their innermost marrow and blood, who went through life with its sad brand on their brows. The brush with which he painted was the master's heart, and the colour—his blood, the warm life-blood. The blood which has been flowing for thousands of years from the ever-open wound of the creative genius and of the nation. He dreamt to base the future upon sacred ruins. He deemed as nothing the laurels of the *Golus* as compared with the feeble light which began to glow more and more vividly far away in the old country and in his bosom, which overflowed with sadness and longing. He was a priest of art and a priest of the Jewish renaissance. During the last years of his life he went to Jerusalem to take part in the art work of Bezalel, and died there—as he had lived—upright and resigned to his fate, hiding from the world the sufferings of a noble soul.

Leopold Pilichowski is quite different in artistic temperament. Cheerful, thorough and pleasant, guided by a truly artistic instinct, he possesses the natural gifts of an eminent artist, being

a keen observer of life, of charming personality, and an enthusiastic worker. He achieved a high reputation by reason of his admirable blending of colours, his excellent and attractive style, the life-like expression of his portraits and the careful attention bestowed upon details. In France he attained high distinction, and recently also in this country where his works have found considerable appreciation. But the favourite subject of his art is Polish Jews. His picture entitled "Wearied," the two figures of old, wearied Polish Jewish pilgrims—is in conception and execution a masterpiece; this picture has been so frequently reproduced that it is now one of the most popular and most impressive Jewish pictures of the time. He expresses more forcibly than any other contemporary painter the intense fervour of Jewish prayer. He endeavours to penetrate the secrets of Polish-Jewish pathos in his charming picture "The Feast of our Rejoicing" and in another, entitled "Sorrow" which, probably, no other painter would have been able to understand. He describes and creates an historical record for the type of the Polish Jew as he knew him—in the fervour of his prayers, in the glory of his devotion, in the attractiveness of his misery.

Henry Glitzenstein, who now lives in Rome, is the son of a *Melamed* (religious teacher) in the little village of Turek, Poland. In Italy and throughout Europe, where his works have at several exhibitions gained highest distinction, he is recognized as being one of the greatest sculptors of the age. In ability, taste, gracefulness, originality and invention, he is a sculptor-poet, who excels all Jewish sculptors that ever lived, and even many non-Jewish artists of standing. It is not presumptuous to assert that Glitzenstein is one of the most modern sculptors, whose modernism does not merely amount to the acceptance of a certain "fad" but means original and constructive ability. He, too, is a dreamer of the Ghetto, but at the same time a master of a living art. His "Messiah," the incarnation of the mighty, asleep yet about to awaken to any movement towards the Jewish future, is a work of an enormous conception.

Hirschenberg's "Wandering Jew," Pilichowski's "Wearied" and Glitzenstein's "Messiah," though undoubtedly independent individual works, have yet to a certain extent been influenced by the new national spirit set aglow by Gottlieb and Lilien, and by the literature of the Jewish Revival.

To this category of Jewish artists belongs Hermann Struck, who combines artistic refinement with orthodox Jewish devotion and Zionist aspirations, a master of the first water, who has executed etchings of Israels' works and those of other great artists, and has a fine record for original portrait painting, Palestinian landscapes, and other drawings of exceptional skill; Moses Maimon, a distinguished Russian-Jewish painter, the author of the very popular "Marranos in Spain," and of other

pictures of value; Jehuda Epstein, who has given proof of possessing great power of imagination by his great sketch "Maccabean," a picture made for Herzl, who had it in his studio; Minkowski (Warsaw), whose Pogrom pictures are of really artistic value; Pffeffermann (Pan), a man of considerable artistic achievement, who has been engaged on the teaching staff of the Bezalel; Weinles and Altmann (Poland), who are responsible for various pictures and studies of Jewish subjects; Wachtel (Galicia), who emulated Lilien; and Hochmann (Cracow), who was guided by Glitzenstein's works. In Russia there are the painters: A. A. Maneritsch, M. L. Schafrom, A. B. Lachowski, and the sculptors: F. Bloch, M. L. Dillon, J. A. Troupianski, of the younger generation, and—of the older generation—Gabowitsch, J. J. Brodski, who represent modern Jewish art. In the important colony of artists and art students in Paris, including Leo Minsenberg, Leopold Gottlieb, Cylkow, Markus, Kramstück, Elie Nadelman and others of Warsaw, a real Jewish awakening has been observed, particularly among the younger members of the colony.

Special mention should be made of the well-known landscape painter Abraham Neumann of Sierpce, Poland, who has a fine long record of artistic work. He participated most actively in stimulating Jewish artistic activity in Poland and Galicia.

With regard to sculpture, Alfred Nossig has also to be mentioned. Nossig can boast, among his various accomplishments, also that of an able sculptor *con amore*. In some of his works he has dealt impressively with national Jewish subjects.

Another Jewish sculptor of note should be mentioned, *viz.* F. Beer of Paris (died in 1910). He was an ardent Zionist and a great personal friend of Herzl, and contributed his share to Zionist artistic work (the badges of the Congress).

In this country, Will Rothenstein has become very popular through several of his pictures devoted to scenes of Jewish life; Isaac Snowman and his brother Louis [Conrad] are artists of recognized accomplishments, and have painted valuable pictures of this kind. Wolmark is well known as an artist of exquisite taste and idealistic aspirations. His inclination has led him to the rendering of subjects dealing with Jewish life, so admirably dealt with in some of the pictures. He is a strong individualist and truth-seeker, and has in recent times manifested a decided inclination for futurism, of which he is one of the champions. Jacob Epstein is the most representative of sculptors and combines genius with technical skill.

The foregoing survey of Jewish activity forces us to the following conclusions:—

I. The numerous Jewish works of art, especially in painting and sculpture of such marked ability, with no previous history, patronage or encouragement, and produced under most unfavourable circumstances in a comparatively short time, showed

that Jewish genius was as much capable of development in the sphere of art as in music, poetry or the drama, and has made its influence felt at every opportunity.

II. The great artistic value—with few exceptions—of the works of these masters who either were acquainted with the older Jewish traditions, like Israels, H. P. Levy, Ezekiel, or who had come direct from the Ghetto, like Antokolski, compared with the Assimilationist Jews who were either satellites or plagiarists, proves that, even during the period previous to the present national Revival, Jewish consciousness (like any other deep racial consciousness) has stimulated the vigour and originality of artistic activity.

III. The beneficial effects of the National movement in Jewish artistic craftsmanship can be observed in two directions :—

(*a*) in the artistic value of the productions, especially with regard to Jewish subjects, and

(*b*) in the degree of influence of the artistic activity on the Jewish people.

With regard to the first point, the progress made can be easily gauged by comparing, for instance, Bendemann and Emil Levy with Gottlieb, or Oppenheim with Lilien, and so on. Jewish life at the period of Assimilation, like the literature of that period was presented essentially in apologetic terms and addressed itself always, consciously or unconsciously, to Gentiles, as if to say : " Think of us, we are really not as detestable as you believe us to be, we are rather attractive " ; but, on the other hand, national artists say : " We are what we are," and more than that, seeing that to deal with Jewish subjects from a national standpoint is self-centred, and therefore more of a psychological question. We are what we are, neither better nor worse than others : we endeavour to know ourselves, and we want to see our images reflected in our own art. Oppenheim's Jews are so idealistically exaggerated that one would not recognize them if one were to meet them in their shops on the " Zeil " in Frankfurt, while Gottlieb's Jews are so orientally peculiar, that meeting them in the market-place dealing with tapestry one would have the impression that these dealers are descendants of oriental princes, although the artist had no intention of producing this impression.

The second point is still more important. The art of the period of Assimilation, like the active character of Assimilation, is essentially individualistic and aristocratic, while the art of the period is decidedly of a collective and democratic character. Logically and psychologically, there can be no movement of Assimilation in masses, because Assimilation *must* be opposed to cohesion or a movement for the cohesion of Jews, except for

ritual purposes. A Jew becomes a doctor, a lawyer or a painter—the more he succeeds in his career among Gentiles, the less he is brought in contact with the Jewish masses: nobility of character or generosity may make him a philanthropist to the masses whom he may endeavour to patronize; on the other hand, the absence of these qualities will make him wholly indifferent, but anyhow the chain of natural and simple intercourse is broken. This was necessarily the course of Assimilation in every direction, and also showed us the relationship of Jewish artists to the Jewish masses. All those Huszars, Ronas, Schlesingers and Pollacks had no inclination and no possibility whatever of acquiring the artistic education of the people from whom they sprang. In this respect the situation has considerably improved owing to the national movement, *Chovevé Zion* and Zionism. Now, many Jewish artists live among the people, and are influenced by them. Not only in Russia, where there is now a strong movement for propaganda amd mutual help among Jewish artists (under the tutorship of Ilja Ginzburg)—a movement which was unthinkable in the time of the Assimilation tendencies—but even in Paris a tendency has made itself felt in this direction in the Jewish colony of artists in recent times. Among the masses in the East of London, too, there is an Organization called *Ben Uri*, for the propaganda of art. Lectures are arranged, instruction is given, and popular articles are published on various subjects of art. That popularity is due to the activity of the publishing firms *Phœnix*, *Libanon*, the monthly *Ost und West*, and other publications.

Summing up the effects of relationship between Jewish art and Zionism, we see that Zionism has played its part in the revival of Jewish art. On the other hand, Jewish art has contributed much to the propaganda of Zionism. It cannot be too often repeated that the creative and active forces of Zionism have always been literature, education and art: they have stimulated the people's hearts and minds, they have opened the people's eyes and enlisted their generosity. One of the greatest agencies of Zionist propaganda has been the Bezalel, the work of the enthusiastical Jewish artist Boris Schatz, who is in his own art a disciple of Antokolski, but who stands himself, unrivalled, as a pioneer in the propaganda of Jewish artistic activity in Palestine.

It is not hazarding too much to assert, that with an important development of colonization and education in Palestine we are going to see a really original Jewish art. But even in the Diaspora, the awakening of Jewish consciousness will ennoble, popularize and strengthen Jewish art. Jewish artists should not pursue any particular tendency in addition to their own art; they should be only artists, and true to themselves. Art must be free, and being free it will—as a necessary and natural consequence—eventually offer ample scope for the national genius.

LXXXI

Progress of Zionism in the West since 1897

1. *England*

In England Zionist propaganda was very much hampered for want of an influential and well-supported Hebrew press and literature—which, after all, form the most powerful factor in the national propaganda, and an intellectual weapon in the struggle, the more so because through them can be maintained a direct closer touch and personal relations with Palestine. These two factors have made Zionism in Eastern Europe something more than a formal organization governed by certain statutes; it has now become a living force. Zionist propaganda there has also suffered from want of extensive university groups that have brought a great educational force into the Movement in continental countries. In England, where class divisions are so pronounced, in ideas, language and customs, and where the pressure of the Jewish problem from outside is not felt, the difficulties in the way of Zionist propaganda were naturally much greater. Besides these difficulties, there was another fact that did not fail to influence the position. The centralization of the financial institutions and the greater facility for political organization were no doubt of considerable advantage, as they afforded English Zionism in this respect means of propaganda not accessible to the Movement in other countries. But there was also an important drawback, namely, the Movement has been concentrated on these two appeals. The consequences of such a development manifested themselves in two directions: in the influence upon the Organization, and in the effect on non-members of the Organization. As for the internal influences, although the general Zionist work might have appeared here as elsewhere to be of the greatest importance, nevertheless it must be admitted that the financial institutions necessarily absorbed more energy, and carried more weight, while observers from outside were faced more directly than in any other country with this particular aspect of the Zionist Organization. In Eastern Europe, the public outside of Zionism was also made aware of the existence of a political scheme and financial matters; but what they realized most immediately and forcibly was above all an intellectual activity, a new system of education, a new attitude towards all questions of the day and a new and close relationship with Palestine. In England, outsiders saw little or nothing of what others saw elsewhere. All they realized was a political scheme which they naturally endeavoured to magnify and to exaggerate for the sake of controversy, clinging obstinately to their own opposition to "Utopia," and looking at the compara-

tively meagre financial means as something that was unable to impress them to any great extent.

Yet they were greatly mistaken. Zionism in England was in its essentials not in the least different from what it is in Russia or anywhere else. It must be admitted that it has not yet sufficiently developed all the various branches of its activity, but this is not due to a difference in its principle, but to the divergence in local conditions for which the idea is not responsible. If all its potentialities have not yet been developed, there is no reason why they should not be so very soon. Notwithstanding all kinds of difficulties and domestic controversies, Zionism in England was propagated and furthered by a great number of able workers. Among those who took a leading part in the work in England since the earliest period may be found: the Haham Dr. Moses Gaster, Joseph Cowen, Herbert Bentwich, the late S. B. Rubenstein, L. J. Greenberg, Jacob de Haas, Jacob Moser, Charles Dreyfus, the late Rabbi A. Werner, the late A. Vecht, the late A. Lozinsky, the late A. Ginzberg, L. Kessler, Percy Baker, the late J. Massel, E. Ish-Kishor, M. Shire, J. Cohen-Lask, Rev. J. K. Goldbloom, the late Rev. David Wasserzug, Dr. S. Fox, E. W. Rabbinowicz, Miss H. Weisberg, Dr. Moses Umanski, H. M. Raskin, H. Comor, the late H. M. Benoliel, Solomon Cohen, E. Guilaroff, and others.

Somewhat later—not exactly in the literal sense—the older leaders were joined by new workers of influence and eminent ability. The most notable are: Dr. Ch. Weizmann, Dr. Samuel Daiches, Rev. Isaiah Raffalovich, Leon Simon, Harry Sacher, Norman Bentwich, Albert M. Hyamson, Dr. S. Brodetsky, S. Landman, Leonard Stein, Rev. M. H. Segal, Bertram Benas, Joseph Jacobs, Paul Goodman, Israel Cohen, Dr. Joseph Hochman, Samuel Cohen, Israel Sieff, Simon Marks, Dr. Salis Daiches, F. S. Spiers, and others. In University and intellectual circles also important progress in Zionist thought could be perceived. One of the most prominent of the intellectual Zionists is the Haham Dr. Gaster. He was born at Bucharest in 1857. Having matriculated there, he proceeded to the Jewish Seminary, Breslau, where in due course he received his rabbinical diploma. He is also a Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Leipsic. He published numerous important works on the Roumanian language and literature, and on the subject of folklore, on which he is one of the first authorities. He has written text-books for general and Jewish schools in Roumania. His compendium of Scripture history has been adopted as a standard work throughout the country. He produced the first excellent translation of the Hebrew Prayer Book into Roumanian. In 1885 he left Roumania and came to England, where he was appointed Haham of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregations in succession to the late Haham Dr. Artom (1887). This office he resigned in 1918. He brought new life into

those congregations and largely aided by his valuable literary work in the promotion of oriental studies in England. Gaster was an ardent Zionist long before the First Congress. Profoundly touched by the unfortunate position of the Jews in Roumania, he assisted in establishing the first Jewish colony in Palestine, Samarin (Zichron Jacob)—and organized meetings in Roumania which were addressed by Laurence Oliphant and others. Indeed it was the part he took in these matters that, in some measure, led to his expulsion from Roumania. In England he joined the Zionist Organization from its very beginning. His learned speeches and writings gave a great impetus to the propaganda.

Herbert Bentwich, a zealous and devoted supporter of the Jewish colonization in Palestine, was as well known in the *Chovevé Zion* movement as he is in the Zionist Organization. He was the organizer and leader of the Maccabean Pilgrimage to Palestine of 1897. In several articles in the English press he answered the attacks made upon Zionism. Being a lawyer by profession his services were invaluable in the foundation of the Zionist financial institutions. A well-known figure at the Zionist Congresses, he is a most active worker in local affairs, especially in the Order of Ancient Maccabeans, in connection with which organization he recently helped to found a land company for the purchase of land in Palestine. He is indefatigable in the propaganda of Zionism, and one of the few English Zionists who succeeded in making Zionism a tradition of his family by means of the closest personal contact with Palestine.

Israel Zangwill may be described as one of the most distinguished propagandists of the Zionist idea during the period 1899 until 1906, when he founded the Territorialist Organization. To this brilliant writer and orator belongs the credit of having contributed greatly towards making Zionism popular in England. An English writer of enchanting dexterity, possessed of a keen sense of humour and capacity to appeal to the crowd, he discredited the old idea of Assimilation. Though his views on the future of Palestine have undergone considerable modification, his pamphlets and early speeches are still useful and appreciated in Zionism.

Mr. Joseph Cowen, who takes a most active and responsible part in Zionist work, particularly with regard to the financial institutions, plays an important part in central as well as in local organization. He was for some years a member of the Actions Committee and one of the most prominent representatives at Zionist Congresses and Conferences. Mr. L. J. Greenberg's name is found in the Zionist records of the first few years in connection with the movement in England, as well as internationally, and in his work he has always associated himself with Mr. Cowen. He was always deemed resourceful and an energetic

propagandist in England, and was for a certain period a member of the central management of the Organization. He was Honorary Secretary of the English Zionist Federation, and a member of the Actions Committee, and in these capacities did admirable work. Both Mr. Cowen and Mr. Greenberg were deeply attached to Herzl, and assisted him in his work in England.

The late S. B. Rubenstein was one of the veterans of the old *Chovevé Zion*, and as a representative Zionist was very active in the movement since the First Congress. Mr. Jacob de Haas, a journalist of great versatility, combined with great devotion and inexhaustible enthusiasm for the cause, worked hard in England, and now continues his useful work zealously in the United States. Mr. Leopold Kessler, a faithful adherent to Zionism since its inception, has been active, partly in South Africa and partly in England, more especially in connection with the financial institutions and the Actions Committee. The Rev. Isaiah Raffalovich, Rabbi of the New Hebrew Congregation, Liverpool, a native of Jerusalem, an inspired *Chovev Zion* and Zionist, is doing excellent propaganda work. The late Joseph Massel, of Manchester, a man of great Jewish learning, a Hebrew writer and translator, was a well-known and popular figure at the Zionist Conferences in England, as well as at the Zionist Congresses. He was one of the few Hebraists who introduced an element of Hebrew literature into the Zionist propaganda in England. The late Aron Vecht (1856–1908), a man of striking individuality, was an ardent Jewish nationalist. He founded the weekly paper, *The Jewish Standard*, and was one of the founders of the *Chovevé Zion* Association in London, and later, when Herzl launched the Zionist movement, became one of his most devoted followers.

Mr. Jacob Moser, J.P. (Lord-Mayor of Bradford, 1910–11), deserves an honourable place among the Zionist leaders. A prominent philanthropist in his city, and a devoted Zionist, he has been for a number of years a leading representative of the Movement and was elected a member of the Actions Committee, and attended most Zionist Congresses, where he gained great popularity. He visited Palestine and became a generous and zealous patron of Hebrew education there. The Hebrew Gymnasium at Jaffa, which is the first and foremost Hebrew educational institution in the Holy Land, was practically founded by him, and owes its existence and maintenance to his exertions and generosity. Dr. Charles Dreyfus, J.P., of Manchester, has associated himself with the Zionist movement now for some years. He has been a member of the Actions Committee and President of the English Zionist Federation.

Some Zionists have worked, and are now working, with great enthusiasm in the sphere of Hebrew education. The method of Hebrew teaching known as "Ibrith B'Ibrith" (Hebrew in Hebrew), which was first introduced by Zionists into Palestine

and Russia, was first recommended in England by Mr. David Yellin, of Jerusalem, at public meetings addressed by him on his visits to this country, and was strongly supported by Mr. Israel Abrahams. In the work of encouraging the diffusion of the Hebrew language in England those most active were: in London—Rev. J. K. Goldbloom—and before his removal to the United States Mr. E. Ish-Kishor, and—in Liverpool—Dr. Samuel Fox, an able Hebraist and educator, formerly editor of the *Ha-Magid*, assisted by a number of efficient Hebrew teachers, Mr. Maximovski (now in America), Mr. Rumianck, Mr. Wassilewsky, Mr. Port, Mr. A. Doniach, the young Hebrew poet Pinski, Mr. Beilin, Mr. Hodes, and others. There are in London, as well as in the provinces, some Hebrew-speaking societies and groups that work for the maintenance of Hebrew as a living tongue. The láte J. Suwalski, an able Talmudist and Hebrew writer, edited and published in London for some years a Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Yehoudi*, under most difficult conditions. After his death the publication of this paper was suspended, but in Hebraist circles a propaganda is again on foot for the purpose of securing the reappearance of a Hebrew weekly.

In tracing the more recent development of Zionism in England, a number of representatives and workers of a prominently intellectual and literary character cannot escape our attention: Dr. Samuel Daiches, Lecturer in Biblical Exegesis and Talmudics at Jews' College, and author of numerous works on Assyriologian, Biblical Babylonian and Talmudical Babylonian subjects, a scholar of recognized merits, has an excellent Zionist record as a delegate to the Congresses, a Zionist writer, and as a most faithful propagandist of the national idea and the Hebrew language. His brother, Dr. Salis Daiches, Minister of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation and author of studies on philosophy, is an active member of the Organization. Both are faithful to the traditions of their old rabbinical family and particularly to that of their father, the venerable Rabbi Israel Hayim Daiches of the Great Bet Ha-Midrash Congregation, Leeds, who many years ago, when Rabbi at Neustadt-Shirvint, Russia, was one of the first of the orthodox Rabbis to identify themselves with the Zionist idea.

The beginning of a University movement and the literary activity in connection with Zionism are, undoubtedly, remarkable features of Zionist development in England in recent years and deserve due consideration. Most prominent in this useful and promising movement are: Leon Simon, Norman Bentwich, Harry Sacher, Albert M. Hyamson, Dr. Selig Brodetsky, Samuel Landman, Dr. Joseph Hochman, Leonard Stein, the Rev. M. H. Segal and others, who, as Hebrew scholars and English writers of a highly cultivated literary taste, have founded University Zionist Societies, and are frequently lecturing on Zionist and general Jewish literary subjects. During the four years of the

European War, despite the pressure on their time and energies which their non-Zionist duties, in most instances in the service of the State, involved, they produced a Zionist literature remarkable not only in all the circumstances for its quantity, but also for its quality. They established and produced two periodicals, *The Zionist Review*, the monthly organ of the English Zionist Federation (editors, Mr. A. M. Hyamson and Mr. Leon Simon), in a sense the successor to *The Zionist*, which ceased publication on the outbreak of war, and *Palestine*, the weekly organ of the British Palestine Committee (editor, Mr. Harry Sacher). Of books all of a high quality and a permanent character, *Zionism and the Jewish Future* (editor, Mr. H. Sacher), which immediately became the standard work in England on Zionism, and passed into a second edition which soon became exhausted, *Zionism—Problems and Views* (editors, Mr. Paul Goodman and Mr. Arthur D. Lewis), *Palestine—The Rebirth of an Ancient People* (Mr. Albert M. Hyamson), *Palestine of the Jews* (Mr. Norman Bentwich), and *England and Palestine* (Mr. H. Sidebotham), published by the British Palestine Committee, have all appeared since 1914. At the same time the same small band of writers have been active in the periodical press, and by means of a number of pamphlets, which deal with different aspects of Zionism and the Palestine question, have had considerable influence on public opinion, Jewish and non-Jewish, throughout the English-speaking world. Some members of this small band have also written on Zionism and Palestine in some of the leading American periodicals. Without being by any means exhaustive, one may mention among recent pamphlets: *The Case of the Anti-Zionists* (Leon Simon), *Great Britain, Palestine and the Jews*—(1) *Jewry's Celebration of its National Charter*, (2) *A Survey of Christian Opinion, What is Zionism?* (Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Dr. Richard Gottheil), *The Jewish Colonization in Palestine: Its History and its Prospects* (S. Tolkowsky), *A Jewish Palestine: The Jewish Case for a British Trusteeship* (H. Sacher), *Zionism and the Jewish Religion* (F. S. Spiers), *Zionism and the Jewish Problem* (Leon Simon), *A Hebrew University for Jerusalem* (H. Sacher), *Zionism and Socialism* (Lewis Rifkind), *Jewish Emancipation: The Contract Myth* (H. Sacher), *History and Development of Jewish Colonization in Palestine* (L. Kessler), *Zionism, its Organization and Institutions* (S. Landman), *Jewish Colonization and Enterprise in Palestine* (I. M. Sieff), *Zionism and Jewish Culture* (Norman Bentwich), *Zionism and the State* (H. Sacher), *Zionism and the Hebrew Revival* (E. Miller), *Hebrew Education in Palestine* (S. Philipps), *British Projects for the Restoration of the Jews* (A. M. Hyamson), *Cosmopolitanism and Zionism* (Arthur D. Lewis), *The Jewish National Fund* (Joseph D. Jacobs), *Zionism in the Bible* (N. Sokolow), *Achievements and Prospects in Palestine* (S. Tolkowsky), *Hebrew Education in Palestine* (Leon Simon), and a number of the essays

of "Achad Ha'am," translated into English by Mr. Leon Simon.

Of important articles in the principal English weeklies and reviews may be mentioned "Palestine and Jewish Nationalism," by Mr. Leon Simon, in *The Round Table*, "The Development of Political Zionism," by Mr. Israel Cohen in *The Fortnightly Review*, by Mr. Albert M. Hyamson in the *Quarterly Review*, and a so several other articles by the same writer in *The New Statesman* and *The New Europe*. *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian*, not to mention other daily periodicals, have given valuable and frequent support, in their editorial columns and elsewhere, to the Zionist cause.

It is chiefly due to the exertions of Mr. Leon Simon, who stands at the head of the University Zionist Organization, that the revival of interest in living Hebrew has spread among the young intellectuals. It is worthy of notice that this young scholar, who was born and educated in this country, was so strongly inspired by the Zionist idea that he acquired so thorough a knowledge of the Hebrew language that he is now a good Hebrew speaker, as well as a highly appreciated contributor to the Hebrew monthly *Ha-Shiloach*. The Rev. M. H. Segal, formerly Minister of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Congregation, author of *Mishnaic Hebrew and its Relation to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic*, who belongs to the same group, is an excellent Hebrew writer. This movement has been greatly influenced by Asher Ginzberg—Achad Ha'am—who lives in London, and whose writings are very highly appreciated in intellectual quarters. Mr. Simon has translated some of his books into English. A great supporter of this movement is Dr. Ch. Weizmann, who is an old worker in University circles.

Evidently Zionism is attracting more and more attention and consideration, and has the moral support and sympathy of distinguished scholars and spiritual leaders, among whom we may mention the Goldsmid Professor of Hebrew at the University of London and Rabbi of the Bayswater Synagogue, Hermann Gollancz, and Dr. S. A. Hirsch, a well-known Talmudist and Emeritus Lecturer at Jews' College. Dr. Hirsch was one of the distinguished *Chovevé Zion*, and took great interest in the Zionist movement. He was for a time Chairman of the Joint Committee of the English Zionist Federation and the Maccabeans.

The foregoing sketch, incomplete as it is, gives some idea of the amount of energy and labour expended on the work of Zionist organization and propaganda in England. If it is not as large and vigorous as it might be, and as it is undoubtedly going to be owing to the new development, it cannot be denied that there is in England a strong Zionist movement supported by an ever-increasing number of able, determined and devoted workers.

2. *South Africa*

In South Africa Zionism is powerful and important. Among the first representatives of the movement there must be mentioned as the most notable: Dr. J. H. Hertz, Johannesburg (he was Delegate to the Fourth Zionist Congress, 1900), who is now Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire. Other staunch supporters were the Rev. Dr. J.L. Landau, Mr. S. Goldreich, the late Rev. D. Wasserzug, Mr. S. L. Heymann, Mr. S. Lennox-Loewe, Mr. R. Alexander, Mr. J. Heymann, Dr. Abelheim, Mr. J. L. Cohen, Mr. H. Lyons, Mr. R. Feigenbaum, Mr. H. B. Ellenbogen, Mr. S. S. Grossberg (Bulawayo), Mr. B. Aaron, Mr. J. Blumi, Mr. A. Beyer, Mr. N. Richardson, Mr. J. Kark, Mr. B. J. Chaimowitz, Mr. A. Deremeik, Mr. A. M. Abrahams, Mr. J. Kaplan, Mr. J. Schwartz, Mr. Groimann, Mr. Hersh, Mr. S. Bebor and others. They have a well-organized Zionist Federation, of which the advocate, Mr. Maurice Alexander, is the Chairman. They also have their own Zionist Press, always send delegates to the Zionist Congresses and maintain a strong and successful propaganda in their country. The enthusiasm manifested by the masses is as great as the wonderful generosity with which they support all Zionist institutions in and outside of Palestine. One is simply struck with admiration at the wonderful results they have achieved in the way of contributions.

3. *Canada*

In Canada the Zionist movement began in 1898 and immediately met with great success. Zionists propagated their principles at mass meetings and soon attracted enthusiastic workers for their cause, and by their help they were enabled to form organizations in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Hamilton, London, Kingston (Ontario), Ottawa, and on the Pacific Coast. (The first Zionist Society in Canada was the *Agudath Zion* in Montreal.) First and foremost among the leaders is Mr. Clarence I. de Sola, a brother of the late Rev. Meldola de Sola, the minister of the Sephardi Community of Montreal. Both were the sons of Dr. Abraham de Sola, LL.D., who was Professor of Semitic Literature at the McGill University of Montreal, and the leading Jewish Rabbi and writer in Canada. Mr. Clarence de Sola is President of the Federation of the Zionist Societies of Canada. The Rev. A. M. Ashinski (now at Pittsburg), Dr. David M. Hart, the Rev. B. M. Kaplin, Mr. J. S. Leo, Mr. A. Levin, the Rev. D. H. Wittenberg, Mr. H. G Levetus, Mr. Leon Goldman, Mr. B. Levi, the late Mr. Falik and many others were the principal, untiring workers from the first; and the distinguished Hebraist Rabbi Menkin (Hamilton), the eminent preacher Rabbi Abramowitz (Montreal), Mr. L. Lewinsky (Toronto), Mr. J. Friedmann (Ottawa), Mr. S. Jacobs (Montreal), Mr. Leon Cohn, Dr. Shayne, Mr. David Levy, Mr. Louis Fitch, Mr. A. A. Harris, Mr. S. Frankel, Mr. E.

Geffen, Mr. Joseph Finsberg, Mr. H. Nathansohn, Mr. Bernard Lasker and many other enthusiastic speakers, workers and writers contributed to the efforts that made the Federation of the Canadian Zionists a living force in the great movement, and the most active and most respected section of Jewry in that important part of the British Empire.

4. *Other Parts of the British Empire.*

There are also some Zionist groups as well as individual supporters in New Zealand, in Australia and in all other parts of the British Empire. In Egypt Zionism has recently made considerable progress.

5. *The United States*

The United States of America, with its three million Jews, of whom by far the greater number have migrated there from Russia during the past two generations, has naturally become an important centre of Zionism. It is impossible to give, in a brief outline, a proper conception of the greatness and importance of Zionist activities in America.

America is a world in itself, and this can equally be said of American Zionism. The majority of Zionists may already perhaps, or will very soon, reside in the English-speaking countries. The extent of Zionism in the United States cannot be gauged by the payment of the "Shekel" (the annual obligatory Zionist contribution), which is not by any means a criterion as far as Zionist allegiance in America is concerned. It is sufficient to mention such well-known names as: Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Nathan Straus, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Professor Richard Gottheil, Miss Henrietta Szold, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, Professor Israel Friedlaender, Rev. Dr. Pereira Mendes, E. Lewin-Epstein, Zolotkow, Louis Lipsky, J. de Haas, Professor Felix Frankfurter, Leon Sanders, Dr. C. S. Rubensohn, Nathan D. Kaplan, Judge Aaron J. Levy, Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. H. M. Kallen, Rabbi H. H. Rubenowitz, Louis Robison, Dr. Benjamin L. Gordon, Julius Meyer, S. Abel, A. E. Lubarski, Maurice L. Avner, Rabbi S. Margolis, Rev. Max Heller, Joseph Barondess, Rev. H. Masliansky, Abraham Goldberg, Bernard Richards, B. Rosenblatt and many others, representing all classes, sections and shades of American Jewry—these names enable one to form a slight idea of the greatness of the movement.

Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, Justice of the Supreme Court, stands at the head of the Organization, and his influence in America equals almost that of Herzl in this hemisphere. Dr. Shemaryah Levin, representing the Inner Actions Committee, has done much to stimulate propaganda in America, and is strongly supported by a number of distinguished Zionists who have recently arrived there.

The movement has, however, a long and honourable record in America (where, as in other countries, the Zionist movement was preceded by a *Chovevé Zion* movement). There have been not only the *Shove Zion* in New York and the *Chovevé Zion* in Philadelphia in 1891 ; the beginning was much earlier. Mention has already been made of the Rev. M. J. Raphall's activities ; but he did not stand alone in his efforts. An attempt to form a *Chovevé Zion* organization was made at Cincinnati in 1855. In the *Occident* of Philadelphia, of March 8th, 1860, Mr. Simon Berman, the author of the Hebrew book *Massot Shimon* (published in 1874), published the details of a *Chovevé Zion* plan he had then formulated. Still later, Adam Rosenberg worked most energetically in connection with *Chovevé Zion* in other countries, and with the first colonists in Palestine. Rosenberg attended also the First Zionist Congress.

The Federation of American Zionists was organized on July 4th, 1897, with Professor Richard Gottheil as President, Dr. B. Felsenthal of Chicago, Dr. M. Jastrow of Philadelphia, Dr. S. Schaffer of Baltimore, Dr. J. L. Bluestone, Rev. H. Masliansky, as members ; Mr. C. D. Birkhahn acted as Hon. Treasurer, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise as Honorary Secretary.

The old and highly esteemed Dr. Gustav Gottheil, father of Professor Richard Gottheil, who had formerly been Rabbi at Manchester (and a friend of Professor Theodores), and had just then become Rabbi at New York (where he died in 1903), identified himself with the Zionist movement. Professor Richard Gottheil joined the movement from the beginning. He was a friend of Herzl, a member of the Actions Committee and a prominent figure at the Zionist Congresses. In order to spread a knowledge of the Zionist movement, the first Committee of the Federation resolved to issue a series of publications, and Professor Gottheil wrote his first pamphlet, *The Aims of Zionism*, in 1897. Five years ago he published an important work on Zionism. For a long time Dr. J. L. Magnes was most actively engaged in Zionist work, and he is still most active in the work of organizing Hebrew education in the United States.

The late Dr. Marcus Jastrow, who served on the first Committee, was an orientalist and a rabbi, pre-eminently known as a man of genius and thoroughness, and as an author of a great dictionary of the Aramaic-Talmudic language, and of other works of great value. It is not generally known, and therefore worthy of notice here, that when he was preacher at the Great Synagogue in Warsaw at the beginning of the sixties at the time of the Polish Insurrection, he was an enthusiastic friend of the Poles in their struggle for national liberty. Poles and Polish-Jewish patriots still cherish his memory with deep reverence.

The present Zionist movement in America, as compared with

the earlier one, is of course much stronger and healthier, but it is interesting to observe that the movement in America is not one that sprang up only recently.

During the present war American Zionism has come providentially to the succour of Palestine with an enthusiasm and a generosity unequalled in history, and it is undoubtedly qualified and destined to play a prominent part in the Zionist solution of the Palestinian problem.

6. *Germany*

The geographical position of Germany—its proximity to Russia and Austria—the numerical strength of its Jewish population, and their long tradition of Jewish learning and Jewish activity, have combined to make that country favourable soil for the growth of Zionism. Nor must the prevalent anti-Semitism be left out of account as a factor making in the same direction. Whereas, for instance, the Jewish University student in England is welcomed in the various students' associations and clubs, the Jewish students at a German University are practically compelled to form an organization of their own. This is one of the causes of the remarkable growth of the Zionist Students' movement in Germany—a movement which, while it is not free from the besetting sin of over-organization, has undoubtedly done a great deal to transform the spirit of German Jewry. But from the earliest years, even before the growth of the Students' movement, Zionism has always been in Germany a serious intellectual movement, contending for supremacy with the "Reform" theory of Judaism, and never failing to hold its own. The first official paper of the movement was *Die Welt*, and the *Jüdischer Verlag* in Berlin was for long the most important Zionist publishing concern; while in the extent of its Zionist literary and artistic output Germany is probably second to no other country. Yet it is characteristic that a Zionist Congress has only once (Hamburg, 1911) been held in Germany, though the headquarters of the movement were for a time at Cologne and afterwards at Berlin, and though Germany has been the home of such distinguished Zionists as Dr. Max Bodenheimer, for many years at the head of the Jewish National Fund, Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, the expert in co-operative colonization, and Julius Simon, to say nothing of members of the Inner Actions Committee like Wolffsohn, Hantke and Warburg.

7. *Smaller European Countries*

Holland gave to the movement one of its earliest leaders, Heer Jacobus Kann, who was associated with Wolffsohn in the administration after Herzl's death. It has now a well-organized and active Zionist Organization, to which a great impetus was given by the Eighth Congress at the Hague, 1909. Dutch Zionists

take a very active part in the general organization work and in that of the Jewish National Fund, the headquarters of which are at present at the Hague. The Dutch Zionist Federation has an excellent weekly paper, *De Joodsche Wachter*, which has appeared regularly for several years. Zionism in Holland has had for several years a University Movement. In connection with Holland, a place of honour in Zionist history belongs to Belgium, and particularly to Antwerp, which has been for several years an important Zionist centre. M. Jean Fischer, most noteworthy of the Antwerp group from the point of view of the organization, is a member of the Actions Committee and of the great financial institutions of Zionism. He and his friends have taken an important part in colonization undertakings in Palestine. Switzerland, the land of Zionist Congresses, has a good organization with many zealous and able workers. In Denmark and Sweden the Zionist organization has lately developed great activity, owing to the Zionist Office which has been established at Copenhagen. Rumania (which was almost equal to Russia in the *Chovevé Zion* movement) and Bulgaria are still more important as centres of Zionist activity.

LXXXII

The Institutions of Zionism

The Zionist institutions—*A. General:* 1. The Congress—2. The Actions Committee—3. The Annual Conference—4. The Federations in various countries—5. The English Zionist Federation—6. The Order of Ancient Maccabeans—7. The Palestine Society.—8. The *Poale Zion*—9. The *Mizrachi*—10. Women Zionist Societies—*B. Financial:* 1. The Jewish Colonial Trust—2. The Anglo-Palestine Company—3. The Anglo-Levantine Company—4. The Jewish National Fund—5. The Palestine Land Development Company—6. The *Kedem* Company—7. The First London *Achuzah* Company—8. The Maccabean Land Company—*C. Institutions in Palestine*—*D. Miscellaneous Institutions.*

1. *The Congress*

The Zionist Congress is the supreme authority in the Movement. Until the fifth Congress, Congresses were held annually, but since the sixth Congress they have been held biennially. The first Congress was held on the 29th of August, 1897, at Basle, Switzerland. Most of the subsequent Congresses were held at the same place: the second in August, 1898; the third in August, 1899; the fifth in December, 1901; the sixth in August, 1903; the seventh in August, 1905, and the tenth in September, 1911. The fourth Congress was held in London in August, 1900; the eighth took place at the Hague in August, 1907; the ninth at Hamburg in December, 1909, and the eleventh at Vienna in August, 1913.

The Congress consists of delegates representing the shekel payers throughout the world, who assemble for the purpose of international discussion of the Jewish question and decisions concerning the world-wide Zionist Organization. The Congress, as the controlling body of the movement, interprets the programme of Zionism, settles the details of organization, elects the executive and examines the financial affairs of the movement. The officials and committee of the movement are responsible to the Congress. The Zionist banking institution, the Jewish Colonial Trust in London, is also controlled by the Congress, as only members of the Actions Committee can become members of the Council of the Trust. A deciding voice in the control of the Jewish National Fund is secured to the Congress, as only members of the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust can become members of the Jewish National Fund. (See below as to the Jewish Colonial Trust and Jewish National Fund.)

Only shekel payers (paying a sum of one shilling or a corresponding sum in foreign coinage) have the right to elect delegates to a Congress. The payment of that sum by a person who accepts the principles of Zionism as adopted by the first Congress entitles him or her to membership of the International Zionist Organization.

The last Zionist Congress, which was the eleventh, was attended by 538 delegates, who represented the Zionists in the following countries: Russia, France, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, United States of America, Canada, Turkey, Belgium, Holland, Roumania, China, Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary, Serbia, Australia, South Africa, Greece and England.

2. *The Actions Committee*

The Executive power of the movement is vested in the Greater Actions Committee, consisting of twenty-five members, and in a Smaller Actions Committee, consisting of six members. The members of the present Greater Actions Committee are:

Dr. Max Bodenheimer, Jean Fischer, Dr. Frank, Dr. Friedemann, B. A. Goldberg, Dr. H. G. Heymann,[1] A. Idelsohn, Jakobus Kann, L. Kessler, Dr. Klee, J. Kremenezky, Dr. Alexander Marmorek, Leo Motzkin, J. A. Naiditsch, A. Podlischewski, Dr. Leon Reich, I. A. Rosoff, S. Rosenbaum, Heinrich Schein, Julius Simon, Adolf Stand, Robert Stricker, M. Ussischkin, Dr. Chaim Weizmann,[2] and David Wolffsohn.[3]

The members of the present Smaller Actions Committee are:

Professor Dr. Otto Warburg, Dr. Arthur Hantke, Dr. Victor Jacobson, Dr. Shemaryah Levin, Nahum Sokolow, and the late Dr. E. W. Tschlenow.[4]

[1] Died in 1918.

[2] Dr. Chaim Weizmann was recently elected a member of the Smaller Actions Committee.

[3] Wolffsohn died in 1914. [4] Dr. Tschlenow died in London in 1918

The Greater Actions Committee is the executive body of the Congress according to its constitution, but it is only convened to decide on important questions. It meets several times in the year, and must meet not less than once a year. Only the Greater Actions Committee is competent to consider and decide questions relating to the Zionist organizations in the various countries. The Committee has also the right to inquire into and examine the work of the Smaller Actions Committee.

The Smaller Actions Committee is the superior Executive of the whole Zionist Organization, and is entrusted with the management of all branches of the Zionist movement and activities all over the world.

3. *The Annual Conference*

The name of this institution is somewhat misleading, as the conference called Annual Conference is really a biennial conference held in those years in which a Zionist Congress does not take place. The holding of such conferences was decided upon by the fifth Congress. This conference is in reality an extended meeting of the Greater Actions Committee, and is attended not only by all members of that Committee, but also by the president and vice-presidents of the last Congress, the presidents of the permanent commissions, the presidents of the federations and amalgamated organizations of the various countries, the directors of the banking institutions, the members of the Congress tribunal, the legal adviser of the Congress and the auditors. The conference is somewhat limited in the scope of its activities, as it may only examine the accounts of the organization, accept resolutions, and draw up a programme of activity for the next period of administration. The conference has no right to carry out elections of committees or officials or to alter or modify the Zionist programme.

4. *The Federations in Various Countries*

The name " Federation," as far as the Zionist movement is concerned, is frequently synonymous with the amalgamated organizations in any particular country. But, on the other hand, it sometimes designates an organization consisting of a number of societies and groups which have federated, for the purpose of propagating Zionism on certain defined lines. The Smaller Actions Committee is authorized to grant recognition to a federation in any country, providing such a body comprises not less than 3000 shekel payers and satisfies them as to such other requirements as the Smaller Actions Committee may impose upon it.

5. *The English Zionist Federation*

The English Zionist Federation was established in 1898, and

according to its constitution, amended and revised in 1907, its object and constitution are :

" The English Zionist Federation as ' Landes Comité ' of United Kingdom shall carry on its operations in accordance with the constitution adopted by and in sympathy with the decisions arrived at from time to time by the Zionist Congress.

" The Federation shall consist of such Jewish Associations and Bodies in the United Kingdom as desire, subject to the general sanction and direction of the Executive Committee, to promote the acquisition of a publicly recognized legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people, or in addition thereto, any of the following objects :

(*a*) The fostering of the National idea in Israel.

(*b*) The support of the regular International Congress of duly accredited representatives of the Jewish people, for the consideration of the position of Jews in the different countries of their dispersion, and for taking such measures as may be deemed conducive to their general welfare.

(*c*) The support of existing colonies, and the founding of new colonies by placing as many Jews as possible living in Palestine as settlers on the land, and encouragement, guidance and assistance of new settlers anxious to establish colonies, or any handicrafts, industries or arts in Palestine and neighbouring lands.

(*d*) The study of Hebrew literature and the use of Hebrew as a living language."

The functions of the Federation are : to be the medium of communication between affiliated societies and the Executive Council (Actions Committee) and with Zionist Associations in other countries ; to advise on the steps necessary for the furtherance of the general movement, and adopt such means as may be approved for carrying into effect the resolutions adopted by Congress held from time to time ; and to initiate, in connection with the various objects of the Federation, propaganda, which shall partake of one common character throughout all the federated bodies.

The Constituent Societies affiliated to the Federation now number sixteen in London, twenty-seven in the Provinces, and four in the Dominions and Colonies. Of these forty-seven ten are Women's and Girls' Societies and six Junior Societies.

The general government of the Federation is vested in a Central Committee, consisting of delegates from all the federated societies. The Executive Power of the organization is vested in a Council consisting of a President, two Vice-Presidents, Honorary Secretary and twenty other members of the Council.

For the purpose of carrying out the work of the Federation a

number of sub-committees deal with various special matters (Propaganda, Literature, Palestine, Finance, etc.).

6. *The Order of Ancient Maccabeans*

This is a Friendly Society, established in 1894, and registered on the 8th of May, 1901, under the Friendly Societies' Act, 1896. When Herzl came to England before the first Zionist Congress the members of the Society, who then belonged to the "Lovers of Zion" movement, pledged their adherence to the Zionist cause. The Society is an avowedly Zionist Order, and every member on admission has to declare his willingness to be a Zionist, to pay the shekel and to assist generally through the Order in the work of resettling the Jews in Palestine.

Since the Zionist Congress of 1909 the Society has been recognized as a separate Federation, having a membership of over three thousand, as required by the regulations of the Zionist Organization.

The Executive Power of the organization is vested in a Grand Council.

7. *The Palestine Society*

The Palestine Society is an association of Jews who desire the establishment in Palestine of a centre of Jewish life, which shall offer a full opportunity for the free development of the Jewish religion, Jewish ideals and Jewish culture. It is not formally associated with the Zionist Organization.

The activities of the Society include the following:

(*a*) Propaganda for the purpose of creating among Jews and Jewish Institutions in England a public opinion favourable to the furtherance of Jewish activities in Palestine.

(*b*) The collection and dissemination of information concerning the work that is being carried on by existing Palestinian institutions.

(*c*) The support of Palestinian Institutions and activities.

(*d*) The organization of visits to Palestine.

In the spring of 1912 a Palestine Exhibition and Bazaar was held in London, in aid of two Jerusalem institutions—the Bezalel and the Evelina de Rothschild School. The Exhibition had the effect of exciting interest in Palestine among all sections of English Jews. It was then felt that a systematic effort should be made to press the claims of Palestine upon the Anglo-Jewish middle-class. Accordingly a body known as the Palestine Committee was founded for this purpose. This Committee held a series of drawing-room meetings, which met with a fair measure of success.

In order to undertake activities of a more extensive and more varied kind, a properly constituted society—the Palestine Society—was formed in the autumn of 1913. During its brief

existence it performed useful work, as, for instance, the arrangement of a series of drawing-room meetings, at which lectures were delivered by eminent speakers. The speakers and chairmen included: the Chief Rabbi, the Rev. M. Adler, the Rev. A. A. Green, the Rev. Dr. J. Hochman, the Rev. Morris Joseph, Dayan H. M. Lazarus, the Rev. W. Levin, the Rev. E. Levine, the Rev. D. Wasserzug, Lady Swaythling, Dr. A. Eichholz, Mr. H. R. Lewis, Mr. J. Prag, and Mr. Israel Zangwill.

Fifteen of the London Jewish ministers are members of the Society, and have preached a number of sermons with sympathetic references to the Society and its aims.

In the course of the year 1914 the Liverpool Bezalel Association became affiliated to the Palestine Society. A branch of the Society was also formed at Glasgow, and when the War broke out branches were in course of formation at Leeds, Brighton and in several of the suburbs of London.

At the outbreak of the War the membership of the Society numbered approximately 250, though no widespread propaganda was ever attempted either for the enrolment of members or for the collection of funds, as it was intended from the outset that the work of the Society should be limited to those circles which other agencies had not succeeded in reaching.

Among other activities of this Society were:

(1) An effort to induce literary and kindred societies to include a discussion of the Palestine question in their programmes for the 1914 to 1915 session, the Society providing the speakers, of whom it had compiled a list.

(2) An attempt was made to organize a tour to Palestine in the spring of 1914. Owing to difficulties that arose in respect of the choice of date and the time available, an organized tour on a large scale had to be abandoned; three members of the Committee, however, visited Palestine during that year. A tour was projected for the spring of 1915; that had, of course, to be abandoned owing to the War.

(3) The first two pamphlets of an intended series were prepared, dealing with the agricultural colonies in Palestine and the work of their educational institutions respectively. A summary account of general Jewish activities in Palestine in 1913–14, and of the measure of support it had received from English Jews, was also in preparation when the War broke out. It had been intended to publish all this matter in a Palestine Annual, and to reprint most of it separately in due course.

There is reason to believe that in the brief period of its active life (it suspended activity on the outbreak of the War) the Society succeeded in arousing an interest in Palestine as a centre of Jewish aspiration among a large circle of Jews whom other agencies have left untouched, and in creating in certain quarters an atmosphere more favourable than had existed heretofore. It

must be added that the Society has merely suspended its activities and not abandoned them. This was explained in a letter from its President, Dr. Eichholz, which appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* of December 3rd, 1915.

The Officers and Committee for 1913–14 were: President: Dr. A. Eichholz; Vice-Presidents: the Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi, the Very Rev. the Haham, the Rev. Morris Joseph, Sir Isidore Spielmann, C.M.G., F.S.A.; Treasurer: Albert M. Hyamson; Committee: Mrs. A. Eichholz, Miss H. M. Bentwich, the Rev. Dr. J. Hochman, Dr. M. Epstein, Harry R. Lewis, Leon Simon, Robert B. Solomon, F. S. Spiers; Hon. Secretaries: Miss A. Stein and Leonard Stein; Hon. Corresponding Secretary in Palestine: Michael E. Lange.

8. *Poale Zion*

The national idea forms the premiss of Zionism. To bring this idea to life, to provide a durable foundation for the national unification of the Jews upon their very own, old historical ground, that is the aim of Zionism. In its tendency, therefore, it comprises the whole Jewish people; its immediate object, however, apart from the self-evident conservation of the ideal of national unity, bears upon fragments, so to say, of the people; upon more or less considerable parts of population, individuals, groups, and classes. Their specific attitude towards Zionism hinges on two main points, of which one is more of spiritual, and the other more of material nature. Both must be equally considered, for both are effective, although in varying degree. However, when a particular class is considered in its relation towards Zionism, it behoves to examine first of all the point of view to which this class itself attaches most importance. It may of course be open to discussion whether when forming an estimate of national and social questions the economic aspect ought always to be considered foremost, but there is no doubt that it is so regarded by the working-class. Let us also admit it for the Jewish workmen. If we take class interest into account the workman may speak first, then the Jew within him. It will appear that it is precisely from a closer examination of the class interest of the Jewish workmen and the interrelations between them and the general working-class, that their position towards Zionism results most simply, as we already see this clearly indicated, and as it will be evolved in the near future, given certain conditions.

Jewish workmen may be divided into two categories, apart from several intermediate divisions. The one is nationally indifferent, class interest alone carries weight with it. By entering into the general working-class the workmen of this category are, so to say, engulfed by it; they retain no trace of national needs and wishes. The numerically by far larger category comprises the actual masses of Jewish workmen in Russia, Galicia, and

America. These Jewish workmen also join the general working-class, but they occupy within it a very distinctly noticeable separate position. Where the amelioration of the economic condition of the working-class is concerned, the obtaining of higher salaries, the reduction of working time, in short, in all questions falling within the sphere of class interest they hold together with the other workmen. Just as they suffer from unemployment like these, so they make common cause with them on special occasions, for instance, strikes. But beyond the material questions of existence there is much which separates them. They are sociable enough to come together for a short time with the other workmen where need and interest demand it, but they are not sufficiently homogenous to unite socially with them. They cannot shake off a certain feeling of alienage in the camp of the general working-class. Critical points soon arise on the boundaries of economical questions, deep contrasts become manifest which are not brought about by ill-will, but are rather caused by historical forces which even to-day are still at work. What will it profit if, in order to proceed summarily, one ascribes this segregation of the Jewish workmen to a thousand years of atavism ? The disclosure of the cause, whether acceptable or not, does not do away with the fact. And it is a fact that these Jewish workmen wield a strong national and religious influence, that religion is no " private concern " for them, as it is designated by the workmen's programme, or only private concern inasmuch as religion is prudently left undiscussed by the labour party.

Probably from such differences and sentimental contrasts it is to be explained that voices became loud which demanded the independent organization of the Jewish workmen. Such a demand might be considered by the leading party as an anomaly, since the Jewish workmen are not at all taken into account nationally but pass as appendages of the various nations. And if it was not merely euphemism when the Jews were accorded the same right to exist, when the name or the nation in whose country they became settled was conferred upon them, wherefore an independent organization ? Now, the course of evolution of the Jews up to the present, especially its last phase, has revealed that not only the masses of Judaism which are not yet on a high plane of cultural development feel nationally. It is just in the Zionism of the educated Jews that the full justification of the national movement shows itself. We may point out without fear the difference between the conscious Zionistic action and that part of Judaism which is unconsciously national through the power of historic conditions.

The Jewish workmen are the natural allies of Zionism, but they will become the actual and co-operating allies only through independent workmen organizations. The Jewish workmen, independently organized, would go hand in hand with the labour

party in all single claims dictated by class interest, but otherwise they would be independent. National as the Jewish workmen are distinctly enough in life, national in consequence of their education, their peculiarities—why should they not be so as a working-class ? Do then the workmen of other nations lay aside their nationality when they take their stand to the social question ? And do they give up their nationality when they have done for the moment with debate and action ? And the Jewish workmen alone should renounce their nationality, they who are not even yet capable of sharing properly in the culture of another nation ? Although it is not out of love for Zionism that the Jewish workmen, for the greater part, feel nationally, they may yet in time become national even in a Zionist sense. And that through the natural community of interests, passing from the unconscious to the conscious, which will establish a more and more intimate relation between them and Zionism. The whole political development of recent times has made it clear to the Jewish workmen how powerful the national thought is among workmen. Even in the event of the victory of the collectivistic idea it could hardly become different in regard to race contrasts. And when Eduard Bernstein in the epilogue of the translation of Mr. Webb's *History of the Trade Unions* observes : " Class struggles manifest themselves only seldom so acutely as national ones," we may add that race contrasts may still exist long after class contrasts will have disappeared.

It is evident of what extraordinary importance for Zionism the Jewish working-class would become. The workmen if they became Zionist would, so to say, constitute the solid effective force which could be relied upon at any moment. On the other hand, it can well be assumed that the Jewish nation will meet as far as possible the claims of the working-class. It is only with the attainment of the Zionist aim that the condition for the prosperity and unfolding anew of national life will be realized for the first time. Judaism, united as a nation, will hereby be confronted by the question with the solution of which all civilized nations are so anxiously preoccupied. The difficulties may be ever so great, occasional crises and storms may break forth, but the nations will not be permanently depressed thereby, nor paralyzed. Like other nations the Jews hold the unshakable belief in a continually progressing economical amelioration, in a prosperous development of all. Even that party which has developed class contrasts into a theory of society, is seen to be receding ever more from the revolutionary principle and paying homage to the evolutionary. To the principle of evolution Zionist Judaism also holds fast, and will, surely, as soon as it is nationally consolidated, not be willing to lag behind other nations as regards social legislation. And if one may conclude from the historical past of a nation what its conformation will be in the future, so, doubtless, a breath of that gentle spirit will be

felt in the modern Jewish community which pervades the Mosaic legislation. And this not only as regards the future but also the present. The Jewish National Fund is the model of a broad Mosaic-socialistic institution which has for its object the nationalization of the soil.

The *Poale Zion* was established in 1901. It originated in Russia, and has now adherents in America, Palestine, Austria, Russia and the United Kingdom. At the time of the Zionist Congress at the Hague in 1907 an International Conference of the *Poale Zion* was held, which led to the establishment of the General Union of the *Poale Zion* Societies in America, Russia, Austria, Palestine, England, etc., on federal lines. The programme of the organization represents a synthesis of Zionism and Socialism on the basis of the Basle programme.

The principles of the *Poale Zion* have been fully expounded in a book written by Dr. Pasmanik, entitled *The Theory of the Poale Zion.* Among its official publications may be mentioned *The Jewish Worker,* Cracow; *The Jewish Fighter,* New York; *Forward,* Vilna.

It is not easy for the Gentile workman to understand and appreciate to the full the position taken up by the Jewish workmen who support the principle of the *Poale Zion.* The Gentile workmen have no national problem to solve; they have only an economic question to deal with. The Jewish workmen are face to face with two problems, the economic and the national. The *Poale Zionists* are convinced that although a nation may love its traditions it must concern itself also with immediate economic needs. It is for this reason that they are primarily Zionists, although supporters of Socialism. Unlike other Socialists they deem it their duty to devote themselves mainly to their own national cause. Apart from this, they have a great love for Jewish tradition, and are in the fullest sense of the term nationalists.

9. *The Mizrachi*

The *Mizrachi* (a composite word derived from "*Merchaz Ruch'ni,*" which means Intellectual Centre) is an organization of religiously orthodox Zionists.

After the fifth Zionist Congress, where a lively debate took place on the question of national Judaism on a religious basis, the desire arose among those Zionists who maintained orthodox views on religious questions to organize themselves for common purposes. The object of the *Mizrachi* is therefore of a cultured and not a political character. It strives to champion, within Zionism, by means of a sound organization, the standpoint of orthodox religious belief, and further, to show clearly that a conservative tendency in religious matters can go side by side with national aspirations. Politically the *Mizrachi* has no special aim, but desires to work in unison with all other Zionists.

Soon after the fifth Congress Russian Zionists of *Mizrachi* conviction assembled at a conference in Vilna and officially founded the *Mizrachi*. Subsequently support was also forthcoming from *Mizrachi* Zionists in other countries, and at the sixth Congress the organization was represented by a group of over one hundred delegates. From the 19th to the 21st of August, 1904, a general *Mizrachi* Conference took place at Pressburg. This conference was called by Rabbi I. J. Reines of Lida, Russia, and was attended by a large number of Rabbis from Russia, Roumania, Galicia, Hungary, Germany, England and America. Rabbi Reines was elected president of the entire organization. The regulations of the organization maintain in general the Zionist principle, but lay particular stress upon the necessity of the *Mizrachi* cultural tendency. Already at this conference three centres of propaganda were created, an East European centre for Russia, Roumania and Galicia, of which Rabbi J. Reines became the president ; a West European centre for the other European countries, with its seat in Frankfort, of which Rabbi Dr. Nobel became president ; and an American centre at New York, of which Rabbi D. Klein became president.

In addition to the usual shekel and the local contributions, the *Mizrachi* members pay a further contribution to cover the expenses of an office and propaganda. The *Mizrachi* carries out its aim by organizing mass meetings, issuing from time to time periodicals, pamphlets and leaflets, and arranging lectures and debates for its members.

The fear expressed on the beginning of the *Mizrachi* movement, that the *Mizrachi* as a section might destroy the unity of Zionism, has proved unfounded. From the past activity of the *Mizrachi* it is now certain that their propaganda is not detrimental to the interests of Zionism—that on the contrary their principal aims, such as the fostering of belief in the laws of our forefathers, the maintenance of ancient rites and customs, and the revival of the Hebrew language, are such as to obtain for them continually new supporters among strictly orthodox Jews.

Among a number of books written to explain the standpoint of the *Mizrachi*, there should be mentioned *Zionism from the Standpoint of Orthodoxy* (1904), by Rabbi Dr. Roth of Papa (Hungary) ; *The Voice of Zion* (1905), by Rabbi Reines, and *Mizrachi* (1907), by Dr. Feuchtwanger.

10. *Women Zionist Societies*

In the measure in which the Jewish national movement had begun to expand the question was raised more and more frequently what the attitude of the Jewish woman would be towards this movement. In the Jewish nation woman occupies a pre-eminent position.

At the time of the existence of the Jewish state the whole inner life rested upon family organization. Woman is the

entirely coequal ruler of the home, and truly regal is the description which the Bible traces of her. She is prophetess and bard, the inspirer of all that is good and strong, and the bestower of the prize of combat. She is the first to display that wonderful enduring heroism which is the heritage of the Jewish race. She initiates the great national works ; it is significant that tradition traces back the liberation out of Egypt to the merit of noble women. At the time of the erection of a spiritual country after the loss of the homeland, at the time of formation of the Talmud, the high appreciation of woman rose still more. In the writings of that time she appears as the naive leader whose untrammelled and unsophisticated mind grasps the nature of things, and who, quick in discernment, settles matters resolutely. But the highest importance woman attains during the period of the " Ghetto." Here all life concentrates in the family. Free civic life is replaced by the narrower but pleasurable family life. Here woman becomes the creator of a self-contained family culture. She relieves man of a great part of his business dealings and makes it possible for him to devote himself to his intellectual pursuits. In the midst of the heaviest persecution she inspires him with courage and confidence. She brings up her children to be valiant and steadfast Jews. She carries into the home a wonderful natural freshness which replaces as far as possible the tender verdure of the lost country. The Jewish woman it is who, in this time of suffering, encourages man to persistence in the faith. Spanish-Jewish women urged their husbands to seek death together with them. In all the massacres and persecutions of the Middle-Ages Jewish women gained the highest crown of martyrdom.

But the disposition of the Jewish woman has radically changed since complete or partial emancipation. The cause lies in the change of the whole situation. At the time of the Ghetto the sufferings of the Jew were as unspeakably heavy as his joys were profound and intimate. For good and for evil he was under the shadow of a great fate, and therein he developed. Suffering destroyed his strength, the passive heroism peculiar to him, home happiness, his kindness of heart and joy of sacrifice ; both united made him true, true to the past and true to his nation. This grew gradually different. With the advance of so-called civilization persecution became more petty and perfidious ; it no longer threatened existence itself at any moment, but it crept into every hour of life, into each everyday activity. The one stab of the dagger had become a thousand pinpricks, out of the great fate which drew heroism out of man, and an abundance of passions, virtues, resolutions, renunciations, struggles and victories of all kinds, a painfully dragging, tortured and harassed existence had come into being. And with lesser sufferings the joys got lesser too. The beautiful unity of home-life became loosened through the great gulf between old and young, such as

is not met with in any other nation of the world. The increased struggle for daily life separated married couples and impeded the education of the children, the apparently greater absence of danger operated against the strong national resistance and the welding and segregating special customs.

This state of dissolution was reinforced to a great degree by the declaration of the legal equifranchise of the Jews. Their instinct of self-preservation adapted itself to the new conditions of existence in just as extreme a manner as their seclusion had formerly been extreme. In the now arising fanaticism for assimilation the women, who adapt themselves most easily to their surroundings and assume their nature, shared most intensely. While all strove after non-Jewishness the inner structure of Judaism was crippled, all innate power discarded, Jewish solidarity dispensed with and independent culture destroyed.

The rigid family organization upon which the vitality of the Jewish nation reposed, collapsed under the impact of the extraneous ; with Jewish customs the Jewish home began to break up, with the evanescence of fidelity love too faded. An attempt was made to stupefy through an outward life of luxury, as bustling as possible, the feeling of forlornness brought about by the want of inner contentment. Thus it frequently happened that the assimilated Jewish woman became ever more estranged from her sphere of activity. She who had formerly been mistress in her own house was often the slave of her servants ; she gave herself up to a dull, nervous idleness ; with her the old charitableness of the Jews became snobbishness. The desire for beauty which formerly animated Jewish woman, was distorted by her into a tasteless and unhealthy love of finery, as if someone transformed a beautiful national costume into the gaudy robe of a carnival pierrot. Sincere, devoted faith has gone without making room for a new and strong conception of life ; the more burdensome religious practices have been given up, a few easier ones have been outwardly retained, without apprehension of their meaning and without the feeling of their sanctity. The synagogue and the sermon, the only religiously stimulating momenta, which one attended ever more seldom, were not sufficient to counteract a thousand other influences of life and surroundings.

Therefore Jewish woman, more so than man, needed a great, inspiring Jewish ideal. And on the other hand, the realization of this ideal needed the collaboration of woman no less than the collaboration of man. For national rejuvenation in its innermost core can emanate from Jewish woman to a considerable extent. For a nation without a land and for a nation in dispersion, home is the pillar of life. In the Diaspora the Jewish home is the Jewish nation. In the first instance it was found desirable that Jewish woman should become active for Zionism, that is contribute in speech and writing to the diffusion of the national idea, and exhort to self-help. Through her warmth of feeling

and freshness of will she is to help to reunite the divergent members of the nation, and from her love of the nation a community of souls is to resuscitate. She must recognize that she can only then become a whole personality if she values highly the peculiarity of her race, and if she tends and develops the Jewishness in her. She will then again make home and family life what they once were: the hub of life and the spring of ever new energy. One will see there Jewish works of art on the walls, Jewish books upon the table, and Jewish customs being practised with deep, gladsome understanding. Then the quiet force which overcomes laughingly everything inimical will again gather in the family. True, living love for the great destiny of the Jewish nation, strong, helpful love for its present, hopeful and cheery readiness to work for the future of this nation, and preparation of this future through energetic collaboration in the Zionistic organization, which acknowledges no difference of duties and rights between man and woman—with this message the modern Jewish national idea appealed to the Jewish woman.

To be sure, Jewish woman did not enter the national movement in numbers, nor at once: nevertheless she joined the first pioneers of the *Chovevê Zion* as well as the first Zionists. At all Zionist congresses Jewish women took part as delegates, and in Palestine they have unfolded a particularly beneficial activity in the domain of home industry for women.

B. Financial

1. *The Jewish Colonial Trust*

The Jewish Colonial Trust is the financial instrument of the Zionist movement, and its main object is the industrial and commercial development of Palestine and the neighbouring countries.

Among the prominent Jews who supported the formation of the Company from its inception were the following: S. Barbasch, *Odessa*; Herbert Bentwich, *London*; M. T. Eliasberg, *Pinsk*; T. H. Ellman, *Braila*; M. Farbstein, *Warsaw*; Leopold Kahn, *Vienna*; Samuel L. Heymann, *London*; Theodor Herzl, *Vienna*; Isidor Jasinowski, *Warsaw*; J. H. Kann, *The Hague*; Stanislaus Landau, *Lodz*; Gregorie Lurie, *Pinsk*; Max Mandelstamm, *Kieff*; Alex. Marmorek, *Paris*; Oscar Marmorek, *Vienna*; Moritz Moses, *Kattowitz*; Max Nordau, *Paris*; Samuel Pineles, *Galatz*; Heinrich Rosenbaum, *Jassy*; S. T. Sachs, *Dwinsk*; Leib Schalit, *Riga*; Moritz Schnirer, *Vienna*; Heinrich Steiner, *Vienna*; W. Temkin, *Elizabethgrad*; E. W. Tschlenow, *Moscow*; David Wolffsohn, *Cologne*; and Oser Kokesch, *Vienna*.

According to the Company's Articles of Association it was permitted to commence business as soon as an eighth part of its

capital, viz. £250,000, had actually been paid up. This stage was reached at the beginning of 1902.

The subscribers to the Memorandum and Articles of Association were: David Wolffsohn, Jacobus Henricus Kann, Samuel Leopold Heymann, Samuel Barbasch, Gregorie Lurie, Salomon F. Sachs, Heinrich Rosenbaum. For the last four the Haham, Dr. Moses Gaster, acted as Attorney. The first Council of the Company consisted of Dr. Theodor Herzl, Dr. Moritz Schnirer, Dr. Oser Kokesch, Dr. Leopold Kahn, Oscar Marmorek, Dr. Max Mandelstamm, Dr. Richard Gottheil, Dr. Israel Jelsky, Isidor Jasinowski, Dr. Max Bodenheimer, D. J. Bernstein-Kohan, Samuel Pineles, J. H. Ellman, Dr. Alexander Marmorek, Wladimir Temkin, Dr. Samuel Schur, Carl Herbst, Dr. E. W. Tschlenow, Dr. Salomon Rosenheck, and M. Ussischkin.

The first directors were the aforementioned subscribers to the Memorandum, and the first Governors were: Dr. Rudolf Schauer, Leib Schalit, Abraham Hornstein.

The first Secretary of the Company was Mr. James H. Loewe, who resigned his post in May, 1903, on his appointment as Manager of the East End Branch of the International Bank of London, Ltd.

For the first business year (1902) Mr. David Levontin was Manager.

The Company carries on ordinary banking business at its Head Office in the City of London (10–12 Walbrook) and its East End Branch (41 Whitechapel Road, E.), and is registered at Somerset House as bankers, in accordance with the requirements of the law.

The nominal capital of £2,000,000 is divided into £1,999,900 ordinary shares of £1 each and 100 founders' shares of £1 each. These latter shares are jointly held by those persons who for the time being are the members of the Council of the Company. The members of this Council are appointed by the Actions Committee of the Zionist Congress from the members, and are entitled at any General Meeting of the Company on all questions, with the exception of that relating to the declaration of a dividend, to as many votes as all the holders of ordinary shares present and voting at such General Meeting. The capital issued, including the aforementioned 100 founders' shares, amounted, on the 15th May, 1916, to £261,658. The Company is controlled by a Council consisting at present of twenty members, who are at the same time the joint holders of the founders' shares referred to above, and by a Board of Directors consisting at present of thirteen members, of whom four are Governors (Representatives of the Council). Until his death in September, 1914, David Wolffsohn was President of the Council and a Governor. He succeeded the late Dr. Herzl in these positions on his death in

1904. Previous to that Wolffsohn was Chairman of the Board of Directors, which position he had held since the formation of the Company in 1899.

The members of the present Council are Professor Dr. O. Warburg (Vice-President), Dr. M. J. Bodenheimer (Reporter), M. M. Ussischkin, I. A. Rosoff, A. Podlischewsky, Simon Rosenbaum, I. Naiditsch, J. H. Kann, L. Kessler, Jean Fischer, Dr. V. Jacobsohn, M. Hornstein, Dr. A. Marmorek, Julius Simon, L. Motzkin, Dr. A. Hantke, J. Kremenetzky, Dr. A. Friedemann, Dr. A. Klee. The members of the present Board of Directors are: Dr. V. Katzenelsohn (Chairman), J. H. Kann (Vice-Chairman), S. Barbasch, H. Urysohn, Joseph Cowen, I. A. Rosoff, M. M. Ussischkin, Jean Fischer, Julius Simon, L. Kessler, M. Feldstein, Dr. V. Jacobsohn, J. Kremenetzky. The last four members are the Governors.

2. *The Anglo-Palestine Company, Ltd.*

This Company was registered on the 27th January, 1902, and began its business operations in the spring of 1903. Its Head Office is at *Jaffa*, and it has Branches at *Jerusalem* (Manager: Dr. Isaac Levy; Sub-Manager: S. Gordon), *Hebron* (Manager: S. Slonim), *Haifa* (Manager: V. Kaisermann), *Beirut* (I. Lipawsky, who died in October, 1915, was Manager before the outbreak of war), *Safed* (Manager: J. Karniol), *Tiberias* (Manager: Mr. Bentovim).

The Managing Director of the Company is Mr. David Levontin, who is assisted at the Head Office by S. Hoofien, Assistant General Manager, and J. Grasowsky and M. Arwas, Sub-Managers.

The Company is the mainstay of Jewish colonization in Palestine. It advances money to Land Societies for buying land, which is then sold to new immigrants, also to building societies for establishing modern hygienic quarters in the vicinity of towns (Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa, etc.). It also makes advances for the installation of water supplies in the Jewish Colonies, and grants loans on long terms for the development of plantations. It has further organized with its own means Co-operative and Loan Societies for the purpose of buying agricultural implements and selling the products of the soil, especially oranges, lemons and wine. The Company has also elaborated various projects for public enterprises, such as tramways, irrigation works, electric lighting, etc. The Company also carries on every kind of banking business, dealing with all elements of the population regardless of race or creed. Thus the Company has become an important factor in the economic life of the country.

The nominal capital of the Company is £120,000, divided into

120,000 ordinary shares of £1 each. The paid-up capital on the 15th May, 1916, was £99,727.

The Board of Directors of the Company consists of the following members: J. H. Kann (Vice-Chairman), Dr. N. Katzenelsohn, S. Barbasch, H. Urysohn, Joseph Cowen, M. M. Ussischkin, L. Kessler, M. Feldstein, J. Kremenetzky, I. L. Goldberg, D. Levontin (Managing Director). The last Chairman of the Company before the war was the late David Wolffsohn.

3. *The Anglo-Levantine Banking Company, Ltd.*

This Company was registered on the 8th May, 1908, and has since then carried on banking business in Turkey.

The nominal capital of the Company is £100,000, and the paid-up capital on the 15th May, 1916, was £25,038.

The Board of Directors consists of the following members: Dr. N. Katzenelsohn (Chairman), J. H. Kann (Vice-Chairman), S. Barbasch, Joseph Cowen, M. Feldstein, Dr. V. Jacobsohn, L. Kessler, J. Kremenetzky, D. Levontin, S. Mitrani, H. Urysohn. The Constantinople Managers are: S. Mitrani (Director) and Dr. V. Jacobsohn (Director).

4. *The Jewish National Fund*

The Jewish National Fund was established in accordance with a decision of the second Congress, its object being to acquire land for the Jewish people in Palestine, such land to remain for ever the property of the whole Jewish nation. The management of the Fund has deemed it its duty to promote all undertakings of public utility in Palestine, assisting thereby to the utmost the general progress of the work of colonization. The Jewish National Fund is the most popular of Zionist institutions.

The Jewish National Fund was legalized in this country on the 8th of April, 1907, as an "Association Limited by Guarantee, and not having a Capital Divided into Shares." By the constitution of the Association the permanent right of control is vested in the representatives elected by the Zionist Congress, who are identical with the holders of founders' shares and members of the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd. (referred to above).

According to the Articles of Association, only 75 per cent of the assets of the Fund may be invested in Palestine; the remaining 25 per cent must always be left in the shape of money on deposit or investment of an easily realizable nature. The Bankers of the Association are the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd. The Fund amounted at the end of the year 1914 to £209,243 18s. 6d.

The means of collecting contributions to the Fund are numerous and varied. They include: General Donations, Collecting Sheets,

Collecting Boxes, the Golden Book, National Fund Stamps and Telegrams, Olive Tree Donations, Contributions to the Workers' Dwelling Fund, etc. The Golden Book has been instituted for the purpose of entering the names of Zionist workers and supporters, on payment of the sum of £10 or more. The first Golden Book, containing 5000 names, has already been filled. It is an elaborately executed work of art, and is generally exhibited at Zionist Congresses. The second Golden Book, now in use, was produced by the Palestinian Art School " Bezalel " at Jerusalem. On the entry of a name in this book, an artistically executed certificate is issued.

A few years ago another book, called " Memorial Book," was instituted for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of Jews who have defended the honour or property of the Jewish people in Palestine, or have been permanently and successfully occupied in the interest of the Jewish National Fund, or have left by will, according to their means, a considerable legacy for the benefit of the Fund.

The Fund has also received from time to time considerable sums for the purpose of foundations, principally to build homesteads for the workers. The principal contributions under this heading have been: The David and Fanny Wolffsohn Foundation, about £3000, and the Halperin Foundation (Vienna), about £4000. Besides the foregoing sums other contributions towards the Workers' Homestead Fund, amounting to about £17,000 in all, have been received.

The total income from every kind of contribution to the Fund was about £25,000 for the year 1915, contributions having come from about thirty different countries in all parts of the world.

By the end of the year 1914 the Jewish National Fund had invested in Palestine close upon £150,000—70 per cent of its entire assets.

The members of the Company are the holders of founders' shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd. (see above).

The administration of the Fund is in the hands of a Board of Directors, consisting of five Directors elected by the members, and two Governors appointed by the Controlling Committee. This Committee consists of the persons who for the time being form the Smaller Actions Committee of the Zionist Congress, and its functions are merely those of vetoing or prohibiting any act of the Directors that the Committee may deem to be detrimental to the interests of the Association.

The present Directors are: Dr. Max Bodenheimer, L. Kessler, J. Kremenetzky, and Dr. A. Hantke.

The only Governor is Professor Dr. O. Warburg (the second Governor, D. Wolffsohn, having died in September, 1914). The Secretary of the Association was H. Neumann, and its registered office is at 10–12 Walbrook, London, E.C.

The Administrative Office of the Association is situate at the Hague, and the principal officials at that office are: Engineer J. Kaplansky, N. Gross and S. Hallenstein.

Central offices exist in many countries for the collecting of contributions and donations to the Fund. The addresses of these officers are:—

Argentine: Federacion Sionista en Argentine, Buenos-Aires, Sarmiento 2086.

Australia: The Brisbane Zionist Society, c/o J. A. Blumberg, Hon. Sec., Brisbane-East, Wellington Road.

The Victoria Zionist Association, "*Hatchiah*," Melbourne, 313 Drummont Street, Carlton.

The Sydney Zionist Society, c/o M. B. Michelson, Hon. Sec., Sydney, Pett Street 64.

Belgium: Oscar Fischer, now at Scheveningen, Cornelius Jolstr. 105 Sam. Schmeidler, Scheveningen, Stevinstr. 142.

Brazil: Associacio Zionistat *Tiferes Zion*, c/o Jaime Horowitz, Rio de Janeiro, Rua Visconte Itanna.

Bulgaria: Comité Central Sioniste, aux bons soins de Mr. le Dr. Benroya, Philippopoli.

Canada: Bureau Committee of the Federation of Zionist Societies of Canada, Montreal, P.O. Box 912.

China: E. B. Ezra, Esq., c/o the Bank of Territorial Development of China, Shanghai, Nanking Rd. 33.

Denmark: S. Skorochod, Kopenhagen, Bordergade 30.

Egypt: Jacob Caleff, Heliopolis-Le Cairo, Rue Zagazig.

Germany: Jüdischer Nationalfonds, Zentrale für Deutschland, Berlin, W., 15 Sachsische Str. 8.

England: Jewish National Fund Commission for England, 15 New Broad Street, London, E.C. 2.

France: J. Salzmann, Paris, 41 Rue de la Tour d'Auvergne.

Greece: Syllogue Sioniste "*Poale-Sion*," Volo.

La Commission Mixte de Fonds National des Sociétés "*Bené Sion*" and "Nordau" aux bons soins de Mr. J. Usiel, Salonique.

Holland: Alfred Polak, Tilburg, Telegraafenstr. 1.

Italy: Mademoiselle Emma Coen, Verona, 14 Via Gran Czara.

Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia: Frau Clara Barmaper-Jacobi, Agram, Boskovicg 23.

New Zealand: The Auckland Zionist Society, Auckland Park Rd. 42.

United States of America: Jewish National Fund Bureau for America, New York City, 44 E. 23rd Street.

Norway: Norske Zionist Forening, p. Adr. Aron Grusd, Christiania, Karl Johan Str. 7.

Austria: Jüdischer Nationalfonds, Sammelstelle für Österreich, Wein ii Zirkusgasse 33.

Eastern Asia: Josef Levy, Singapore, 10 Robinson Road.

Portugal: W. Terlo, Lissabon, Rua St. Nicolau 59.

Roumania: M. Heinrich Schein, Galatz.
Switzerland: W. Simon, Zürich, Neugasse 11.
Serbia: Dr. D. Alcalay, Belgrad.
Sweden: J. Abel, Stockholm, Storkyrkobrinken 8.
South Africa: South African Zionist Federation, Mr. B. J. Chaimowitz, Johannesburg, P.O. Box 18.
Tunis: Association Sioniste Tunisienne, Tunis, 52 Rue des Glacières.
Hungary: Zsido Nomzoti Alap magyarorszagi irodaja, Budapest Kiraly utca 36.

In England the collection of funds is entrusted to the National Fund Commission for England. This commission consists of two representatives of the English Zionist Federation and two representatives of the Order of Ancient Maccabeans. The office of the Commission is at 15 New Broad Street, London, E.C. 2, which has a number of sub-commissions in London and the principal provincial towns. It organizes frequently house-to-house collections, flower days, collections at public meetings, places of worship and entertainment, etc.

The English National Fund Commission has recently published a small pamphlet, giving full particulars of its activities. A larger pamphlet, entitled *The Jewish National Fund*, is now being issued in the English language by the Head Office of the Fund, and by the time that this book reaches the public will no doubt be obtainable at the Office of the National Fund Commission in London.

5. *The Palestine Land Development Company, Ltd.*

This Company was registered on the 20th of January, 1909. Its main object is to encourage the settlement of Jews in Palestine by the purchase and parcelling out of the land and by preparing the soil for the successful settlement of a larger number of small holders.

The nominal capital of the Company is £50,000, divided into 40,000 ordinary shares of £1 each and 200 founders' shares of £50 each.

The Secretary of the Company is W. Wolf, and the Office at 10–12 Walbrook, London, E.C.

6. *Jüdischer Kulturfonds Kedem (Kedem Keren Hatarbuth Hoiwrith), Ltd.*

This Company was established for the purpose of developing and promoting and assisting in the development and promotion of Jewish knowledge and learning, the cultivation of Hebrew literature and Jewish history, and the revival and use of the Hebrew language in the prescribed region (which expression means Palestine, Syria and the Peninsula of Sinai). In order to

carry out these objects the Company aims at establishing an Academy (*Sinhedrijah*) as a central institution of Hebrew and Jewish learning. It further intends to publish all kinds of books, useful for its purpose, and distribute them among individuals, academies, colleges, universities, schools and other institutions. It also proposes to establish and maintain all kinds of schools and teaching establishments, to promote the main object of the Company. Among its many ancillary objects are the granting of scholarships, and the subsidizing of funds, pension schemes, etc., for maintaining Jewish authors, teachers and artists.

The foundation of the Company is due to the initiative of Mr. Moses Feldstein of Warsaw, who contributed the sum of about £1500. In commemoration of this fact a Fund was created under the name of " Feldstein Foundation," which is to comprise the aforementioned sum and all other capital donations given to the Company from time to time towards this Fund. Since the establishment of the Company several other similar contributions have been made to the Fund, but the outbreak of the war has prevented the founder of the Company, Mr. Feldstein, and his co-directors from carrying out the vigorous propaganda which they intended to set on foot in all parts of the world. The members of the Company consist of the joint holders of the founders' shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Directors of the Jewish National Fund, and the President of the Odessa Committee (the Committee of the Company for assisting Jewish Agriculturists and Handicraftsmen in Syria and Palestine).

The Directors of the Company are M. Feldstein (Chairman), Dr. A. Hantke, Dr. S. Levin, A. Podlischewsky, N. Sokolow, M. Ussischkin, Dr. Ch. Weizmann.

The Secretary of the Company is W. Wolf, and the office is at 10–12 Walbrook, London, E.C.

7. *The First London Achuzah Company, Ltd.*

The First London *Achuzah* Company, Ltd., was founded by Dr. J. M. Salkind, with the assistance of Mr. M. Rosenblum and Mr. T. Z. Teacher, in April, 1913, when fifteen members joined the Company. Towards the end of 1913 the number of members amounted to fifty. It has now increased to eighty, about fifty of whom live in London, fifteen in Edinburgh, one in Russia and the rest in provincial towns in England.

The Company was incorporated as a limited liability company in England at the beginning of 1914. The members decided to pay 25 per cent of the amount subscribed by them (a full member's share amounting to £300). At the same time the Company sent two delegates to Palestine to make investigations with a view to the purchase of suitable land. This was in February, 1914, after fifty members had paid up an aggregate sum of £4000. The two delegates who proceeded to Palestine

were Dr. J. M. Salkind and Mr. H. Sterling. The nominal capital of the Company amounted on registration to £15,000, but was increased in August, 1914, to £25,000, and it is now intended to increase it again to £50,000. Most of the members have already paid the Company more than one-third of the amount of their shares (£120 on each £300 share). Some of the members have taken more than one share—one and a half, two, two and a half, and in one case three shares. About half of the members belong to the artisan class, while the other half consist mostly of merchants. The Company intends to establish also an industrial *Achuzah*, for the purpose of encouraging and establishing industrial undertakings in Palestine.

When the delegates came back from Palestine, they proposed the purchase of the second half of Kerkur, the first half of which belongs to Mr. Schlesinger (a Zionist of Chita, Siberia), and covers an area of 5134 dunam (about 1280 acres). The proposal was accepted in May, 1914, and the Company paid half of the purchase price, which amounted to £8850. The purchase was made through the Palestine Land Development Co., Ltd., London.

From that time onwards the membership in London, Cairo, and the two small branch companies in Paris and Antwerp, increased considerably. The progress thus achieved induced the Company to increase the extent of its holding in Palestine, and it purchased in 1914 a large area of land called Rabia, in the neighbourhood of Kerkur, measuring about 4000 dunam (1000 acres), the purchase price being £6030. The first instalment of £2000 has already been paid to the Palestine Land Development Co., Ltd., in connection with this transaction.

Owing to the outbreak of the War, the work of the *Achuzah* Company had to be suspended, and, consequently, the branch companies in Paris, Antwerp and Cairo collapsed. In the United Kingdom, however, and particularly in Edinburgh, the activities of the Company have recently been revived, and a number of new members have joined, in spite of the unfavourable general conditions. In view of this unexpected success, the Directors of the Company intend in the near future to remove the restriction which prevents the Company from having more than fifty members (it having originally been registered as a private company).

The present Directors are: L. Eisen, W. Kirsch, Ch. Inwald, Ch. Kaufman, H. Teacher, Abraham Bendas, Ch. Warschawsky, Dr. J. M. Salkind (Managing Director).

The land purchased by the *Achuzah* in Palestine is most favourably situated from the point of view of communication. From the Arabah (Dothan) station it is only one hour's journey by car to Toul Kerem, a station on the new railway line from Merchawia to Lud and Beersheba. Thus the *Achuzah* settlement will be in a position to keep in touch with Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and other places, by means of railway communication.

8. *The Maccabean Land Company, Ltd.*

The Maccabean Land Company is registered as a limited liability company, with a capital of £52,000, divided into forty founders' shares (reserved for subscription by the Order of Ancient Maccabeans, its Beacons and Allied Societies) of the value of £50 each and 1000 land shares, offered for general subscription, of £50 each, each entitling to an allotment of land in the proposed Maccabean Settlement. The object of the Company is to enable its members, by the accumulation of small periodical payments, to acquire landholdings in Palestine, either for personal occupation or for profitable development. For this purpose it is proposed to acquire forthwith a large area of land (preferentially in the south of Palestine, in the district of Modin, the ancient home of the Maccabees), capable of being parcelled out in allotments and profitably cultivated. The minimum subscription of £10,000 has already been assured, and the Company proposes to enter into negotiations with one of the existing public bodies engaged in the acquisition of land in Palestine for the purchase of an area of land sufficient to provide allotments for all the subscribing members. Unfortunately, the War has compelled the Company to suspend its activities for the present.

C. Hebrew Schools in Palestine, and Other Institutions of the New Colonization

The new Jewish colonization movement in Palestine has led to the establishment of more than fifty primary schools, two high schools, two agricultural schools, one handicraft school and one school of arts and crafts. A polytechnic institute on a large scale, for the training of engineers and chemists, was about to be opened when the War broke out. Particulars concerning the Agricultural Experiment Station are given elsewhere in this volume.

The principal schools under the care and supervision of the Zionist Organization are the following :—

The Hebrew Teachers' Seminary and School of Commerce at Jerusalem, attended by ninety pupils. This school is situated in the centre of the Jewish Settlement, with sufficient space for classrooms, the teachers' room, collections of specimens and instruments for instruction in natural science. The garden is used for drill and instruction in botany. All graduates of the Teachers' Seminary are teachers in Palestine, and some of the graduates of the School of Commerce have also found employment as teachers. The students have organized evening classes for mothers, where they teach them to speak Hebrew, while their children attend the Kindergarten. (The Director is M. David Yellin.)

The Hebrew School for Boys at Jerusalem, attended by 205 pupils, including a great number of Sephardim (55 per cent). This number is continually increasing. Instruction is given in all Jewish subjects, as well as in Mathematics, History, Geography, Botany, Singing, Drawing, Gardening, in the Arabic language and some European languages. (Director : M. Sutta.)

The Girls' School at Jerusalem is attended by 280 pupils, 55 per cent of whom are Ashkenazim, and 33 per cent Sephardim, the rest belonging to Georgian, Yemenite and Persian Jewish families. The subjects of instruction are : Hebrew, Bible, History, Arithmetic, Geography, Zoology, Botany, Drawing, Singing, Gardening, and Modern Languages. More than half of the regular pupils are boarded at the School.

The School for Kindergarten Teachers at Jerusalem is attended by thirty-three pupils. Here the girls are trained to become Kindergarten teachers. The instruction is practical as well as theoretical.

The Hebrew Boys' School at Jaffa has eight classes and is attended by about 150 children. Pupils who have passed through this School enter the Teachers' Seminary at Jerusalem, the Hebrew Gymnasium (High School) at Jaffa, or the Agricultural School at Petach-Tikvah, or take up their parents' trade. (Director : Dr. Marschak.)

The Hebrew Kindergarten at Haifa is attended by seventy children, and is developing satisfactorily.

The Hebrew School at Haifa has 104 scholars (ninety-seven Ashkenazim, seven Sephardim), and consists of three elementary and four other classes. A preparatory course has also been established, which is attended by twenty-six children. As in all other Zionist schools, the instruction is given in Hebrew. The syllabus is that of a Continental secondary school.

The Agricultural School at Petach-Tikvah has about fifty pupils, children of the local colonists. Besides instruction in Jewish subjects, modern European languages and Arabic, practical instruction is given in agriculture and horticulture. Some of the pupils work with the colonists, and in that way not only acquire a good practical knowledge, but are able to earn their own living. This School has endeavoured to establish a special department for every branch of agriculture, each with its own plot of land for experimental purposes.

The Jewish Music Schools at Jaffa and Jerusalem, called "*Shulamit*," and founded by the late Mrs. Ruppin in 1912, are attended by several pupils of other schools, and have gained great popularity in the country.

The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts is an important element in the Palestinian Hebrew revival, and has already influenced the Jewish communities of Europe and America. Many Jewish

homes possess specimens of the new Palestinian handicrafts, which remind them that in the home of the Jewish people deft handicraftsmen, inspired by the Jewish spirit, are giving a new expression to the genius of their race in metal-work and wood-carving, in carpet-weaving and embroidery. Hebrew characters and emblems enter into the woof and the warp of a Bezalel carpet and give character to the design.[1] The School and Workshops, founded by an enthusiastic Zionist artist, Boris Schatz, are supported by several Committees on the Continent, in this country, and in America, and form a means of most successful Zionist propaganda among all classes of the Jewish and Gentile population. Many Bezalel exhibitions and bazaars have been held, one as recently as 1912, in London. The Bezalel includes also a beautiful little museum of Palestinian antiquities and specimens of Palestinian flora and fauna, as well as of modern Jewish art (including Glitzenstein's masterpiece, *Messiah*, Joseph Israels' portrait—one of the last works of his life, painted for the Bezalel, of which this great master, a sincere friend of the Zionist movement, was a patron). This museum has also the largest existing collection of old Jewish coins, described in M. S. Raffael's (Raffalowitsch) *Matbeoth Ha'ibrim Ha'kadmonim Jerusalem*, 1913.

The Jaffa Hebrew High School (for boys and girls), the so-called *Gymnasiah Ibrith* (Herzliah, founded in 1906), is first and foremost among the institutions of the Hebrew revival in Palestine. No institution has proved so triumphantly the vitality and significance of the modern revival of the Hebrew language and of Jewish national education as the *Gymnasiah Ibrith* has done with its staff of pioneer-teachers, graduates of various European universities, and its eight hundred pupils from all parts of the world-wide Jewish Diaspora. The great merit of establishing this institution belongs to Dr. Methman-Cohn, who was assisted by the late Dr. Leo Kahn of Kishinew. The most vigilant and generous friend and patron of the *Gymnasiah Ibrith*, Mr. Jacob Moser, M.P., of Bradford, provided the institution with the means to erect the impressive building which forms the centre of the little Jewish town Tel Aviv, near Jaffa. This institution, equipped with everything that is necessary for the teaching of all branches of science, has attracted the best of the younger Zionist intellectuals, who have made it their life-work to inaugurate a system of national education in a modernized living Hebrew. (The most important workers in this institution are mentioned elsewhere in this volume.)

The Jaffa Hebrew School for Girls (*Beth Sefer Le'banoth*) was founded by the Odessa " Lovers of Zion " Association in 1894, and is attended by a few hundred girls. The principal is that most able pioneer and Hebrew educationist, Dr. Tourov. It is the best school of its kind in the country.

[1] *Palestine and the Hebrew Revival*, by E. Miller. *p.* 15.

The Seminary for Women Teachers at Jaffa, also maintained by the Odessa "Lovers of Zion," was founded in 1913 in a house built for the purpose, the means having been supplied by the Russian Zionist M. Isaac Feinberg, in the shape of a donation.

The Tachkemoni Secondary School at Jaffa, founded in 1905, and attended by a few hundred pupils, is chiefly supported by the strictly orthodox section of Zionists, the *Mizrachi*, and is doing important educational work on traditional lines, but with a modernized syllabus. Instruction is given in science, Arabic and modern languages. (The school was under the control of Rabbi Kuk and a *Mizrachi* Committee.)

The Jerusalem Gymnasium (High School), attended by about 150 pupils, boys and girls, was established in 1911 by a group of teachers interested in national education. Although it has not so far achieved its full development, it bids fair to produce good results.

The Odessa "Lovers of Zion" Association maintains Kindergartens in Safed, Tiberias and Jaffa; schools for children in the colonies of Chederah, Bir Jacob, Wadi el Chanin, Artuf, Moza and Kastinie; and schools at Tiberias, Haifa and Gaza. It contributes also to the support of the Tachkemoni and the Handicrafts School attached to the *Talmud-Torah* (religious school) at Jaffa, and of the Bezalel at Jerusalem.

The "Free Association for the Defence of the Interests of Orthodox Judaism" at Frankfort supports a number of schools in the colonies, which have also accepted Hebrew as the language of instruction. To this category belong the Talmud-Torah schools at Petach-Tikvah, Rishon Le'Zion, Ekron, Rechoboth and Haifa.

The Jewish Colonization Association maintains almost all the schools in the colonies, but the management of the schools is left to the colonists themselves. As we are confining ourselves mostly to "Lovers of Zion" and Zionist work, we refrain from giving full statistics of these schools, which are important from the standpoint of numbers as well as from that of efficiency. To mention just a few of them, the schools in Upper Galilee (at Rosh Pinah and other colonies) are excellent, both from the pedagogical point of view and in the teaching of living Hebrew, which is the language of instruction.

The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* of Paris has a long and important record of school work in Palestine, and the *Hilfsverein der deutsche Juden* has also established a large number of schools, etc. In 1913 the *Alliance* requested its schools in Palestine to give more attention to Hebrew. The Evelina de Rothschild School for Girls of the Anglo-Jewish Association, under the headship of Miss Landau, is doing very useful work.

Mention should be made also of the numerous religious old-fashioned schools and colleges (Talmud-Torah schools and *Yeshiboth*) for boys and young scholars at Jerusalem and in the provinces, in which thousands of Jewish children are educated in knowledge of the Bible and the Talmud. In spite of its defects, the old Jewish settlement in Palestine was instrumental in paving the way for the new colonization, and in this respect the old schools, notwithstanding their out-of-date methods, deserve the highest appreciation for having preserved in the children the knowledge of religion and ancient Hebrew literature. Gradually the new spirit is penetrating into some of these schools, as, for instance, into the *Cheder Torah* (founded in 1906), where the Hebrew language has been adopted as the language of instruction.

In connection with the ever-increasing and extensive work of national education in Palestine the "Union of Teachers" (*Merchaz Ha'morim*) calls for mention as one of the most important organizations. It was established some years ago for the purpose of fostering educational development in the new Jewish settlement, of providing means for the further training of teachers, and for completing the education of those engaged in school work, by such means as holiday courses, lectures, excursions, research work, discussions and debates dealing with the curriculum and methods of instruction, and so on.

The *Merchaz* has also established the nucleus of an Education Museum, with sections for history, pedagogy and hygiene.

The "Language Board" (*Vaad Ha'lashon*) at Jerusalem (including D. Yellin, E. Ben Jehuda, Dr. Maze, Sutta and others) plays an important part in the national awakening. The rebirth of the Jewish nation being impossible without the rebirth of the national language, the work of modernizing and enriching the national language is as essential and as indispensable for the realization of Zionism as the purchase and cultivation of land or the financial arrangements for that purpose. To unearth the treasures of our ancient language, to reveal to our people the wealth of our national intellect, to broaden national thought and to guide it towards clear expression in its own way—this is fundamental Zionist work. Prosperous and happy nations have established academies for this purpose, which are maintained out of public funds; our more unassuming task is still in a preliminary stage, although much useful work has already been done. The "Language Board" is publishing a series of pamphlets containing suggestions for new idioms, etc.

The good work of the two last-named institutions has earned the appreciation of the Zionist Actions Committee, which has decided to provide them with the necessary means.

The Public Hebrew Library "*Bait Neeman*," "*Midrash Abarbanel*" and "*Ginze Joseph*" at Jerusalem, founded by Dr. Joseph Chazanovitsch of Bialystok, is also worthy of record.

It is the only big library in Palestine which is of use to scholars, and it is therefore of immeasurable value for the revival of Palestine. (There are also collections of rare Hebrew books and MSS. in some Sephardi *Yeshiboth*, and a Hebrew Library, "*Shaar Zion*," founded in 1891 by the new Jewish settlers at Jaffa.) It is far from being adequate—it requires extending and systematizing—but this beginning must win the admiration of all those who fully conceive the immensity of the Zionist task.

The Gymnastic Societies (*Maccabee*) at Jaffa and Jerusalem, with branch societies in Rishon Le'Zion, Zichron Jacob, and other colonies, are doing useful work for the physical development of the new generation. All these Societies have been founded during recent years by Zionists, and are supported by the Zionist Organization.

Mr. Nathan Straus, the well-known philanthropist of New York, who has identified himself with the Zionist Organization, has established a number of useful institutions in Palestine, partly of a philanthropic and hygienic, partly of a pedagogical character. His "Health Department," which is assisted by some other Jewish Societies on the Continent, has become a real blessing to Jerusalem, likewise his "Soup Kitchen," his classes for instructing girls in handicrafts, and his workshop for manufacturing articles of mother-of-pearl.

To the hygienic institutions belongs also the Pasteur Institute at Jerusalem, which is controlled by the well-known Russian Zionist, Dr. Arji Behm, for vaccino-therapeutical work.

The People's Hall (*Bet-Am*) at Jerusalem is a sort of Toynbee Hall for popular lectures in Hebrew, and for concerts and amusements. Institutions of this kind exist also in Rishon Le'Zion, and other colonies.

The best known of the Hebrew Publication Societies, and of the periodicals, newspapers and magazines founded by Zionists in Palestine and devoted to the revival are the following :—

Kohelet, founded by the Association of Teachers for the publication of Hebrew text-books ;

Le'am, for popular pamphlets and pamphlets on scientific subjects ;

Yefet, for the translation of classical works of European literature ;

Moledet, a literary periodical for young people ;

Ha'chinuch, a periodical for teachers, dealing with pedagogical questions ;

Ha'chaklai, a Hebrew monthly devoted to agriculture, gardening, etc. ;

Yerushalaim, a year-book containing useful information regarding Palestine, by A. M. Luncz ;

Luach Erez Israel, a Palestinian calendar with a literary section, by the same author.

Hebrew journalism was represented during many years by the old weekly *Chabazelet* (editor: M. Frumkin) and by the modern *Hashkafa* (editor: Elieser Ben-Jehuda). During recent years Ben-Jehuda has edited a daily paper, *Ha'or*. Until recently Palestine had two daily papers: *Ha'cheruth* and *Moriah*, and two weekly papers: *Ha'poêl Ha'zair* and *Ha'achduth*.

D. Miscellaneous Institutions

The most important institutions for the conduct, support and control of colonization work and companies for practical undertakings are:—

The Zionist Office. Chief Administrators: Dr. Ruppin, Dr. Thon; Agricultural Engineers: Oettinger, Zagorodzki, Vilkansky, and others.

The Chovevé Zion Office (Dr. Chissin).

The Jewish Colonization Association Office (M. Frank, M. Brill, and others).

The Palestine Wine Company "Carmel," and *The Syndicate of Vine-Growers.* (The "*Carmel*" Company has branches in Warsaw (1896), in America (1898), the "*Carmel Oriental*" in Alexandria (1902), with sister companies—The Palestine Wine Company ("*Carmel Oriental*") in London (Manager: A. Günzburg)—and branches in several countries. The centre is at Rishon Le'Zion, under the management of M. Gluskin).

The *Geoulah*, for the purchase of land (founded in Warsaw, 1902, in the names of Goldberg, Gluskin and Oettinger, with a branch in Odessa).

The *Pardess*, a syndicate of orange-growers; the *Ha-shaked* for almond growing, and some other companies of the same kind.

The *Ahuzat Bait*, for house-building at Jaffa (this Company founded Tel-Aviv), and other Companies for the purchase of land for house-building, etc.

The *Agudath Netaim* (Association for Plantations), established in 1905 in Palestine, is a Company incorporated at Constantinople for promoting Jewish plantation work in the Holy Land. (The principal manager of the Company is Mr. Eisenberg of Rechoboth, who has achieved a reputation as a writer and organizer of great practical experience.)

The *Histadrut Ha'moshavot*, a union of the landed proprietors in the colonies.

The *Lishkat Modiyim*, an office for information established by the Odessa *Chovevé Zion*, managed by M. Schenkin.

The Bureau of Information, managed by the *Poalim* (the labourers), and

Ha'poêl Ha'zair (the Young Worker)—an organization of

nationalist workers and intellectuals who have given an impetus to the enthusiasm and determination of the young Zionists in Palestine, as well as far beyond the boundaries of that country. The programme of the organization is a synthesis of Jewish Nationalism and Socialism, in which the Nationalist idea is more accentuated than in the programme of the *Poalei Zion*. They started their work during the first years of this century, and their organ was the Hebrew weekly *Ha'poêl Ha'zair*, of which Mr. Aronovitch was editor.

The Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa

The Sixth Zionist Congress held at Basle in 1906 accepted a scheme presented by Professor Warburg to found an agricultural experiment station in Palestine, and the Zionist Organization started collecting money for that purpose. M. Aaron Aaronsohn,[1] the son of a pioneer colonist of Zichron Jacob, a distinguished agronomist who had been some years engaged in colonization work, and particularly in connection with the inquiries and preparations undertaken on the initiative of Professor Warburg, who was at that time busy with all the schemes concerning Palestine, was commissioned by the Professor to study the question of the hybridization of wild wheat. In 1906, M. Aaronsohn had found, after painstaking investigation, a few ears of wild wheat growing on the declivities of Mount Hermon. The scientific world was very much interested in this discovery, because of its relation to the possibilities of dry farming in arid regions. M. Aaronsohn travelled on that scientific mission as a delegate of the Zionist Organization, in Northern Africa and Southern Europe, and came to America in 1910. While there, he established relations with the United States Department of Agriculture, which took an interest in his ideas, and published a Bulletin by him entitled *Agricultural and Botanical Explorations in Palestine*. Through the United States Department of Agriculture, M. Aaronsohn and his work were brought to the notice of a number of prominent American Jews, who at his initiative established, February 18, 1910, the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station, a New York corporation with Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, president; Morris Loeb, of New York, vice-president; Paul M. Warburg, of New York, treasurer; and Henrietta Szold, of New York, secretary. The objects of the corporation are "the establishment, maintenance and support of Agricultural Experiment Stations in Palestine and other countries; the development and improvement of cereals, fruit, and vegetables indigenous to Palestine and neighbouring lands, the production of new species therefrom and their distribution elsewhere; the advancement throughout the world, and the giving of instruction in new and improved methods of farming."

[1] He was killed in an aeroplane accident while on his way to Paris in May, 1919.

Funds were raised by the Corporation for the installation and the running expenses for a period of five years. The demonstration fields are situated at Atlit, at the foot of Mount Carmel, on land belonging to Baron Rothschild. Sub-stations are situated at Chedera, in the neighbourhood of Petach-Tikvah and elsewhere. The Station occupies itself since its establishment with the hybridization of wild cereals and with plantations of fruit frees, vines, mulberry trees, various sorts of fodder and ornamental plants. The Jewish colonists resort to this Station for advice and information.

LXXXIII

David Wolffsohn's Autobiography

" My biography offers nothing of special interest to the general public. It may be divided into two parts : Zionist and personal. The Zionist portion is closely bound up with the history of our movement during the last ten years, and the facts concerning my modest work can hardly be distinguished from the general history of the movement. The personal portion of my career, on the other hand, contains nothing that transcends the ordinary. It is the simple story of a man of the Jewish people, of the Jewish Ghetto.

" I was born in the year 1856, in the village of Dorbiany, in the Government of Kovno, in the Province of Lithuania in Russia, close to the German frontier. My parents were poor, pious Jews. My late father, Isaac, was a talmudic scholar, and devoted his whole life to study and teaching. He earned a precarious livelihood from his lessons. My late mother, the type of a pious, good, clever Jewess, had to bear the burden of the household and the education of her children. Life in my parents' house was thoroughly Jewish. Zionism at that time was, of course, not known under that name, but, so far as the ideal of Zionism is concerned, I can say that in our home our lives were thoroughly inspired by the Zionist ideal. Till my fourteenth year I studied, according to the old Jewish custom, in the *Cheder* and *Beth Hamedrash* of my native town. In the early seventies I went to Memel, where my oldest brother was then residing. Here I made the acquaintance of Rabbi Dr. I. J. Rülf, who had great influence on my future career and way of thinking. Shortly afterwards I went to West Prussia, where I served several years as apprentice in a pious Jewish business-house. I also spent six months in Lyck, where I frequently met in his own house David Gordon, the editor of *Ha'magid*, who was one of the earliest Zionist pioneers. In 1877 I returned to Memel, where I set up in business for myself, and married. After some time I removed to East Friesland, and in 1887 to my present home in Cologne.

"I can hardly give any data concerning my Zionist work. Zionism for me is hardly a thing that can be put into chronological, historical order. Zionism has been, rather, my life. Ever since I learned to think and feel I was a Zionist. I took a lively interest in the *Chovevé Zion* movement and was in active correspondence with all the leaders of this movement in Germany. In 1894 I delivered in Cologne my first address on Zionism and helped to found the local society for the promotion and support of Jewish agriculture in Syria and Palestine, which was established in the same year. The appearance of Herzl's *Judenstaat* (in 1896) was epoch-making for me. This pamphlet made such a deep impression on me that I at once went to Vienna to introduce myself to Herzl. I placed myself entirely at his disposal. From that moment till the last days of his fruitful life, unhappily so prematurely ended, I remained in uninterrupted intercourse with our never-to-be-forgotten leader. To devote my strength to the continuance of this work I regarded as the task of my life. When, in the sad time after Herzl's death, the Presidency was offered to me, I was surprised and embarrassed. It was only out of a sense of duty that I accepted this high dignity."

LXXXIV

Some English Press Comments on the London Zionist Congress (1900)

Spectator: "As to the Jews being able to live on the land in Palestine there can be no doubt. Those who have seen a Jewish colony in Syria will testify to the excellent physical and moral and agricultural results achieved. Merely to see the children there is ample warrant of what is done for the Jew by release from the Ghetto."

Saturday Review: "Restoration to Palestine symbolizes the recovery of self-respect, the reattainment of nationhood."

Globe: "Zionism answers the aspirations of the majority of persecuted Jews, but it is important to those Jews who have become completely assimilated to their Christian surroundings, and who ought to have an interest in the raising of the economic, moral and intellectual status of the mass of their unhappy brethren, which raising of status will necessarily be the first outcome of their gathering in the land of their fathers."

Daily News: "Whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to the policy of the Zionist movement, there can be no doubt

as to the intense and fervid interest of those who, at no small self-sacrifice, are doing this work of revival."

Daily Graphic: "Zionism appeals to many sides of human thought, but perhaps the final impression it leaves upon the public mind is something akin to Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones which lived again. Is it possible that the dispersed nation, whose career is one of the standing marvels of history, is about to gather itself again and open a new chapter of its romantic annals? It looks very like it. The movement is in the hands of practical and courageous men; it has behind it a stimulus, not only of subjective enthusiasm, but also of objective strife, and it entirely responds to a practical need."

Yorkshire Post: "The striking feature of the meetings was the unity of purpose and enthusiasm which seem to characterize all the delegates. Persons who speak quite different tongues nevertheless fraternize and grow enthusiastic over the prospect of returning as a nation to the land of their fathers."

Leeds Mercury: "This is not wholly a dream. . . . Several colonies have settled down within their historic territorial limits. A few of them are already self-supporting. The movement is essentially democratic."

Nottingham Guardian: "The movement the Zionist Congress represents is an important one and it may possibly produce momentous results."

Newcastle Courier: "This movement in Jewry is one which readily commands the sympathy of the outsider. It is the voicing of that inarticulate feeling which has for ages silently swayed and sustained forlorn and seemingly forsaken Jews. The inextinguishable hope and the unshaken faith of these stricken people as to their future constitutes a striking object-lesson in these days of scepticism."

Liverpool Echo: "From every point of view, political, social, and religious, Zionism has much to recommend it, and the enthusiasm with which it has been taken up by many of the most prominent thinkers of the Hebrew race affords the best augury for its ultimate accomplishment."

Glasgow Evening News: "Such a scheme as the re-peopling of Palestine, while demanding careful handling at every stage, must be gradually evolved. . . . If the Zionist movement creates a Jew with the tastes and aspirations of his forefathers it will not have been started in vain."

Glasgow Evening Citizen: "It is a matter of considerable importance, looked at from what side we may. Should any effective system be found of dealing with it, then the present Congress will probably have operated to the advantage of this country quite as much as to the Jews in whose interests it is being held."

North British Daily Mail: "There is no reason why Christians should not wish them well. The movement should provide a refuge for the Jewish race from the Anti-Semitic hate which pursues them in so many countries, and it should help somewhat to restore to its former prosperity the land of Palestine, towards which the Jewish heart ever turns with love and devotion."

Review of the Week: "Why should not this homogeneous, intelligent and powerful race (the Jews) form a State of their own, and thus free themselves from persecution in other States, and enforce respect for their nationality? Millions of Jews have probably asked themselves this question. Trustworthy leaders having been found, a movement has been set on foot for the establishment of a Jewish centre in Palestine. The idea is glorious enough to take possession even of the minds of such a practical, prudent and commercial race as the Jews."

LXXXV

Colonel Conder on the Value of the Jewish National Movement (1903)

"Enthusiasm is the power of feeling a strong interest in something that is not of personal material advantage. It is not a very common feeling anywhere, and is perhaps as rare among Jews as among others. It is generally regarded with suspicion: for it often upsets repose, and leads to unexpected and disturbing events. Ignorant enthusiasm has been the cause of many great troubles: but enthusiasm founded on real knowledge of events and of national movements has produced, in our own times, some of the greatest changes in history. It was the enthusiasm of the few which created a United Italy, or again which has made Japan the leading power in the Far East. It is the unexpected that comes to pass, because men's attention is fixed on large and conspicuous objects, and because they find it so difficult to judge whether the new cause, advocated by the few, is based on reality, or whether it is merely a craze. Thus, while endless diplomacy and observation are directed to the management of affairs on the supposition that the facts are evident, there constantly comes a surprise which renders futile all the schemes of anxious Politicians, due to the silent action of some unsuspected element. The blind desires of the people find at length a definite expression, and the direction given by a few enthusiasts leads to new and startling events. . . . Enthusiasm for one's own race and country, when genuine, is regarded with general favour: but when George Eliot raised her protest against the everlasting 'Hep!' which hounds the wandering Jew from land to land, people asked what she had to do with

Judaism. Like Cain, we ask: 'Am I my brother's keeper?' and especially when it is the poor brother whom we so much dislike. We can, however, understand that the great mass of poor and persecuted Jews feel for those who devote their time, money and thought to the raising up of their own people an amount of real affection and gratitude which renders them willing to be led to their realization of hopes that are not commonly regarded by the great mass of the prosperous and contented. . . . Among the higher class of those broad-minded Jews who sincerely believe in their ancient traditions, very noble efforts are made not only to help the poor and stem the tide of persecution, but also to raise the tone of the nation by appeal to its ancient memories and ideals. These men are the natural leaders to whom the destitute and oppressed turn for counsel and guidance, and it is among them that it has now become a fixed belief that the nation can only be raised from its misery by the creation of a national centre—a home to which all those who are scattered over the earth may turn their eyes: which must be one bound up with all that is best in the historic memories of the race, and which therefore must be the old home in Palestine itself. The Jew, they say, is tired of wandering and tired of being an alien. Emigration has not settled the eternal question, and a nation without a country must be content with toleration as all that it can expect.

"As regards ourselves, we should be only too glad to see Palestine increasing in civilization and prosperity as an outpost in the neighbourhood of Egypt. . . . It is clear that if the question of the Near East should again be raised, the Jews will have to be considered by statesmen in any settlement of the Syrian question: and that the solution of the question . . . may be . . . a 'legally assured home for the Jewish People.'"

LXXXVI

Lord Gwydyr on Zionism and the Arabs

One of the most important factors the Zionists will have to reckon with in their further activity in Palestine is that of the Arabian population of the country. This population might consider the development of the Zionist movement undesirable: if the immigration of Jews into Palestine were to bring additional poverty into the land—if the Jewish element were restless, adventurous and inclined to disorder—if the country had or might have a homogeneous Arabic culture, and this new element were to disturb its uniformity through the introduction of its

own cultural aspirations—or if that same element were threatening to oust the Arabs from their own position. But these and similar suppositions which might have led to the adoption of strong measures, or at least to a sentimental antipathy against immigration, are non-existent. The Jews bring no poverty into the land; nor is the immigrating population adventurous; Arabic culture does not already prevail in the country; and the Jews will not drive the Arab population from an established position.

The Jews who have been or are coming to Palestine have created considerable new economic values which are not only sufficient for their own maintenance but also contribute essentially towards the economic strengthening of the Arab element. Not only has the Government derived profit from the greater taxation returns of the Jewish colonies, but also from the enhanced taxability of the country, in consequence of the better methods of cultivation introduced by the Jews. The Arab population has also been considerably enriched, partly because the same masses which were formerly unemployed in large numbers found occupations and earnings with the Jews; partly through favourable sales of land, and also because they have learnt from the Jews how to obtain a greater yield from the soil.

Of course there can be no lack of competition in isolated cases, especially between Arab and Jewish traders, or Arab and Jewish artisans. But on the whole this competition can only bear upon individual cases. In general the new immigration can only maintain and support itself in the country if it creates new values, for the very simple reason that industrial conditions in Palestine are in a very low state of development, and that consequently the supplanting of those who hold established positions is practically impossible.

Therefore, from a comprehensive economic point of view, it is not only unnecessary to protect the native population against the immigration, but the latter should be encouraged in the interest of the country and its present inhabitants. The immigration brings about an increase of production as well as of consumption, and the greater part of the native population is thereby relieved from economic distress.

It is also possible that the native population, on having risen from its present state of depression to a higher level, may endeavour, in a measure, to better its economic position by settling down in neighbouring provinces. Colonization of the lands to the east of Palestine by Arabs would considerably reduce the Arab population of Palestine. Already, since the centre of gravity of the Arab race is not situated in Palestine, the area of friction arising from national-political motives is considerably reduced. The national-political relations of the Jews and their Arab fellow-citizens must be directed into the right channel from the very beginning. In this respect the Zionist programme

is quite clear, simple and natural. The Jews wish to collaborate with the Arabs towards the elevation and strengthening of the country ; but, in all they do, they want to appear as the Jewish nation, and always to show openly and freely their Jewish nationality. If it be a question of assimilation, Palestine is the only country in the world where the Jews, instead of being assimilated, are themselves the assimilating factor. It has, however, to be added that there can be no question of compulsory assimilation enforced by the Jews ; they themselves have suffered too much from assimilation to wish to enforce it in any direction. But the Jewish culture will have an instructive and ennobling influence over others, through the force of example.

Lord Gwydyr wrote as follows on the question of the Turks and the Arabs in connection with the Jews : —

" The difference between the Turkish and Arabic race is a curious subject of study and reflection. The Arabs, taken individually, are superior to the Turks. But in the struggle between nations the superiority of individuals is nothing : what gives ascendancy is the quality not of the individual but of the man : it is the spirit of *ensemble*, the aptitude to command or obey, which, after all, is the same thing. In this point of view the Arab is inferior to the Turk. Enthusiastic, witty, delicate, made for poesy and adventure, sober, inured to fatigue, as gay and as variable as the Turk is serious and grave, the Arabic race is still what we see it in history. But when, forgetting for a moment the brightness of their conquest, we closely examine, even in history, the character of the Arab race, what do we see ? A race whose religious enthusiasm created an army rather than a nation, and incapable of founding an empire, as the Romans had done, it gave rise to I do not know how many empires and how short lived. What a chaos, and in this chaos what a rapid and tumultuous nation ! Unity and duration were ever wanting in the governments created by the Arab race. These governments enjoyed the life of tropical plants, brilliant and brief, whilst the Turkish race has founded an empire, now expiring indeed, but which has lasted five hundred years or more. For an empire like the Turkish one, and in those countries, five hundred years' duration is eternity. What is Palestine worth to the Arabs ? Nothing. They did not appreciate its value, until the Jewish enterprise that forms a striking contrast with the dulness of the natives began to utilize this old garden of the human race, left desert and barren by the misfortunes of time. The Arabs will be useful when guided by an active and intelligent Jewish settlement.

" Racial rivalry is natural in every country, and is not to be disapproved so long as the aims are good, as, e.g. emulation in acquiring of knowledge in its multiple domains, such as agriculture, industry, etc. : but as soon as rivalry exceeds these bounds, it is to be deprecated. The legal power must resist with

all its power this nefarious kind of rivalry, as nobody wishes to differentiate between the inhabitants in their liberties. All must be equal before the law, without the least distinction. But misunderstandings may always occur, and people with interested motives will try to make capital out of these misunderstandings. Everything depends on the goodwill and tact on both sides. Even the Bedawi may be won over to friendship more easily than he may be driven into subjection. And he is worth the winning over. Besides being a fighting man in his own style, he is, as history proves, quite capable of making valuable contributions to the welfare of the country, if he is properly treated. Experience shows that he responds more readily to appeal than to command, and is more easily led than driven. They must be given the blessings of a good administration and trained to take a gradually increasing share in the government of the country. Friendliness will replace inveterate mistrust: the inhabitants of the country will be bound together in close harmony by the ties of common interest. From a strictly Christian standpoint such a course is clearly the highest and wisest: while from that of the Moslems the old fears that closer intercourse with Christians might sap the religious earnestness of the followers of the Prophet are now generally seen to be groundless in the light of a longer and more intimate acquaintance. But there are reasons of a more practical nature than these ethical considerations. The position of Islam in the world's political and religious geography supplies the followers of both faiths with a motive for common action that is yearly becoming better understood. . . . If it is true that a new spirit is stirring in the East of Asia, that the scientific knowledge by which in the past Europeans have held their own can no longer remain their monopoly and that the increase of the population in the Far East remains steady while that of Europe declines, then it is time for the Near East, when the inevitable struggle must take place, to put her house in order: and the first and most obvious requirement is that the tradition of misunderstandings between Christians and Moslems shall be replaced by a sympathy based upon community of interest."

LXXXVII

Consular Reports

The movement of progress and hope which has awakened to consciousness in Palestine was born in the colonies, where the land began to yield a ready harvest in return for the husband-

man's toil, where the vine and the fruit tree began to surround with natural beauty a land that had all too long lain desolate, and the old joys of country life have brought anew to the toilful workers a spirit of independence and dignity which have penetrated from the country into the towns. Again the Jewish race has developed some of the fine physique that generations of the Ghetto life had threatened to destroy for ever.

The British Consular Reports show signs of a steady development of Palestinian trade:—

Year.	Exports.	Imports.
1885	£132,579	£287,740
1886	119,555	240,880
1887	186,371	232,045
1888	204,315	253,065
1889	244,561	275,622
1890	447,010	259,811
1891	410,530	288,290
1892	258,466	342,597
1893	332,628	349,540
1894	285,604	273,233
1895	282,907	275,990
1896	373,447	256,090
1897	309,389	306,630
1898	306,780	322,430

The increase of trade in 1890 and 1891 was due to the good harvest in oranges and sesame. In 1892, 1893, 1894, and 1897, all the wheat and the barley were exported *via* Gaza, and are therefore not included in the above table. The value of some of the goods exported and the growth of new industries is indicated in the following table, which shows the exports of wheat, maize, soap and oranges from 1885 to 1898:—

	Wheat.	Maize.	Soap.	Oranges.
	£	£	£	£
1885	3,600	7,875	13,722	26,500
1886	3,325	9,000	8,960	29,400
1887	15,000	21,000	38,000	36,000
1888	7,800	16,960	45,000	55,000
1889	16,950	18,200	33,600	51,200
1890	19,920	11,240	44,700	83,120
1891	3,300	17,300	124,000	108,400
1892	—	420	46,800	62,000
1893	—	2,580	112,000	96,500
1894	—	2,000	114,000	51,000
1895	3,560	3,200	93,240	65,000
1896	1,920	14,178	113,114	72,600
1897	—	8,450	81,900	75,800
1898	14,000	3,000	62,000	82,500

In the earlier reports some reference is made to the export of wine, but it is not worth special mention until 1894, from which date the following figures may be given :—

Wine and Cognac.

1894	£3,000
1895	2,600
1896	4,032
1897	4,340
1898	20,500

Comparative tables of imports and exports at Jaffa according to countries during the four years 1909–1912.

IMPORTS

Country.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom	321,348	128,730	146,000	155,000
British Colonies	4,629	3,105	49,000	54,000
Turkey	107,842	328,965	340,000	305,000
Austria-Hungary	92,244	83,840	114,000	126,000
Russia	96,038	97,000	108,000	110,000
Germany	87,308	68,615	74,000	80,000
France	64,773	103,000	112,000	84,000
Egypt	69,445	58,095	70,000	61,000
Belgium	39,635	49,185	60,000	54,000
Italy	25,232	24,940	16,000	5,000
United States	13,483	10,400	25,000	12,000
Roumania	10,565	—	22,000	17,000
Netherlands	10,555	10,141	8,000	7,000
Bulgaria	—	11,950	15,000	8,000
Other Countries	9,848	24,485	10,910	12,000
	973,143	1,002,450	1,169,910	1,090,000

EXPORTS

Country.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom	158,090	173,085	185,000	190,000
British Colonies	77	698	9,000	10,500
Turkey	56,850	83,015	78,000	95,000
Austria-Hungary	19,630	12,103	21,000	24,500
Russia	18,370	29,589	33,000	45,000
Germany	7,325	8,384	17,000	21,000
France	15,080	22,255	46,000	50,000
Egypt	255,215	277,328	270,000	290,000
Belgium	1,863	1,101	15,000	12,000
Italy	10,337	15,332	12,000	6,000
United States	3,765	4,272	10,000	1,000
Roumania	1,375	—	2,000	2,500
Netherlands	418	1,192	1,000	2,000
Bulgaria	—	5,221	6,000	4,500
Other Countries	12,630	2,575	5,660	10,162
	506,935	636,145	710,660	774,162

Hindrances to the Prosperity of Palestine

(From the British Diplomatic and Consular Reports, No. 4850. Annual Series: Turkey. Report for the Year 1911. London, 1912):—

"The principal causes which impede a rapid increase in the prosperity of Palestine are three, viz.:—

"1. *The lack of a harbour in Jaffa.*—This is greatly needed. Owing to the fact that Jaffa is an open roadstead subject to sudden and dangerous storms—it should be noted that a British steamer was wrecked in February, 1911—much delay is experienced in loading and unloading steamers with consequent loss and inconvenience. Many tourists and pilgrims are also deterred from visiting the country owing to the uncertainty as to whether disembarkation will be possible.

"2. *The tithe.*—The levying of a tax of 12½ per cent. *ad valorem* on products of the soil has greatly impeded the extension of the orange plantations. Recently a petition has been submitted to the authorities by agriculturists asking that this tax may be replaced by a fixed tax of 30 pias. (5s.) per dunum (about ¼ acre) on land planted with orange and other fruit trees. If this change were made, there would be an immediate increase in the number of orange plantations, with consequent benefit both to the Government and to the population. There are thousands of acres of light soil in the vicinity of Jaffa, which, although not suited for cereals or sesame, are well fitted for the cultivation of oranges.

"3. *The existence of large plots of undivided (musho'a) land belonging to several owners jointly who are, however, unable to determine their respective shares.*—The natural result is that, there being no inducements to carry out improvements, the land is neglected. If measures were taken to effect the division of the land, the results would be beneficial both to the Government and to the owners."

In addition to this statement, Mr. Vice-Consul P. Abela of Haifa reported (1911):—

"There is a possibility of great agricultural enterprise in the fertile and extensive plains near Haifa, and arrangements have been made with some big proprietors to let the property for development. Were it not for the Turkish laws prohibiting foreign companies to hold land in Turkey, great progress might have been made in this direction."

(From the Jaffa Report for 1912, No. 5107. Annual Series. June, 1913):—

"*Public works.*—The roads have not been touched, except for a few patchings in the town, and are in the worst state of repair imaginable.

"The harbour concession, owing to the difficulties arising from the confused political state of the capital, has not yet been obtained. . . . It is now nearly fifteen years that negotiations have been going on with regard to the project, and considering the enormous benefits that would accrue from its realization to every branch of the local trade, its perpetual postponement is deplorable. The present open roadstead is dangerous both for passengers and goods trade, and frequently prevents vessels from communicating at all. The resulting losses to the district are too obvious to be mentioned.

"*The lack of public security.*—The inhabitants of the Jewish colonies have to pay from £6 10s. annually per family in organising their own means of defence, and even then suffer from insecurity.

"*The tithe.*—This tax is levied on a system which has the disadvantages both of discouraging cultivation and being wasteful and comparatively unproductive. Its incidence on individuals is also in many cases unfair and crippling. The whole system is in need of radical revision.

"*The backward state of public works.*—The present roads are fit for nothing but camel traffic, and agriculturists have no satisfactory means of embarking their goods at Jaffa without great expense and loss through deterioration."

LXXXVIII

THE following is an example of Moore's Zionist songs :—

ADVENT OF THE MILLENNIUM

BUT who shall see the glorious day,
When throned on Zion's brow,
The Lord shall rend that veil away
Which blinds the nations now ?
When earth no more beneath the fear
Of his rebuke shall lie ;
When pain shall cease, and every tear
Be wiped from every eye ?

Then, Judah, thou no more shalt mourn
Beneath the heathen's chain ;
Thy days of splendour shall return,
And all be new again.
The fount of life shall then be quaff'd,
In peace by all who come ;
And every wind that blows shall waft
Some long-lost exile home.

MOORE.

(*See* Volume I, page 12.)

LXXXIX

Cremieux's Circular to the Jews in Western Europe[1]

" Aux Juifs de l'Occident.

". . . Pendant mon séjour en Egypte, dans le cours de cette belle mission qui portait vers nos frères de l'Orient les sympathies si ardentes de leurs frères de l'Occident, j'étais vivement ému de l'aspect de la malheureux population qui s'offrait à mes yeux. Foules aux pieds depuis tant de siècles, les débris *de la nation juive,* autrefois nation puissante dans ces contrées même, ont perdu l'energie qui seule donné à l'homme quelque ressort en lui rappelant qu'il est l'œuvre de Dieu. La source qui vivifie toutes les facultés de notre intelligence, *l'instruction* n'est pas même connue du nom dans cette Alexandria, si brillante, il y a quelques siècles, par les lumières des juges et des docteurs israelites. . . .

" De l'Orient est sortie la religion qui nous unit tous d'une chaîne à la fois si étroite et si noble. . . . Du Caire et d'Alexandria le feu sacre se repandra bientôt vers Dames et Jerusalem. L'Orient va se ranimer. . . ."

(*See* Volume I, p. 180.)

XC

THE BANNER OF THE JEWS

(By Emma Lazarus)

Wake, Israel, Wake! Recall to-day
The Glorious Maccabean rage,
The sire heroic, hoary-gray,
His five-fold lion-lineage,
The wise, the elect, the Help-of-God,
The burst of Spring, the Avenging Rod.

From Murpeh's mountain ridge they saw
Jerusalem's empty streets: her shrine
Laid waste where Greeks profaned the law
With idol and with pagan sign.
Mourners in tattered black were there
With ashes sprinkled on their hair.

Then from the stony peak there rang
A blast to ope the graves: down poured
The Maccabean clan, who sang
Their battle anthem to the Lord.
Five heroes lead, and following, see
Ten thousand rush to victory!

[1] *Archives Israelites de France,* vol. ii., 1841, p. 185.

Oh for Jerusalem's trumpet now,
To blow a blast of shattering power,
To wake the sleepers high and low,
And rouse them to the urgent hour!
No hand for vengeance, but to save,
A million naked swords should wave.

Oh, deem not dead that martial fire,
Say not the mystic flame is spent!
With Moses' law and David's lyre,
Your ancient strength remains unbent.
Let such an era rise anew,
To lift the "Banner of the Jew!"

(*See* Volume I, p. 243.)

XCI

"The Advanced Guard"

Programme of the Committee appointed to found a colony to be called Rishon Le'Zion (1882).

"A. The acquisition of land.—The Committee will select according to its judgment, a suitable site for the colony, will purchase the same from the owners of the ground and execute a deed of purchase, in the name of the President and two members of the Committee. If some charitable association make a grant of money towards the purchase of the land, in that case the Committee will be in a position to buy it in the name of such association. If it be bestowed as a gift the deed of purchase will be in accordance with its regulation and that of this Committee.

"B. The acquisition of houses.—The Committee have prepared plans respecting houses and stalls for herds and flocks, the purchase of bricks, wood and all the requisites of a dwelling-house. It will appoint inspectors over the work-people and a surveillance will be exercised by the officers of the colony or those of the Committee.

"C. The obtaining of cattle and implements.—The Committee will choose experienced men either from the members of the Committee or from the colony to hand over to them money for the purchase of cattle and proper implements of ploughing adapted to each family. These will be bestowed on them according to priority.

"D. The wants of the congregation.—The Committee will provide money for the erection of a synagogue, a Talmud Torah school, a hospital, bath and washhouses, also for the erection of a small trading mart to be managed in accordance with the regulations laid down by the officers of the colony for the necessary transactions."

ADDENDA

I (vol. i., p. xxviii)

It is a thorough confusion of ideas to identify Zionists with the Nationalists, Chauvinists and Jingoes of other nations. Judaism in its ethics is more cosmopolitan than any other doctrine in the world. In teaching that all men are brethren it lays the foundation of the equality of men and races, and excludes in principle every impulse of race egotism as immoral. In Judaism is therefore contained from the beginning the suppression of national limitation and animosity. And what is founded upon Judaism must necessarily prevail in Zionism, which represents the quintessence of Judaism, with all the power of logic and tradition. But it is just upon this point that those Jews who combat Zionism make a surprising mistake. They attempt to make use of this truth in order to prove that the Jewish nationality has to disappear from this world. Here lies the fallacy. It is true that Judaism rejects the ill-natured aloofness of one nation towards another, but it is not true that Judaism strives after the suppression of national distinctions, and it even borders on the ridiculous to suppose that Judaism requires the suppression of Jewish nationality. Judaism, which recognizes all natural formations, cannot wish to annihilate or to suppress the manifoldness of the national articulation of humanity.

Apart from this all that is alive and modern has a tendency towards the creation of a national culture. All valuable literature and art bears a national character. Everything international is bare of colour and expression. What the Jews do can generally also be done by others, in a worse or better manner. What is of importance to humanity, are the special values which the Jews as such create. The downfall of a nationality which represents a state of culture would be equivalent to a lessening of the spiritual possession of humanity. Besides, the abrasion of the national leads throughout to a loosening of the self-containing of the personality. It comes from the national instinct of the individuality, and the imprint cannot be effaced without internal injury. That is why Zionism means the return to the natural character of the Jewish personality.

II (vol. i., p. 5)

Anglo-Israelism, the theory which identifies the ancient Britons with the Israelites, was originated by Richard Brothers (1757–1829). The chief exponents of this doctrine, which became the teaching of a particular sect in England and America, were: J. Wilson, W. Carpenter, F. R. A. Glover, Edward Hine, S. W. Greenwood, the Rev. W. H. Poole, S. Bernatto and T. R. Howlett. The Anglo-Israelites have their literature and periodical publications, in which they propagate their idea with great zeal, and in the United States and in Britain to-day amount to a very large number of believers. Without entering into a scientific analysis of this doctrine, we must admit that the fact that a certain number of English people are endeavouring to prove their Israelite origin, is possible only in a country so strongly attached to the Bible, including the Old Testament, as England. Other people would shrink from the mere idea of being mixed up, even in the remotest degree, with Israelites. Even Jewish assimilationists are inclined to accept any extravagant hypothesis tending to prove that the present Jews are not of pure Jewish or Semitic origin.

III (vol. i., p. 100)

The anonymous author of *A Treatise of the Future Restoration of the Jews and Israelites to their Own Land*, etc. Addressed to the Jews. (London, 1746), defended the idea without any allusion to conversion, in a Jewish spirit, though he was evidently a non-Jew. He gave many interesting descriptions of Palestine.

President Edwards, in his *History of Redemption*, says: "In future glorious times, both Judah and Ephraim, or Judah and the Ten Tribes, shall be brought in together, and shall be united as one people." Mr. Locke, giving the substance of the eleventh chapter of the Romans, says: "When the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, the whole Jewish nation shall again be restored to be the people of God." Dr. W. Harris observes that, as this Epistle (the Romans) was written about the year 57 . . . and as the prophecies were not accomplished then, they have to be accomplished."

William Cunningham of Lainshaw, in his *Letters and Essays* (London, 1822), has a series of letters on "The Literal Restoration of Israel to their Own Land," which are excellent both in style and learning.

IV (vol. i., p. 106)

FROM THE ARCHIVES AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE

CARLOW,
2nd March, 1841.

MY LORD,

A Memorial has this day been transmitted to your lordship, praying that Her Majesty's Government may now exert its commanding influence to secure the protection of the Jews in Palestine, and to afford them facilities for returning to their own land. Though signed by only 320 persons, it contains, I believe, almost the unanimous expression of Protestant feeling in this neighbourhood; almost every one to whom it was presented cheerfully appended his name. It contains the signatures of men of all ranks, of all political parties, and of different religious denominations. The names of many Roman Catholics, both clergy and laity, will be found attached to it.

The deep interest manifested by all classes in the subject of the Memorial, as well as its transcendent importance, will, I sincerely hope, secure for it an attentive consideration.

While the minds of a people, who have for many ages been crushed and trodden under foot by all nations, are fixed with intense anxiety on the measures which Her Majesty's Government may now adopt for their relief, multitudes of Christians, both at home and abroad, are watching with intense interest the issue of our recent victories in Syria. The tide of popular feeling also throughout the civilized world is now turned in favour of the Jews, and nothing perhaps would tend more strongly to secure our national tranquillity, heal divisions at home, and unite men of all parties, than the adoption of vigorous measures for the benefit of ancient Israel.

I pray your lordship to forgive these remarks, and to bear with me while I add, that perhaps the very existence of our country depends upon the manner in which the people of God are now treated by us. The supreme Governor of Heaven and Earth has, by the prophet Isaiah (chap. xxix. 7 and 8), passed a sweeping and universal sentence which must operate with as unerring certainty as any of the ordinary laws of nature. The total disappearance from the map of the world of many of the most famous nations

of antiquity—of Assyria, Babylon, Idumea, etc., form the most impressive commentary on these awful words. It is unnecessary to remind your lordship that England is implicated in this capital offence of plundering, banishing, and massacring the unresisting and often unoffending Jews, as it is indelibly engraven on the page of her history. By what means we are to escape the irreversible decree of Jehovah I know not, if not by manifesting repentance for the cruel deeds of our ancestors, and by employing every means now within our reach to render them kindness in return for the miseries formerly visited upon them.

We hope that God has raised your lordship to your present exalted station for such a time as this, and pray that He may honour you, by making you an instrument of breaking the chains which have long bound the land of His people, and that He may incline the heart of our Sovereign and of Her Government to extend the wings of their protection over that people from whom all our highest blessings and privileges have come.

"Blessed shall those be who bless Israel, and cursed shall those be who curse her."

I am,
My Lord,
With much respect,
Your lordship's obedient and humble servant,
(*Signed*) WARRAIN CARLILE,
Minister of the Scots' Church, Carlow.

To LORD PALMERSTON,
Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
March 8th, 1841.

SIR,

I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to request that you will acquaint the Parties resident at Carlow and in its vicinity who signed the Memorial transmitted to His Lordship from Carlow on the 2nd of this month, praying for the intervention of Her Majesty's Government in favour of the Jews who may be settled in Palestine or who may desire to return there, that His Lordship has duly received their Memorial, and desires to assure them that the interesting

subject to which it relates has not escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Government, who have made and are still making endeavours which they trust will not be altogether without success, to obtain for such Jews as may wish to settle in Palestine, full security for their persons and property.

THE DEAN OF LEIGHTON
and the Petitioners from Carlow.

CARLOW,
March 2, 1841.

To the Right Honourable

LORD PALMERSTON,

Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs

The Humble Memorial of the Undersigned Inhabitants of Carlow and its Vicinity.

Your Memorialists take the liberty of presenting the following statement to your Lordship in consequence of the success which the Almighty has lately been pleased to grant to Her Majesty's Arms in Syria, and the peculiar position in which he has placed the British Government with respect to the Jews: and they feel the more encouraged to do it from the deep interest which your Lordship has already shown in the Welfare of that people.

Your Lordship must be fully aware of the unparalleled sufferings which the Jews have for Ages endured in the Land of their Fathers; and as that Land has recently in the providence of God, been thrown in some degree under British Power, Your Memorialists earnestly entreat that Her Majesty's Government may employ their present Commanding influence to shield the unresisting Jews from further persecution, and to ensure for them complete protection.

Your Memorialists feel much confidence in pressing upon Your Lordship's attention the claims of this much neglected people; for from whom could they better expect a prompt and vigorous attention to these claims, than from a Government which has already exerted itself so nobly in the cause of Humanity and has set an example worthy the imita-

tion of the World in abolishing Slavery and in extending protection to the oppressed.

Your Memorialists beg leave further to remind Your Lordship that the Land of Palestine was bestowed by the Sovereign of the Universe upon the descendants of Abraham as a permanent and inalienable possession nearly 4000 Years ago, and that neither conquests nor treaties among men can possibly affect their Title to it. He has also decreed that they shall again return to their Country and that the Gentiles shall be employed as the means of their restoration. "For thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will lift up mine Hand to the Gentiles and set up my Standard to the people, and they shall bring thy sons in their Arms, and thy Daughters shall be carried upon their Shoulders, and Kings shall be thy Nursing Fathers and their Queens thy Nursing Mothers" (Isah. xlix.). Happy shall those be who shall be employed in accomplishing God's purposes of Mercy to His Ancient People, for "They shall prosper who love Zion." The honour and Happiness to be thus attained appear now to be within our reach, and indeed to be offered for our acceptance. It is foretold also that the Ships of Tarshish shall be first employed in conducting the dispersed Tribes of Israel to their Home; and who are more likely to be employed in this Service, or could more easily accomplish it, than the Nation whose Fleets have been long engaged in protecting and succouring the Wretched, and which have access to most of the Countries where Jews are to be found!

That the promises of Jehovah shall be accomplished by some Gentile Nation, is absolutely certain; and everything appears to indicate their speedy fulfilment; and it remains now to be seen whether Her Majesty's Government is to be the chosen instrument in accomplishing this blessed Work (as Cyrus the Great King of Persia was in ancient times) or whether the Honour and Consequent prosperity are to be Conferred on some other Maritime power.

Your Memorialists cannot conclude without reminding Your Lordship that our own fate as a nation depends upon the manner in which we treat the Jews, for the irreversible decree of Heaven is "The Nation or Kingdom that will not serve Israel shall perish, Yea those Nations shall be utterly consumed."

Your Memorialists therefore pray Your Lordship to adopt such measures as may appear to You best to secure full

protection to the Jews in their own Country, also to afford them assistance in gaining possession of their Land, either by purchase or otherwise, and to afford facilities to all who may be disposed to return to their inheritance.

And Your Memorialists will ever pray, etc.

V (vol. i., p. 119)

" . . . Sir Moses called on Colonel Campbell, but he had to wait some time before seeing him, as the Colonel was with the Pasha.[1] The Colonel willingly consented to introduce Sir Moses to Boghoz Bey,[2] and fixed four o'clock for the purpose. Colonel Campbell said he would call for Sir Moses, and bring one of his horses for him.

" The Colonel was punctual, and we rode together to the residence of Boghoz Bey. Sir Moses gave him three requests in writing, and he promised to lay them before Mohammad Ali and explain them to him. The Bey appeared well inclined to forward his requests, and offered to present him to the Pasha either the same evening or the next morning. . . .

" Boghoz Bey, the Pasha's Minister of Commerce, had read over and explained my requests to him on the previous evening, that he might be fully aware of the object of my visit to him. Being anxious to have Mohammad Ali's answers in writing, which he said Boghoz Bey should give me, as he had been present at our interview, I called on the Bey, but he had not returned from the Palace.

" Between four and five I walked there with Dr. Loewe. Boghoz Bey received me most politely, and said as I had not put my signature to the written requests, he could not give me an answer in writing, but he hoped I was perfectly satisfied with what Mohammad Ali had promised me this morning. He added that as soon as I had made my several requests in writing, and signed them, he would write me the answer, agreeably with the Pasha's words, as he had accorded me all I required.

" I thanked him, and immediately after the conclusion of Sabbuth I wrote, and sent the several requests to Boghoz Bey, properly signed in the form of letters. . . ."[3]

[1] Mehemet Ali.

[2] Father of Boghoz Pasha, President of the Armenian National Council in Paris, 1919. See *p.* 116.

[3] Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. . . . Edited by Dr. L. Loewe, . . . vol. i. London . . . 1890. *pp.* 198–200.

VI (vol. i., p. 138)

In 1849 Colonel George Gawler accepted an invitation from Sir Moses Montefiore to accompany him—together with Lady Montefiore—on a tour through the Holy Land. It was arranged that they should leave England about the 20th of April. They were, however, delayed three weeks by the illness of Lady Montefiore. Gawler himself was not disappointed at the delay, as he was hard at work studying Hebrew and Arabic, preparatory for the tour. Eventually they started on May the 15th, and arrived at Jerusalem on July 28th.[1]

An enthusiastic Christian Zionist, Gawler was at the same time a strong advocate of Jewish emancipation which was to him a duty of justice, because: "First, it would be part payment of a heavy debt of retribution that England owes to the Hebrew race for bygone centuries of cruelty and oppression. Westminster Abbey itself was rebuilt by money extorted from the Jews (Maddox's *History of the Exchequer*, and Hunter's *History of London*). And, secondly, it would *be taking a part*, which is to the honour and interest of the British Nation to perform, in assisting the great movement of deliverance from oppression and bondage that for many years past has been in operation throughout the whole civilized world, in behalf of the Ancient People of God."[2]

VII (vol. i., p. 139)

The Rev. Alex. B. C. Dallas (1791–1869), author of several works, said in a lecture in 1845: . . . "The first object is the time when Jerusalem is to be safely inhabited by the people of Judah, as of old. This we learn from Zechariah (XII. 6 and XIV. 11), and from all the prophets. If then the western Jews of Europe were to be placed under some political arrangement, with an independent jurisdiction over the city and suburbs alone, that prophecy would be fulfilled" (*Present Times and Future Prospects*, Rev. W. R. Fremantle. London, 1845, p. 116).

The Rev. W. R. Fremantle (1781–1859), the editor of this volume and a priest of great learning, dealing with the same subject, remarked: "It has been thought that if cabinets

[1] *George Gawler, K.H.*, by C. W. N. London, 1900, p. 56.
[2] *The Emancipation of the Jews*, by Col. G. Gawler. London, 1847, Preface.

of Europe only agree upon some terms, and draw up a treaty for the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, the whole matter would be speedily arranged. But if the position which our subject holds in the coming future be correctly stated, then are there many steps in this work of restoration. The first is evidently partial and preparatory" (*Ibid.*, pp. 253–4).

The Rev. Williams Cadman said in the same series of lectures: "When the storm is passed, Israel shall be found in peaceful and quiet possession. The desolate land shall be tilled; the ruined places shall be built, and the waste cities become fenced, and be inhabited, and filled with flocks of men" (*Ibid.*, pp. 303–4).

In a Paper[1] read before the British Association of Science at Aberdeen, September 16th, 1859, by Major Scott Philipps, on the Resettlement of the Seed of Abraham in Syria and Arabia, it was shown that the small portion they have hitherto possessed, by no means comprises the whole grant of country given to Abraham, but that the whole of Arabia Felix is included in that grant. Their full inheritance is given in Deuteronomy xi. 24: 'Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours: from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the River Euphrates even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.'

"Now rule a line from the northern roots of Lebanon to the southern roots of Sinai, and will not a perpendicular thereto point out the uttermost sea to be the East Sea, or Sea of Oman? And the uttermost sea opposite the River Euphrates, is it not the Red Sea?

"Thus the Euphrates, the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Red Sea are proved to be the boundaries of the Promised Land."

The Rev. Jacob H. Brooke Mountain wrote in a letter published by Miss Rosa Rame (*The Restoration of the Jews*, etc., dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury. London, 1860):—

"There was a time, when the Duke of Wellington was at the head of affairs, when the Navy of England was absolute on the ocean, and her military glory at its height, and when the Jews would thankfully have paid the whole expense of the expedition, that they might have been put in possession of their own country. And England would have become the first of the nations in Europe—our influence

[1] This paper has recently been reprinted.

over Turkey, Greece and Egypt rendered paramount—and a devoted ally attached to us. The opportunity was lost; if it is ever vouchsafed to us again, I fervently pray that we may embrace it with zeal and alacrity. The time may yet come, if England has grace to use it."

VIII (vol. i., p. 152)

The clause as it is to be found in the General Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey, signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856, runs as follows :—

" M.T.Maj. the Sultan having in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a Firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire," etc. It is quite clear that the principle was " without distinction of religion or race," and that the grant of rights to the Christians is only an application of a general principle in a special case.

In the second Protocol of the Conference of the 30th of August, 1860, at Paris, signed by Metternich, Thouvenel, Cowley, Reuss, Kisseleff and Ahmed Vefik, where the autonomy of the Lebanon was decided, reference is made again to this paragraph :—

" Neanmoins ils ne peuvent s'empêcher, en rappelant ici les actes emanes de Sa Majesté la Sultan dont l'article 9 du traité du 30 mars, 1856, a constate la haute valeur," etc. (*Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottoman*, 1884, T. 6, p. 45).

IX (vol. i., p. 160)

It is noteworthy that Palestinian rabbis recognized the activity of the English Consul. James Finn was, indeed, an English pioneer of the idea of the colonization of Palestine and of England's protection of Palestinian Jews. He was appointed Consul before the death of Bishop Alexander (who was a converted Jew and the first Bishop appointed by the English Government in Jerusalem), in 1848, and the chief reason for his appointment was his known love of the Jewish

cause. He was at the time a member of the London Society's Committee, had published an interesting and learned work on the History of the Spanish Jews, as well as a book upon the Chinese Jews, had devoted himself with great zeal and rare success to the study of Hebrew, which he spoke and wrote with fluency, and was considered on this account to be particularly well qualified for the post of Consul at Jerusalem (another proof of the great appreciation of the National Jewish character of Palestine on the part of the British Government at that time). Finn went out as a devoted friend to the Jewish cause, and as such he proved himself. Though an ardent Christian, he won the sympathy of the most orthodox Jerusalem rabbis, and their moral support for the colonization of Palestine. He was the son-in-law of Alexander McCaul, a distinguished Christian Hebraist who devoted the greater part of his active life to missionary work among the Jews. When the Bishopric of Jerusalem was established in 1842, under the joint protection of the Queen of England and the King of Prussia, McCaul was the first to be offered the See.

" By desire of the King of Prussia, and with the hearty concurrence of the heads of the Church, the bishopric in Jerusalem was tendered to Dr. McCaul, the worthiest, perhaps, of all the Gentiles for that high honour. He demanded, however, but short time for deliberation and refusal, declaring his firm belief that the Episcopate of St. James was reserved, in the providence of God, for the brethren of the apostle according to the flesh."[1] Bishop Alexander was thereupon offered and accepted the trust.

X (vol. i., p. 194)

Zionism is not merely an economic, but also, and perhaps primarily, a spiritual movement. The Jewish people must be able to live in accordance with the requirements of its soul in Palestine. Economically it could perhaps live equally well elsewhere, but spiritually only in its own historical and actual home. No people on earth have so highly valued the spiritual as the Jews. The ever-recurring *motif* of the *Thora* (the Law) is the most striking proof of this conception. The spiritual capacity of a people is not

[1] *Jewish Intelligence*, June, 1842, p. 207.

its all, but certainly its highest possession. For this constituent complements all other possessions and ennobles every other interest. Traditions are of high standing, but ignorance and superstition cause otherwise good and great traditions to become forces which, instead of working for good, only interfere as disturbing, thwarting and perplexing elements in the activities of life.

" The ignorant cannot be pious " was a good old saying of the ancients, but of the impious learned ones, on the contrary, the saying was : " May they but cherish the Law, for the light of the Law will turn them towards the good." Man must not, of course, regard learning as the goal, but without knowledge his life and existence are blind ; only in the light of cognition can the traditions of a people assume the best possible form. Historical reminiscences are of the greatest importance for the consciousness of the people, but even they shrink into pitiful narrowness if the breadth of outlook upon life be wanting. In any case the fundamentally good is only sanctified when the pursuit of learning has widened the horizon of everything human, and has taught the art of building up with the best materials out of the past in harmony with the present. This is the universal function of learning, and in comparison with this sphere of action all other superficial functions sink into mere activities which only acquire value through learning.

This fundamental idea, upon which the whole of Judaism is based, may be illustrated from another aspect. When the Seventy Elders had translated the Pentateuch into Greek, which was the most cultured language of Antiquity, the learned ones complained and even went so far as to assert in a paradoxical sentence : " The day on which this happened is like unto the days of woe at the time of the destruction of the Temple." We have only succeeded by degrees in grasping the deep truth of this sentence. Translation, generalization, localization may be necessary in the Dispersion. But one must not be deceived : only that which is written in the original tongue of the people is genuinely national. The Law of the Jewish nation can only be preserved in all its originality in the language of that nation.

That the *Shechinah* (the glory of God) should languish in exile, that the *Thora* should have to share the hard fate of its bearers, condemned to wander from place to place in foreign lands, seemed to many a mystical idea. But, in

reality, this idea is but an expression of the conscious need or longing for the old home. There is not the slightest trace of mysticism in this : it is a clear and illuminating thought. Learning must, in order to be disseminated and perpetuated among the successive generations, have some kind of institution available for the purpose of an adequate interchange of ideas. For the purposes of the formation of scientific, professional classes, for the development of an organized system of education, for the vitalization of the language, for the purpose of entering into relation with natural surroundings, it is necessary to presume a whole series of cultural precedents, which would probably be for the greater part of a practical nature. Not until these conditions have been created will national Jewish culture, ancient but ever young, appear in all its glory. In the Dispersion there are, unfortunately, but a few who are able, through the power of intuition, to realize the sublimity and depth of a chapter from the Hebrew prophetic scriptures. They have preserved the Jewish spirit, partly through atavism, and partly through tradition and long study. But no outsider can experience the same feeling towards the Hebrew bible as a Palestinian Jew. No one else either can rightly understand a " Mishna " of the " Seder Z'raïm," the part which treats of the Palestinian flora, in spite of the most ingenious commentaries. In the Ghetto, they only extract from the *Thora* that for which the Ghetto possesses understanding—the disputations concerning business (*Dine momonoth*) or the Dietary Laws, and the laws concerning the sabbath and the festivals. The *Thora* in its entirety can only be revived in Palestine. The Dispersion only possesses fragments of an ancient national culture, which are, in every country, differently valued, and vague remembrances and surmises of the nature of a national feeling.

It stands to reason that a real national feeling can only develop in Palestine. There this feeling would become what it is among all other sound, healthy and civilized peoples : the joyful consciousness of belonging to a nation that in life, customs and language bears the impress of an ancient and yet new culture. It is in this and not in the superficialities of a state that the centre of gravity of Zionist efforts consists. What Zionists want is to find in the historical fatherland the conditions requisite for the untrammelled development of a Jewish nation. Zionism is in its deepest sense a product of Jewish national consciousness.

What actually is national consciousness? National consciousness, a product of a national common consciousness and of an historically conditioned feeling of unity, is not based upon a single undertaking by a single group of men, or of a single impulse in the history of this group, but upon a certain inborn cultural value of a given people. National consciousness thus expresses this value as a peculiar embodiment of the human soul, which, during the course of special lives enriches humanity so that the right is claimed for the nation in question to safeguard its existence and to develop according to its own individuality within the world of nations. This consciousness is capable of a very varied development in strength, formation and tendency. It manifests itself in the joy felt in the preservation of its own national characteristics, in the promotion of its fitness, in the relation of the efficiency of the individual to the welfare of the whole, and in the willingness to sacrifice for the good of the whole people. This consciousness possesses, besides, certain specific aspects which are peculiar to the one nation more than to any other. It must possess these specific aspects or else it would be nothing more than an imitation or a continuation of its antithesis: assimilation.

Consequently a Jewish national consciousness must likewise lay emphasis upon the specific aspects which are of a spiritual nature. The Jewish people is essentially neither ambitious of domination, nor bent on proselytizing, neither adventurous nor aggressive; it is a people eminently endowed intellectually that wishes to enjoy the blessings of peace. Some of the immoral backwaters of the national consciousness are national pride, presumption, blindness to the qualities and efficiency of foreigners, malicious envy, lust of domination, ill-will. The Jewish people is sufficiently safeguarded against such failings by its spiritual endowment.

XI (vol. i., p. 205)

Dr. Chas. F. Zimpel published in 1865 an *Appel à la société Chrétienne toute entière ainsi qu'aux Israelites, pour la déliverance de Jerusalem* (Frankfort-on-the-Main) in which he gave a description of the deplorable conditions in Palestine, and appealed to Christians and Jews to establish a new order of things in that country. He referred to the

ideas of Napoleon I, and mentioned a statement that Napoleon III made some definite promises in this matter: "Que S.M. Napoleon III en ait le pressentiment ou la conviction, il est certain que, d'après ce qui m'a été communiqué, il a donné, il y a environ trois ans . . . sa parole de travailler dans ce but" (p. 12). This statement is evidently related to the propaganda of M. Dunant, which was much stimulated by the beginning of the work on the Suez Canal. Earlier, in 1852, Zimpel had published a pamphlet, *Die Israeliten in Jerusalem* (Stuttgart, 1852), in which he appealed to his readers for support of the agricultural Jewish settlement established by the Americans in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Zimpel, who declared himself to be a Christian, contributed five hundred florins. He mentioned among the promoters of the idea the American Dr. J. T. Barclay, and a prominent Jerusalemite, John Meshullam. About Meshullam, who was a baptized Jew, born in London, who had had an adventurous career, a part of which was spent in the service of Lord Byron, some interesting particulars are given, under date 20th March, 1852, in *The Sabbath Recorder* of New York, No. 413, of the 20th of May, 1852. This paper quotes an extract from a journal of Mr. C. S. Minor, an American (Christian) gentleman, who was associated with Meshullam in his agricultural settlement at Bethlehem:

"Through a recent petition of the Turkish Effendis of Jerusalem, the Sultan has lately sent him (Meshullam) an offer of the site of the ancient Cæsarea and its fertile vicinity, if he will undertake and superintend its rebuilding and cultivation. This is greatly surprising and important, as Cæsarea has the most lovely and easily rebuilt ruins in Palestine, and is a point of great commercial importance and entrance to the whole land, and was formerly the chosen port of the Romans. This he declines from his love to Jerusalem and his suffering brethren within its walls."

Meshullam is again mentioned in Colonel George Gawler's book, *Syria*, etc. (London, 1853, p. 78): "Some have supposed that the Hebrew people are at present unfitted for field or garden work. Such as think this cannot have witnessed Hebrew labourers, aye, and Hebrew Rabbis, at work in Mr. Meshullam's farm at Urtan."

XII (vol. i., p. 216)

In the year 1884 the delegates of the *Chovevé Zion* Unions, mostly from Russia, met in conference at Kattowitz in Silesia, close to the Russo-Polish frontier. A *Bne-Brith* Union had formerly been founded there which had for its object: "To afford moral and material support for the foundation of colonies, to Jews undergoing religious persecution." The words "In Palestine" were only introduced later. But in the appeal which this Union had circulated in 1882, Palestine was expressly mentioned as the future home of the Jewish nation, and the national future of the Jewish community was exalted with every conceivable distinctness. In this appeal Palestine was opposed to America, towards which the main stream of emigration was flowing, and was represented as a suitable land of immigration on account of all the reasons which it is usual to adduce: the low cost of the journey, the value of the concentration of Jewish masses upon common territory; the country's fertility, among others. The president of this *Bne-Brith* Lodge, M. Moses, was known as a zealous *Chovev Zion*. This circumstance, and the proximity of the town to the Russo-Polish frontier, were the reasons for its selection for the Conference.

The Conference had elected a central committee, whose seat should originally have been in Berlin, but it turned out differently. Odessa remained the centre of the Friends of Zion. It also determined that henceforward a better administration of the funds was to be carried through. An attempt was to be made to obtain the recognition of the Society by the Russian Government; the position of the colonization was to be tested on the spot, and it was only then to be determined which colonies were to be supported. New foundations were not to be considered in the meantime. Finally, a delegation was to be sent to the Turkish Government to effect the removal of the difficulties standing in the way of Jewish colonization in Palestine. Although, as had been foreseen, it was not yet possible to gather all the threads into one hand, the organizing thought and a Zionistic programme were proclaimed here for the first time. The newly founded institution was given the name "Maskereth Moshe," or "Montefiore Foundation for Supporting Colonies of the Holy Land," so named in remembrance of Montefiore, whose hundreth birthday had been

celebrated with widespread enthusiasm, especially in Russia. Through the sale of Montefiore pictures, the first common fund, 40,000 roubles, had been raised.

The Conference had no great real success. In spite of the propaganda undertaken by the central committee the movement came to a standstill. Already, in 1887, a Conference was arranged at Drusgenik, Russia, whose practical result differed but little from that of Kattowitz. It was decided to support certain colonies, and an office was set up in Palestine from which the negotiations with the Turkish Government were to be conducted and the land purchases controlled. Though this Conference was followed by a certain increase of the propaganda, the undertaking on the whole was in such a bad way, partly on account of the distressing condition of the Palestine colonies, that Pinsker finally resigned. Not till the Conference at Wilna was a change brought about, and when, in 1890, in consequence of the endeavours of the tenacious and energetic friend of Zion—M. Zederbaum—the authorization of the Russian Government had been obtained, the first general meeting of the Odessa Committee, " The Society for Supporting Jewish Agriculturists in Syria and Palestine " (as it called itself), was held, and Pinsker assumed again the leadership of the movement. At this point begins the really extensive activity of *Chovevé Zion*, chiefly in Russia, although there were *Chovevé Zion* Unions in nearly every country, even in America. At the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century the organization had reached its culminating point of activity. But the formal foundation of this committee had taken place at Kattowitz.

The Kattowitz Conference was, as Pinsker said, only a small beginning. But still it was a beginning. It created a principle and a method which only prevailed later. The insignificant real importance of the Conference is not inconsistent with its great historic significance. Result did not follow immediately upon this event, but the historian must trace back all the recent development of the Zionist idea to that date, because for the first time in a Jewish assembly the new spirit assumed shape and expression. Thus in the end history must consider the Kattowitz Conference as the seed out of which first of all a tender plant grew, but which, after wearisome development, spread out into a tree beneath whose shade Israel will some day find repose.

XIII (vol. i., p. 276)

In the year 1840, Luzzatto wrote to Jost: ". . . and when at last, oh, Jewish scholars of Germany will the Lord open your eyes? How long will you refuse to see how wrongly you act by following the crowd, extinguishing national pride, allowing the language of our forefathers to fall into oblivion and letting Hellenism (Atticism) grow up in our midst? As long as you allow your brethren to persevere in the delusion that the ideal of perfection is nothing else than imitation of neighbours and the consideration gained therefrom; as long as you will not have attained enough self-consciousness to instruct the people out of full zeal for God, truth and Jewish confraternity to uphold that the greatest good is not anything visible but that which is felt deep within the heart, that the happiness of our nation is not dependent on emancipation but on our love to one another, on our holding together in brotherly union, and that this feeling of correlation is gradually dwindling as a result of emancipation; as long as you maintain that emancipation countries are paradisaic countries for the Jews, the saying of the prophet Malachi will necessarily apply to you:

"'Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law.'"

In a letter of the year 1855, Luzzatto writes to one of his disciples: "Your Hebrew letter gave me real pleasure. . . . Honour be to you for wishing to accustom yourself to write and speak Hebrew. For the language of our ancestors is the bond which links together the sons of the Jewish nation who are scattered all over the world, and it is that which conjoins all generations, and brings us nearer our ancestors as well as the generations which will come after us."

On another occasion Luzzatto expressed himself on the idea of a Jewish mission in the Diaspora: "These are indeed words which charm the ear flatteringly, but in fact they are just empty phrases. The Bible has already been propagated among peoples for many generations, and gains in diffusion from day to day without Jewish assistance. Now, if the propagation of the Bible within a space of time of eighteen hundred years has not brought humanity perceptibly nearer perfection, what can the Jews contribute thereto, especially those who do not believe in the divinity of the

Thora? But apart from the fact that, as I have expounded, it is a delusion to believe that the only purpose of existence of Judaism is to lead humanity towards perfection, as the author (Philipsohn) and his adherents believe, it is also a vain delusion to think that humanity will ever reach the state of perfection which the author describes in his writings."

When Luzzatto heard, in the year 1854, that Albert Cohn, of Paris, was going to Palestine, he wrote to him :—

"Only unthinking people can suggest that Jewish children should be sent from Asia to large European cities to be brought up there, and thus diffuse our culture among our brethren in Asia; that is heartless egoism and unbelief, fine outer forms and inward corruption."

"Judaism must be relieved of foreign pressure. The Jews of the Holy Land must be provided with soil to till and means of exploitation. Care must also be taken that their crops are not robbed by the Pashas and Beduins. Then they will cultivate the soil as in the times of the Bible, Mishna and Talmud. This cannot succeed in Jerusalem, since, as a place of pilgrimage, it has become the abode of people who divest themselves of all worldly cares and true social duties. Judaism has never built cloisters for recluses and has never countenanced idleness. But is it to be wondered at that whilst all nations from far and wide went on pilgrimage to the Sepulchre, Jehuda Halevy, Nachmanides and other devout men, after a life of strenuous toil, should have wished to pay honour to the seat of holiness and to end their lives in saintly seclusion? Jerusalem will necessarily remain a sacred city for all peoples. Therefore, for the present, it cannot be regarded as a possible capital of the country. Otherwise all Palestine should be tilled and cultivated by the Jews, that it may flourish from an agricultural and industrial point of view and arise again in its old splendour. The main consideration is that no impediments should be placed by the Government in the way of the free development of Jewish industry. The Jews are known all over the world as particularly industrious and capable. Why, then, should they be loungers in Palestine? That they are so at present has two local reasons; the one, the pressure of neighbouring nations and the negligence of the administration, and the other the Indian as well as Mohammedan, but not at all Jewish, conception of the holiness of inactive life. The local pressure must be removed

as far as possible. But we must rouse our brethren to useful activity, urge them onwards in every way, and breathe into them the spirit of a new life."[1]

XIV (vol. i., p. 280)

The eloquent passion with which Bialik expresses the woe of the Jewish people runs like a red thread through all his national poems ; but it reaches its climax in *The Poems of Wrath*—a series of these poems written on the occasion of the Kishineff massacre in 1903. This series above all other poems of his is the most terrible expression of the national grief, despair and rage accumulated during the centuries of persecution, and is a masterpiece of vigour and impetuosity.

XV (vol. i., p. 280)

Achad Ha'am's writings offer an abundance of instructive historiosophic thoughts, mostly propounded in fragmentary, aphoristic form, which point in their entirety to a common root and a uniform outlook and system of ideas on the part of this thinker, and show the way thereto to many a reader. The stimulus of his theories lies in the fact that they have nearly always had a background of actuality. Achad Ha'am is no historiosopher within the narrow meaning of the word ; his aim is primarily directed towards present-day problems of Judaism, but he often seeks their solution in the past. Thence he traces the primordial causes of what occupies us at present. This trait alone makes him not only national, like nearly all authors of our present Hebraic Renaissance period, but even more, it invests him with the sanction of a learned Hebrew thinker and an inspired intellectual leader. His methodology is philosophic and somewhat attuned to the Hegelian dialectic of thought, and in this connection too, apart from the community of national fundamental conception, it brings him close to Nachman Krochmal. Evolution is the idea which chiefly directs him, and psychology—particularly of human groups, parties and nations—appeals most to his refined mind. In all his endeavours he affirms

[1] Prof. D. Kauffmann, *Correspondence of Samuel David Luzzatto*, Dr. J. Klausner. Haschiloach, April, 1901.

the fluidity of the national character, and its adaptability under the pressure of historio-cultural factors. But it is just on this account that he is so firmly convinced of the necessity of Jewish individuality and its free development. He perceives the essence of this individuality in Jewish intellectual life, and he longs for a centre for it in Palestine.

Achad Ha'am expounded the essential Zionist idea long before the Zionist Organization was established, but opposed some political methods proposed by the Zionist Organization. He rejected the kind of Zionism which had its adherents mostly in Western Europe, and is inspired merely by anti-Semitism and its outrages, and he advocated Zionism as an expression of Judaism, of Jewish feeling, of a revival of the people by virtue of a great Jewish national idea—with a spiritual centre in Palestine.

XVI (vol. i., p. 313)

Jews may have native countries, the Jewish nation has none, and this is its misfortune. The Jewish nation must again feel its own stretch of earth under its feet, and draw new material and moral forces from the native soil. But this must not be understood as if it were demanded that all Jews should leave their present homesteads in order to populate their chosen land. This is not what is meant. The Jewish idea of nationality does not aim at uniting the Jews in one country or at giving them a national status in their Dispersion, but at creating a national centre for Judaism. A considerable part of the nation, which will naturally be recruited first of all in the countries where Jewish oppression is heaviest, is to settle upon the soil which is intended to be the home of the Hebrew race. There it will win through agriculture that attachment to the soil which preserves a country to a nation, and it will find that bodily and moral welfare which must be the proper aim of all Jewish aspirations. The advantages of such an eventuality, also for those Jews remaining outside the national area and status, are self-evident. The foremost attainment would be that the Jewish population in the countries of European civilization would be constantly maintained as to numbers, through periodic eliminations, below that point of saturation, above which experience shows that the Jews are no

longer welcome. Naturally this would also bring about a considerable relief to anti-Jewish tension, a decrease of the intensity of the struggle for life of the Jewish masses, and also, possibly, render easier the juridical equalization of the Jews in the countries of greatest pressure.

In addition to these will come the effect of the development of the Jewish land upon the Jews of other countries. The consciousness of the existence of a living Jewish people possessing a country of its own, a field of cheerful activity for sons at home, a refuge for sons from afar, will also ennoble and elevate, fortify and temper the Jews of the Diaspora. The curse of exciting ridicule, which makes misfortune doubly hard to bear, will recede from them: their whole status among the nations will become normal and healthy. The relations between Jews and Gentiles which, for all assimilations and emancipations, and notwithstanding all goodwill on both sides—why not admit it?—still retain so much of what is forced and painful, will only then become unconstrained and unaffected. Dislike of the Jews may possibly not cease; but, at any rate, it will lose all justification for existing in its peculiar shape and acuity. Should this dislike nevertheless prevail, the importance of a centre will become all the more apparent. The smallest national autonomous community has a seat and voice in the concert of nations. A nation without national worth is a nation outlawed. However pessimistic one may be with regard to the possibility of a small national centre to exert any material political influence in other countries, its moral authority is certain.

XVII (vol. ii., p. 47)

The interest of Mr. C. P. Scott, Mr. H. Sidebotham, also of *The Manchester Guardian* but now of *The Times*, and other non-Jewish friends in Manchester in the Zionist Movement led to the establishment in that city, in the autumn of 1916, of the British Palestine Committee, formed to further the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, under British protection. In the words placed in the forefront of its programme: "The British Palestine Committee seeks to reset the ancient glories of the Jewish nation in the freedom of a new British dominion in Palestine." The activities of this Committee have displayed themselves for

the most part through its press organ, *Palestine*, which, appearing weekly, supplies the influential public among which it circulates with valuable information on all matters relating to Palestine, and at the same time discusses all the phases of international politics which touch upon the Palestine question in any of its facets. In addition to *Palestine* the Committee is responsible for two publications, *England and Palestine*, by Mr. H. Sidebotham, in which the author puts the case for a British mandateship, and *British Projects for the Restoration of the Jews*, a pamphlet by Mr. Albert M. Hyamson, wherein he sketches the attitude of British statesmen and publicists towards the projected restoration of the Jews to Palestine during the century and more that preceded the outbreak of the European War of 1914.

XVIII (vol. ii., p. 54)

In the earlier part of the year 1917, about the date of the opening of the London Bureau of the Zionist Organization, the present writer, being the only member of the Inner Actions Committee in England, felt it desirable to give some definite status to those trusted supporters of the Zionist cause to whose advice Dr. Weizmann and he were continually informally having recourse. The constitution of the Organization did not permit of any definite responsibility being assigned to them. It was therefore possible to form only an Advisory Committee, without any executive authority. The Political Committee that came into existence at that time, and continued its existence until the arrival in England of a number of the members of the Greater Actions Committee enabled that constitutional Organization to resume its functions, was composed originally of Ahad Ha'am, Mr. Leopold Kessler, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, Mr. Albert M. Hyamson, Mr. Simon Marks (who acted as Honorary Secretary), Mr. Harry Sacher, Mr. Israel Sieff, Mr. Leon Simon, two foreign Zionists—M. J. Ettinger, of the Jewish National Fund, and M. S. Tolkowsky, of Rechoboth, Palestine—who were temporarily resident in London, together with Dr. Weizmann and the present writer as chairman.

CORRIGENDA

Volume I

Page xxvii. Six lines from the bottom. *For* " See the Chapter on Zionism and the War " *substitute* " See Volume II, pp. 1 ff."

,, xl. Line 9. *Delete* " Arthur," *substitute* " Albert."
Line 22. *Delete* " Moro," *substitute* " Morot."
Line 23. *Delete* " Andre," *substitute* " André."
Five lines from the bottom. *For* " Frederick " *substitute* " Frederic."

,, 8. The last three lines of the note contain the title of the Yiddish translation of " The Merchant of Venice."

,, 12. Insert quotation marks (") before " It " at opening of last paragraph.

,, 23. Line 12. *For* מרה *substitute* מרא.

,, 26. Three lines from the end. *For* " Gebirol " *substitute* " Gabirol."
Last line. *For* " Kalonymus " *substitute* " Kalonymos."

,, 27. Line 1. *For* " Kalonymus " *substitute* " Kalonymos."

,, 35. Line 2. *Insert* " shall " *at end of line.*

,, 59. Line 9. *After* " Manuel " *insert* " Noah."

,, 82. Five lines from the end. *Omit* " *de la Gironde.*"

,, 95. Note 2. *Transfer* date " (1835–1906) " *to end of first line.*

,, 126. Line 5. *For* " Reschid " *substitute* " Reshid."

,, 144. First note. *Delete second sentence. Substitute* " He appeared as a pseudo-messiah about the year 1160."
Line 24, and second note. *Delete* " 1918." Lord Morley is fortunately still alive.

,, 182. The three lines from the end. *For* " 1826–1887 " *substitute* " 1826–1882."

,, 193. Last line but one. *For* שחטה *substitute* שחטא.

,, 213. Line 18. *After* " poet " *insert* " and novelist."

,, 222. Line 11. *For* אמתי *substitute* אימתי.

,, 235. Line 4. *For* " hoards " *substitute* " hordes."

,, 254. Line 2. *For* " Frederick " *substitute* " Frederic."

,, 257. Line 1. *After* " Jockey Club " *insert* " of Paris."

,, 258. Line 13. *For* " Petrograd " *substitute* " St. Petersburg."

,, 266. Line 3. *For* " Uganda " *substitute* " East African."

,, 269. Line 22. *For* " Bahar " *substitute* " Behar."

,, 275. Line 2 of note. *For* " Hakalah " *substitute* " Haskalah."

Page 278. Line 22. *For* " Petrograd " *substitute* " St. Petersburg."
,, 280. Line 3. *For* " Noach " *substitute* " Nachman."
Line 27. *For* " Scernichowsky " *substitute* " Tschernichowsky."
,, 284. Line 22. *For* " Shmarya " *substitute* " Shemaryah."
Line 24. *For* " Viktor Jakobsohn " *substitute* " Victor Jacobsohn."
,, 292. Line 38. *For* " Slouchz " *substitute* " Slousch."
,, 296. Line 15. *For* " Jewish Territorial Association " *substitute* " Jewish Territorial Organization."
Line 6 from the end. *For* " Uganda in East Africa " *substitute* " British East Africa."
,, 297. Last line. *For* " Uganda " *substitute* " British East Africa."
,, 302. First line of note. *For* " Araber " *substitute* " Arab et."
,, 304. Paragraph 3, line 1. *For* " the first " *substitute* " an early."
Paragraph 3, line 11. *For* " invasion " *substitute* " revolt."

Volume II

Page 44. Line 4. *For* " Uganda " *substitute* " a territory in East Africa."
,, 62. Line 4. *After* " harmful " *insert* " but he afterwards withdrew his resignation."
Mr. Gilbert did not resign from the Conjoint Committee, of which he was not a member. He resigned his membership of the Board of Deputies in order that the prospective president, Sir Stuart Samuel, might be elected in his place.
Line 24. *Omit* " late."
,, 80. Line 9. *For* " judge " *substitute* " justice."
Line 24. *For* " Shmaria " *substitute* " Shemaryah."
,, 82. Line 1. *For* " Levin " *substitute* " Lewin."
,, 87. Line 4. *After* " by any means " *insert* " a desert. But a little Jewish state in Palestine would serve as."
,, 134. Line 18. *For* " Levin " *substitute* " Lewin."
,, 140. Line 8 from the end. *For* " Jewish Territorial Association " *substitute* " Jewish Territorial Organization."
,, 152. Line 3 from the end. *For* " *Essalt* " *substitute* " Es-Salt."
,, 161. Line 4 from the end. *For* " generations " *substitute* " centuries."
,, 215. Note 1. *After* " Breslau " *insert* " Jewish Theological."

By a misunderstanding, words have in many instances in the first volume and in the earlier half of the second volume of this work been printed in italics quite unnecessarily. Chronological dates have also in some instances been supplied where they have not been called for.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

ENGRAVINGS, LITHOGRAPHS, PAINTINGS, PHOTOGRAPHS, Etc.

From which the illustrations in this book have been taken.

(Prepared by Mr. ISRAEL SOLOMONS).

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* Israel Solomons' Collection. B.M. British Museum.

Sizes are in inches and refer exclusively to the engraved surface.

***ABOAB, Isaac [da Fonseca] de David.** (1605–1693.)

Doctissimo y Clarissimo Señor H. H. Yshack Aboab
Rabino del K. K. de Amsterdam.
Ydade sua 81 Anno 5446.

חרות בְּעט ברזל וְעופרת
צורת תמונת איש בעודו חי.
יצחק לְיום אחרון בְּכותרת
לפני יְאָל י——עֶמד וחי.

Aernout Naghtegael. Deling et fesit (*sic*).

(*Mezzotint Engraving* 11 × 7.)[1] *p.* 44.

ABRAHAM VITA de Cologna.

See Cologna, Abraham Vita de.

[1] This portrait, done seven years before his death, frequently forms the frontispiece to "Parafrasis Comentado Sobre el pentateucho por el illustrissimo S r Ishac aboab. H. del K. K. de amsterdam estampado en caza de Iaacob de cordova, 5441." (Folio. 3 *ll.* + 634 *pp.* *)

A posthumous portrait executed in 1697 is to be found in the Seminary *Ets Haim* of the Portuguese Israelites at Amsterdam (David de Raphael Montezinos Collection). It is apparently unique, and was engraved in mezzotint by Jacob ben Abraham, a convert to Judaism.

ADAMS, John. (1735–1826.)

His Excellency John Adams,
President of the United States of America.

Respectfully dedicated to the Lovers of their Country and Firm Supporters of its Constitution.

Drawn & Engrav'd by H. Houston.
Published by D. Kennedy, 288 Market St., Philad[a].
(*Line Engraving* $11\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$. B.M.) *p.* 92.

***ADLER, Nathan Marcus [Nathan ben Mordecai Hacohen].** (1803–1890.)

Dr. Nathan Markus Adler Chief Rabbi.

My flesh and my heart may fail
the rock of my heart my portion—God
will remain for ever.
N. Adler.
(*Facsimile autograph.*)

St. Blatt zum Album Jsraels herausgegeben v. A. B. Perlmann.
(*Lithograph* $7 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.) *p.* 268.

ALLENBY, Edmund Henry Hynman.

[General Sir Edmund Henry Hynman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.]

(*Photograph by H. Walter Barnett and Co., Ltd., 12 Knightsbridge, S.W.*) *p.* 84, ii.

AVIGDOR, Elim Henry d' [Adam de Solomon]. (1841–1895.)

[Elim Henry d' Avigdor, B.A., C.E.]

E. *d'* A. [18]90.
(*Lithograph* $7 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.)[1] *p.* 234.

BALFOUR, Arthur James.

[The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, M.P., P.C., F.R.S., O.M., M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.]

(*Photograph by Olive Edis, F.R.P.S.*) *p.* 82, ii.

[1] Published in *Palestina*, The Chovevi Zion Quarterly, No. 11 . . . March, 1895.

*BEN-ISRAEL, Manasseh de Joseph. (1604–1657.)

Menasseh Ben Israel,
Theologvs Et Philosophvs Hebrævs
Peregrinando Qværimvs.

Doctrina hic voluit, voluitque Modestia pingi.
An poterit vultus charta referre duos?
Hos oculos, hæc ora vide. Conuenit utrinque:
Illa suos vultus dixit, & illa suos.

D. I.

Ætatis Svæ Anno
Anno XXXVIII. Salom Italia. Sculpsit. MDCXLII.

(*Line Engraving* $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5$.)[1] *p.* 44.

*BICHENO, James. (1751–1831.)

Revd. J. Bicheno, Newbury.

Theological Magazine.

Published by C. Taylor, 108, Hatton Garden, Octr. 1, 1809.

(*Stipple Engraving* $3\frac{3}{4} \times 3$.) *p.* 92.

BOSELLI, Paolo.

[His Excellency Paolo Boselli,
Order of Annunziata, President of the Order of S. Maurizio and Lazzaro, Premier 1916–1917.]

(*Phototype.*) *p.* 128, ii.

[1] Manasseh's portrait had been etched by his friend Rembrandt * in 1636, the copper plate being subsequently converted into a mezzotint *; but this engraving by Salom de Mordecai Italia, taken at the age of thirty-eight, was his favourite portrait. It was this likeness he sent to Abraham von Franckenberg, the Silesian mystic, as a token of his friendship. (Bonum Nuncium Israeli [P. FELGENHAWER] . . . Amsterodami . . . 1655. *p.* 92.)

At the upper left corner of the engraving is a small vignette of a pilgrim with staff and water wallet, and at the corner opposite is a lighted candle in a metal holder on a shelf, alongside an open volume inscribed נר דברך לרגלי (Psalm cxix., 105). A similar design to the vignette was used as the printer's mark of several volumes from Manasseh's press with the motto "Apercebido Como Hv Romeiro."

In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg a painting of an old Rabbi by Rembrandt (1645) is suggested to be a portrait of Manasseh, but this is extremely doubtful.

Of Salom Italia very little indeed is known. The only other portrait he engraved was that of Haham Jacob Judah Aryeh de Leon, who in 1641 completed a model of Solomon's Temple. In 1885 J. L. Joachimsthal sold by auction at Amsterdam a מגילה dated 1665, written and embellished with forty pen-and-ink drawings, signed

יצרתיו אף עשיתיו שלום בכמר מרדכי מאיטאליאה זל פה אמשטירדם
ט' לחדש אדר התך לפק

BRIGHTMAN, Thomas. (1562–1607.)

Mr. Brightman Etat: suæ: 45:

Loe here A Brightman, Or A man of bright
Who that from darkeness brought this heauenly light
Thus shaddowed here turne ore and you shall see
Hee was A man was bright in prophecy.

Printed and are to be sould by Peter Stent at the Crowne in guilt spur street.

(*Line Engraving* $6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. B.M.)[1] *p.* 52.

***BUENO (BONUS), Ephraim Hezekiah de Joseph.**

Dor. Ephraim Bonvs, Medicvs Hebrævs. (*ob.* 1665.)

Alter Avenzooar grandi sub judice magnus
in medicis, magni discipulus que patris.

Ioannes Lyvyus fecit. Iohannis de Ram Excud.

(*Etching* $12 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. *Seventh State.*)[2] *p.* 44.

CAMBON, Jules-Martin.

[M. Jules-Martin Cambon,
Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, Ambassador of France.]

(*Photograph by Henri Manuel, Paris.*) *p.* 128, ii.

CHAMBERLAIN, Joseph. (1836–1913.)

[The Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain,
P.C., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., J.P., M.P.]

(*Photograph by the Stereoscopic Company, London,*
3 Hanover Square, Regent Street, W.)

[1] Frontispiece of "A Revelation of Mr. Brightman's Revelation, . . . 1641."

[2] The original from which this portrait is taken is unknown. Dr. M. Kayserling in the Jewish Encyclopedia, 1902, vol. iii., *p.* 422, erroneously attributes it to Rembrandt. It was etched by a fellow pupil of his, Jan Lievens, who probably was also the delineator. Rembrandt's portraits of Bueno at about the age of thirty-five are the celebrated etching known as the "Jew Doctor," 1647, and an oil-painting, somewhat similar in style, head and bust only, but reversed, probably done at the same time and now in the collection of Baron de Six at Amsterdam. It has recently been etched by William Steelink (signed artist's proof on Japanese paper, with the armorial bearings of the Baron de Six on the margin, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$*), and also illustrates Kayserling's biography of Bueno in the Jewish Encyclopedia, *ibid.* It has been suggested that a daughter of Bueno was the model for Rembrandt's etching "The Jewish Bride." Bueno became a Burgher of Amsterdam in 1651, and died on the 30 *Hesvan* 5426=8 Nov., 1665; and his wife Jeudit Buena i *Sivan* 5430=20 May, 1670.

CLEMENCEAU, Georges-Eugène-Benjamin.

[M. Georges-Eugène-Benjamin Clemenceau,
President of the Council.]

(*Photograph by Henri Manuel, Paris.*) *p.* 128, ii.

***COHN, Albert [Abraham].** (1814–1877.)

Albert Cohn.
(*Facsimile autograph.*)

"... Und mir dem Sohne Ahrons ist ein Vorrecht noch geblieben das—zu segnen. . . ."

(*Lithograph* 6 × 6.)[1] *p.* 180.

***COLOGNA, Abraham Vita de** (1755–1832.)

Abraham de Cologna, né à Mantoue.
Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de la Couronne de Fer.
Membre du Collège Electoral des Dotti du Royaume d'Italie.
Grand-Rabbin du Consistoire Central des Israélites et du Consistoire de Turin.
Dedie Au Consistoire Central des Israélites.
Dessiné d'apres nature par Marchand. Mariage Sculpt.
Déposé à la Bibliothèque Imperiale.
Se vend à Paris, chez l'Auteur, rue des Vieilles-Audriettes, No. 6, au Marais.

(*Line and Stipple Engraving* 7½ × 6¼.) *p.* 84.

CONDER, Claude Reignier. (1848–1910.)

[Colonel Claude Reignier Conder,
D.C.L., LL.D., M.R.A.S., R.E.]

(*Photograph, copyright.*)[2] *p.* 62.

***CRÉMIEUX, Isaac Moses Adolphe.** (1796–1880.)

Ad. Crémieux,
Advocat am königlichen Gerichtshofe zu Paris,
Vice Präsident des israelitischen Central Consistoriums in Frankreich.
Avocat à la Cour royale de Paris,
vice president du Consistoire central des Israélites francais.
Druck u. Verlag den Steindruckerei des H. Engel in Wien.

(*Lithograph* 9⅞ × 8¼.) *p.* 180.

[1] From "Beth-El." Ehrentempel verdienter ungarischer Israeliten. Von Ignaz Reich, Lehrer des hebr. Faches an der isr. Normalhauptschule zu Pest. Zweites Heft (Mit zwei Portraits), Pesth 1859. Druck von Alois Bucsánszky.

[2] No portrait of Col. Conder has hitherto been published.

*DEUTZ, Emmanuel [Menachem]. (1763–1842.)
Mr. Emmanuel Deutz,
Grand Rabbin du Consistoire Central des Israélites de France.
(*Lithograph* 8¼ × 6⅝.) *p.* 84.

*DISRAELI, Benjamin de Isaac. (1804–1881.)
Benjamin Disraeli, Esquire, M.P.
Painted by A. E. Chalon, R.A. Engraved by H. Robinson.
London, George Virtue.
(*Stipple Engraving* 8¾ × 6¾. *Octagonal.*)[1] *p.* 176.

DUNANT, Jean Henri. (1828–1904.)
[Johannes Heinrich Dunant.][2] *p.* 234.

*ELIASBERG, Mordecai ben Joseph. (1850–1898.)
הרב הגאון ה"ג ר' מרדכי עליאסבערג זצ"ל אב"ד דביוסק
(*Lithograph* 4⅛ × 3¼.)[3] *p.* 202.

ELIOT, George [Mary Ann Cross, *née* Evans]. (1819–1880.)
[George Eliot.]
(*Photograph by the Stereoscopic Company, London, 3 Hanover Square, Regent Street, W.*) *p.* 208.

FINN, James. (1806–1872.)
[James Finn,
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine,
M.R.A.S.]
(*Photograph by Macandrew, 44 Regent Circus, W.*)[4] *p.* 208.

[1] This engraving is the thirteenth in "Portraits of Eminent Conservatives and Statesmen, with Genealogical and Historical Memoirs. Second Series. London: George Virtue, 26 Ivy Lane." [1841.] The original water-colour drawing by Alfred Edward Chalon, R.A., was executed in 1840, when Disraeli was thirty-six years of age. It is now at Hughenden Manor, in the possession of his nephew, Major Coningsby Ralph Disraeli.

[2] Die Welt, 29 Oct., 1897, No. 22, p. 7.

[3] One of the portraits from :—

נאום ישראל מזמנינו הידועים והמפורסמים בכל קצוי תבל

Published by A. Lipschitz, 41, Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester, September, 1898. Copyright registered. Nachdruck verboten.

[4] No portrait of James Finn has hitherto been published.

FUENN, Samuel Joseph. (1819–1891.)

Samuel Joseph Fuenn.[1]

p. 217.

***FURTADO, Abraham.** (1756–1816.)

Mr. Furtado de la Gironde,

President de l'Assemblée des Députés Français & du Royaume d'Italie, Professant le Culte Mosaique 1806.

Dessiné d'après nature par Mr. Lheman. Gravé par L. C. Ruotte.

A Paris chez l'Auteur Quai de l'Horloge du Paris près le Pont Neuf No. 75.

Déposé à la Bibliothèque Imperiale.

(*Stipple Engraving* $7\frac{3}{4} \times 6$.) *p.* 84.

GEORGE, David Lloyd.

See Lloyd George, David.

GOLDSMID, Albert Edward Williamson [Michael ben Aaron Halevi]. (1846–1904.)

[Colonel Albert Edward Williamson Goldsmid, M.V.O.][2]

p. 234.

GORDON, David ben Dob Baer. (1826–1886.)

ר׳ דוד גארדאן נולד בשנת תקצ״ב [3]

p. 217.

***GOUGE, William.** (1578–1653.)

Dr. William Gouge,

Effigies Guil. Gouge S.S. Theologiæ Professor Qui Obiit Ano.

{ Dui 1653. { Ministerij in } 46.
{ Ætatis. 79 { Black-fr. Lon. }

John Dunstall fe.

(*Etching* $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$.) *p.* 52.

[1] Jewish Encyclopedia, 1903, vol. v., *p.* 526.

[2] Die Welt, 16 Oct., 1903, No. 42, *p.* 10.
In Arab costume, when one of the members of the commission of enquiry into the adaptability of El Arish in the Sinai peninsula as a territory for Jewish colonization in 1898.

[3] כנסת ישראל שנת תרס״ו לפ״ק וואַרשא Columns 1111 & 1112.

***GOUGUENHEIM, Baruch.** (1752–1842.)

Baruch Gouguenheim,
Grand Rabbin de Nancy, Membre du Consistoire du Grand Sanhédrin.

צורת הרב מהו' ברוך גוגענהיים אבד דקונסיסטאריום דק"ק נאנסי:

C. Pannetier fecit. Lith de C. Labouré à Nancy.

(*Lithograph* $4\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$.)[1] *p.* 84.

***GROTIUS, Hugo [Huig van Groot].** (1583–1645.)

Hugo Grotius.

Engraved by I. Tookey, from a Copy by P. van Gunst.

(*Line Engraving* $4\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. *Oval.*) *p.* 52.

HERZL, Theodor. (1860–1904.)

[*Theodor Herzl.*][2]

(*Facsimile autograph.*)

Frontispiece, vol. i.

HERZL, Theodor. (1860–1904.)

[בנימין זאב בן יעקב]

Leopold Pilichowski.

(*Oil Painting* 100 × 50, *copyright.*) *p.* 263.

HESS, Moses [Moritz]. (1812–1875.)

Moses Hess.[3]

Geb. 21, Jan. 1812. gest. 6 April, 1875.

p. 268.

HILDESHEIMER, Israel [Ezriel ben Löb]. (1820–1899.)

The late Dr. Israel Hildesheimer.[4]

p. 202.

[1] Rabbi at Phalsbourg, and a member of the *Sanhedrin* convoked by Napoleon. On the 14th of April, 1812, he was elected Grand Rabbin de Nancy. His portrait after a lithograph by Drouin appears in "Histoire de Nancy" par Chr. Pfister . . . Tome iii . . . Paris . . . Nancy 1908, *p.* 336. He died on the 7th October, 1842, aged 90; and on the 31st his funeral oration was delivered at the Temple in Paris by his pupil Grand Rabbin Marchand d'Ennery (1792–1852). Another portrait is a "Lith. de Simon fils à Strasbg. (7 × 6)." * Grand Rabbin (adjoint) Israel Lévi of Paris is a distant relative.

[2] Die Welt, 28 July, 1904, No. 28 Supplement.

[3] Ost und West . . . 1904, column 584.

[4] Jewish World, 30 June, 1899, *p.* 210.

HIRSCH, Maurice (Moritz) de [Moses ben Joseph]. (1831–1896.)

The late Baron Hirsch.

(*Photograph by Mayall and Co.*) [1] *p.* 268.

IGNATIUS, Father [Joseph Leycester Lyne]. (1837–1908.)

[Father Ignatius, O.S.B.]

(*Photograph by W. and D. Downey, 61 Ebury Street, London, S.W.*)

p. 234.

***JESSEY (JACIE), Henry.** (1601–1663.)

The Revd. Henry Jessey.

I. Caldwall sculp.

(*Line Engraving* $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$.) *p.* 52.

KAHN, Zadok. (1839–1905.)

[Zadok Kahn, Grand Rabbin de France.]

J. F. Aktuaryus [18]95.

(*Pastel* [*copyright*] 21 × $16\frac{1}{4}$.) *p.* 180.

KALISCHER, Zebi Hirsch. (1795–1874.)

Zebi Hirsch Kalischer.[2]

p. 202.

KITCHENER, Horatio Herbert. (1850–1916.)

[Field Marshal Horatio Herbert, 1st Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, K.G., K.P., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D.]

(*Photograph by the Stereoscopic Company, London, 3 Hanover Square, Regent Street, W.*) *p.* 62.

LAZARE, Bernard [Lazare Bernard] (1865–1903.)

Bernard Lazare.

Drawn from life by Paul Renouard.[3] *p.* 176.

[1] Illustrated London News, 25 April, 1896, *p.* 518.

[2] Jewish Encyclopedia, 1904, vol. ii., *p.* 241.

[3] Graphic, 3 Dec., 1898.

LAZARUS, Emma (1849–1887.)

Emma Lazarus.
(*Facsimile autograph.*)

Engraved by T. Johnson. Photographed by W. Kurtz.
(*Wood Engraving* $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$.)[1] *p.* 241.

***LEON (LEÃO) [TEMPLO], Jacob Judah Aryeh de Abraham de.** (1603–1675?)

Iaacob Ievda Leon Hebreo Ætat Svæ XXXVIIII.

(*Line Engraving* $7 \times 5\frac{3}{8}$.)[2] *p.* 44.

***LEVI, David ben Mordecai.** (1742–1801.)

David Levi.

Painted by Drummond. Engraved by Bromley.

European Magazine.

Published by J. Sewell, Cornhill, June 1st, 1799.
(*Line Engraving* $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$.) *p.* 92.

LILIENBLUM, Moses Löb. (1843–1910.)

אנו צריכים לתקוים־מפני שאנו קימים.

מ. ל. לילינבלום.

(*Collotype postcard.*) *p.* 217.

[1] Century, October, 1888.

[2] This portrait is a brilliant specimen of the graver's art, but as it is a proof before the inscription to the lower part, neither the name of the delineator nor the engraver is known. The lettering round the portrait tells us that "Iaacob Ievda Leon" was then thirty-nine years of age, which would fix 1642 as the year it was done. Albert Wolf (1841–1907), in his article on "Die Portraits des Jakob Jehuda Leone" (Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenchaft des Judenthums . . . Januar 1900 . . . Berlin . . . *pp.* 41–43) does not mention it. It is tentatively suggested that it is the work of Salom Italia, whose well-known signed portrait* ($7 \times 5\frac{3}{16}$) has the following legend encompassing it :—

Effigies uiri doctissimi et clarissima Jacobi Yehudæ Leonis Hebræi autoris Structuræ templi Salomonici facti anno 1641.

It is similar to the anonymous engraving, but here the ear is almost entirely hidden by a lock of hair, and the large lace-edged collar is replaced by a plain narrow one. In addition the blank scroll below the portrait contains illustrations inscribed "*Templo de Selomoh*" and "*Tabernaculo de Moseh.*" It was re-engraved ($6\frac{9}{16} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$) by Conrad Buno* for John Saubert's Latin version of Leon's "Temple of Solomon," published at Helmstadt in 1665 and at Altdorf in 1674. A very small engraving ($4\frac{5}{16} \times 3$), attributed to Jacob van Meurs,* was published in 1653: "Effigies *viri Clarissimi Doctissimique* Iacobi Iehudæ Leonis Hebræi *structuræ tabernaculi Mosaici et templi Salomonis auctoris Ætatis Anno 50.*" It is rarely met with.

LLOYD GEORGE, David.

[The Right Honourable David Lloyd George, M.P., P.C., D.C.L.]

(*Photograph by Vandyke, London.*) *p.* 132, ii.

LOEWE, Louis [Eliezer ben Mordecai Halevi]. (1809–1888.)

Dr. L. Loewe,

Mitglied der Königlichen asiatischen Gesellschaft von Grossbritanien und Irland der asiatischen Gesellschaft zu Paris so wie der heiligen Mission nach Damascus und Constantinopel; Orientalist Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Herzogs von Sussex Verfasser des "The origin of the Egyptian language," "Briefe aus dem Orient," and Uebersetzer des Efes Dammim.

אשרי ילדתו

משה הסיר חרפת עמו, אשריהו !
נלחם מלחמות אל, ואתה משנהו
הוא עשה חיל. ולו היית עזר
הכי נקרא שמך דמשק אליעזר [1]

Nach der Natur gemalt v. d. Gebr. Henschel.
Lith. Jnst. v. L. Sachse & Co., Berlin.
(*Lithograph* 8½ × 8.) *p.* 268.

LUZZATTO, Samuel David de Hezekiah. (1800–1865.)

Samuel David Luzzatto.[2]

p. 176.

MANASSEH BEN-ISRAEL.

See Ben-Israel.

MANDELSTAMM, Max [Emanuel] ben Ezekiel. (1838–1912.)

ד"ר מ. מאנדעלשטאם [3]

(*Collotype postcard.*) *p.* 234.

[1] Composed by Michael Josephs [Myer Königsberg] (1763–1849), Adar, 5601.

[2] Jewish Encyclopedia, 1904, vol. viii., *p.* 224.

[3] פערלאג־נעזעל"ש, צענטראל וואראשא Verlag "Central."

*MEYER, Jacob (Jaekel) ben Isaac Seckel [Mutzig].

(1740?–1830.)

Jacob Meyer,

Grand Rabbin et President du Consistoire Israélite du dept. du Bas-Rhin.[1]

תמונת החכם הכולל כל בינה ומדע
הגאון הגדול כבוד שמו מהורר יעקב מאיר נר"ו
א"ב"ד וראשון דקאנסיסטאריום דגליל התחתון רהין.

Beyer ft. Litho: de G: Engelmann.

(*Lithograph* 6½ × 5. *Oval.*) *p.* 84.

[1] Son of Isaac Seckel Mutzig, a banker (Mutzig in Alsace, Kreis Molsheim), and Guelche, daughter of Rabbi Samuel Zanvil Weyl. He was a pupil of Rabbi Shlomoh Zalman Berlin, and in his early days was Dayan at Rixheim, near Mülhausen. For sixty years he was Grand Rabbin de Strasburg, twenty of which he was President of the Consistory of Israelites for the Department of the Lower Rhine. He was a member of the *Sanhedrin* convened by Napoleon, and the first Jew to be decorated with the Legion of Honour.

Among the manuscripts mentioned in "Katalog der Hebräischen, ... Handschriften der . . . Bibliothek zu Strassburg . . . von Dr. S. Landauer . . . Strassburg . . . 1881," p. 2, No. 4, is one on the Calendar entitled יודעי העתים signed:—

[RAPPOLTSWEILER] יעקב המכונה יעקל בן הרר יצחק זעקל מוציק מרפשויר לע"ע דירתי פה נידרהאגימאהל

p. 7, No. 17, in the same catalogue, is an introduction to "Dalâlat al-hâîrin" (מורה נבוכים) of Maimonides, entitled רוח חן . . . finished by Jaekel ben Saekel Mutzig, of Rappoltsweiler, in the year 1761.

p. 4, No. 8, is a collection of miscellaneous notes, etc. (1769–1785) of Joseph Josel Judah Mörchingen, Dayan at Metz. The transcription is signed אני הכותב הק' יצחק זעקיל עקימרייט? the father of Grand Rabbin Jacob Meyer.

On the occasion of the coronation of Napoleon as Emperor he wrote: "Cantique pour célébrer le jour du sacre et du couronnement de S.M. Napoléon, empereur des Français, inséré à la suite de l'hymne de Krageau."

"Ode pour célébrer le jour immortel de l'élévation de S. M. Napoléon à la dignité impèriale, à Paris, de l'imprimerie impériale, 1804," in 8°.

Two years later, in celebration of Napoleon's thirty-seventh birthday, he published:—

"Ode pour célébrer le jour de l'anniversaire de la naissance de Napoléon, Empereur des François et Roi d'Italie; Composée en hébreu par J. Mayer, et Traduite en françois par Michel Berr, . . . A Paris, . . . M.DCCC.VJ." (8°. 13 *pp.* [B.M.])

"Odes Hebraïques pour la célébration de l'anniversaire de la naissance de S.M. L'Empereur des François et Roi d'Italie, par J. Mayer et Abraham Cologna; Traduites en François *Par* Michel Berr, . . . A Paris, . . . 1806" (8°. 37 *pp.* [B.M.])

In the Hebrew title page he is referred to as Mayer of Bergheim (Alsace).

The wife of Grand Rabbin Zadok Kahn (mother-in-law of Grand Rabbin [adjoint] Israel Lèvi) was his granddaughter. He died on the 7th October, 1842, at the age of ninety.

MOHILEWER, Samuel ben Judah Löb. (1824–1898.)
[Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer.][1]
M.W. *ph.* *p.* 202.

***MONTEFIORE, Moses Haim (Vita) de Joseph Eliahu.** (1784–1885.)
Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S.
Painted by G. Richmond, R.A., D.C.L. Engraved by T. L. Atkinson.
Proof.
London : Published 1st May, 1876, by P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., 13 and 14 Pall Mall East.[2]
(*Mezzotint Engraving* 17 × 13¾.) *p.* 115.
Armorial bearings on margin, Montefiore impaling Cohen.

***MUNK, Salomon.** (1803–1867.)
[Salomon Munk.]
(*Lithograph* 2½ × 2.) *p.* 180.

NETTER, Charles. (1828–1882.)
[Charles Netter.]
L. Kuppenheim.
(*Lithograph* 8 × 6.) *p.* 180.

NOAH, Mordecai Manuel. (1785–1851.)
Mordecai Manuel Noah.
(*Oil Painting*[3] [*in the possession of L. Napoleon Levy*].) *p.* 241.

NORDAU, Max Simon [Mayer Simchah ben Gabriel.]
[Max Simon Nordau,
M.D. Paris, Budapesth ; LL.D. *hon. causa.* Athens ; Officier d'Académie France ; Commander Royal Hellenic Order of St. Saviour ; Hon. Mem. of Greek Acad. of the Parnassos and Corresponding Member of the Academy of Medicine at Madrid, 1918.]
(*Photograph by Elliott and Fry, Ltd., London, W.*). *p.* 264.

OLIPHANT, Laurence. (1829–1888.)
[Laurence Oliphant.][4]
(*Photograph, copyright.*) *p.* 208.

[1] Die Welt, 18 June, 1897, No. 3, *p.* 6.
[2] This letterpress is transcribed from an ordinary print, but the illustration at *p.* 115 of Vol. I. is taken from a proof impression before letters on India paper.
[3] Jewish Encyclopedia, 1905, vol. ix., *p.* 324.
[4] This portrait has not been published hitherto.

PICHON, Stéphen-Jean-Marie.

[M. Stéphen-Jean-Marie,
Commander of the Legion of Honour, Minister for Foreign Affairs.]
(*Photograph by Henri Manuel, Paris.*) *p.* 128, ii.

PINSKER, Leon [Löb ben Simchah]. (1821–1891.)

Dr. L. Pinsker.[1]
Geb. 24 Dezbr., 1821. Gest. 9 Dezbr., 1891
p. 217.

***PRIESTLEY, Joseph.** (1733–1804.)

J. Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S.
Angus sculpt.
Literary Magazine.
Published as the Act directs, 1 Feb., 1792, by C. Foster, No. 41 Poultry.
(*Line Engraving* $3\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$. *Oval.*) *p.* 92.

RAPHALL, Morris Jacob. (1798–1868.)

[Rabbi Morris Jacob Raphall, M.A., Ph.D.]
(*Photograph* [*copyright*] *from an oil painting* 8 × 6.) *p.* 241.

***REINES, Isaac Jacob ben Solomon Naphtali.**
(1839–1916.)

הרב ריינעס [2]
(*Collotype postcard.*) *p.* 202.

RIBOT, Alexandre-Félix-Joseph.

[M. Alexandre-Félix-Joseph Ribot,
Member of the Academy of France, late President of the Council.]
(*Photograph.*) *p.* 128, ii.

ROBINSON, Edward. (1794–1863.)

Edward Robinson [D.D., LL.D.][3]
(*Facsimile autograph.*)
Roberts *sc.*
(*Wood Engraving* 2 × $1\frac{3}{4}$.) *p.* 62.

[1] Ost und West . . . 1904, column 583.
Verlag "Central." (2) פערלאג־נעזעל'ש, צענטראל וואראשא

[3] Cyclopedia of American Literature, by E. A. Duyckinck and G. Long, (1855, vol. ii., *p.* 167.

ROTHSCHILD, Edmond de

[Baron Edmond de Rothschild.]

(*Photograph by A. Dupont, 8 Rue Dupuytren, Paris, from an oil painting by M. Aime Moro.*)[1]

Frontispiece, ii.

RÜLF, Isaac ben Judah. (1834–1902.)

[Rabbi Dr.] J. J. Rülf.[2]

p. 202.

***ST. JOHN, Oliver.** (1528?–1673.)

Sr. Oliver St. John,
Lord Chief Justice during the Commonwealth.

From an original picture by Jansen in the possession of Lady Olivia Sparrow.

(*Line Engraving* $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$.) *p.* 52.

SALVADOR, Joseph. (17961873.)

[Joseph Salvador.]

(*Photograph* [*copyright*] $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4$.)[3] *p.* 176.

***SASPORTAS, Jacob de Aaron.** (1610–1698.)

Doctissimo ÿ Clarissimo Señor H. H. Rebij Yahacob Saportas,
Rabino del K. K. de Amsterdam.
Faleció en 4 Hiyar Año 5458.

הרב הכולל יעקב ששפורטש זל

נפטר יום ג׳ ארבעה לחודש אייר שנת נחת רוח לפק׳

Retrato es de Jahacob, honor del Mundo
del Mauro a España embaxador facundo
en Sale ÿ Londrez fue de Leÿ secundo
Eclipsose a Amsterdam con tanto Zelo
de ochenta ÿocho años en la Gloria.
tuvo en Tremezen Catreda notoria
Loa Hamburgo ÿ Liorne su memoria.
que no cupo en la tierra ÿ passò al çielo.

P. van Gunst sculp.

(*Line Engraving* $10\frac{1}{8} \times 9$.)[4] *p.* 42.

[1] Inscribed on the margin :—
"*A Monsieur Sokolow souvenir de son Voyage a Paris, 1917. Ed. d'Rothschild.*"

[2] Berühmte israelitische Männer und Frauen . . . Von Dr. Adolph Kohut, Zweiter Band, *p.* 350.

[3] No portrait of Joseph Salvador has hitherto been published.

[4] This letterpress is transcribed from an ordinary print, but the illustration at *p.* 42 of Vol. I. is taken from a unique impression before any letters.

SCHAPIRA, Hermann. (1840–1898.)
[Prof. Dr. Hermann Schapira.][1]

*SHAFTESBURY [Antony Ashley Cooper (7th)] Earl of. (1801–1885.)
The Earl of Shaftesbury.
Engraved by D. J. Pound from a photograph by Mayall.
(*Line Engraving* 8½ × 6¾.) *p.* 208.

*SINZHEIM, Joseph David ben Isaac. (1745–1812.)
M. David Sinzheim,
Chef du Grand Sanhedrin, Premier Gd. Rabbin du Consistoire central.
Damame pinxit. Prudhon sculpt.
Déposé à la Bibliothèque Impériale.
(*Stipple Engraving* 12⅝ × 8⅞.) *p.* 84.

SMOLENSKIN, Peter [Perez ben Moses]. (1842–1885.)
(*Collotype postcard.*) פ. סמאלענסקין
p. 217.

SONNINO, Sidney.
[His Excellency Baron Sidney Sonnino, LL.D. *Pisa*,
Premier 1906 and 1909–1910; Minister for Foreign Affairs 1914.]
(*Photograph.*) *p.* 128, ii.

SYKES, Tatton Benvenuto Mark. (1879–1919)
[Lieut.-Colonel Sir Tatton Benvenuto Mark Sykes, Bt., M.P.]
Painted by Leopold Pilichowski, 1918. *p.* xvii, ii.

TOURO, Judah de Isaac. (1775–1854.)
Judah Touro.[2]
p. 241.

TSCHLENOW, Ephim Wladimirovitch [Jechiel].
(*Collotype postcard.*) ד"ר י. צלינוב (1865–1918.)
p. 234.

WARREN, Charles.
[General Sir Charles Warren,
Knight of Justice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., R.E., F.R.S.]
(*Photograph by Elliott and Fry, Ltd., London, W.*) *p.* 62.

[1] Die Welt, 20 May, 1898, No. 20, *p.* 8.

[2] Fifty years' work of the Hebrew Education Society, Philadelphia . . . 1899, *p.* 87.

***WHISTON, William.** (1667–1752.)

The Revd. Mr. William Whiston.

Born 9 Decemr., 1667. Died Augt. 22d., 1752.

B. Wilson Fecit 1753.

(*Etching* 7 × 4⅜.) *p.* 92.

WILSON, Charles William. (1836–1905.)

[Major-General Sir Charles William Wilson,
R.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., M.P., F.R.S.]

(*Photograph by Maull and Fox, 187a Piccadilly, London.*)[1] *p.* 62.

WILSON, Thomas Woodrow.

[Dr. Thomas Woodrow Wilson,
28th President of the United States of America.]

(*Photograph.*) *p.* 130, ii.

WOLFFSOHN, David ben Isaac. (1856–1914.)

David Woolffsohn.[2] *b.* 288.

***ZACUT [ZACUTUS LUSITANUS], Abraham.** (1575–1642.)

Doctor Zacutus Lusitanus Medicus Ætatis Suæ. LIIII.
Anno 1634.

Zacuti faciem proclive est sculpere, mentem
Quod memoret Cœlum? quod vel Agalma ferat?
Quod nequeunt oculi, monstret doctrina Zacuti,
Et memorandi acies prædicet ingenium.

S. Saveri fe. Nicolaus Fontanus MED.

(*Line Engraving* 6½ × 4½.)[3] *p.* 44.

[1] This portrait has not been published hitherto

[2] Erez Israel Das Jüdische Land von J. H. Kann, Köln und Leipzig, Jüdischer Verlag, 1909, *p.* 174.

[3] Zacut, according to recognised authorities, was born in the year 1575, and would in 1634 be fifty-nine years of age. Six years later his portrait was again engraved:—

Zacvtvs Lvsitanvs Doctor Medicvs Ætatis LXVI Anno 1642.
En Zacvtvm, lusitanæ fulgidum sidus plagæ,
Principem chori medentûm, sæculi miraculum.
Car. Sponivs D.M:

Claude Audran feci.

(*Line engraving* 11 × 7.*)

Zacutus Lusitanus Medicus Doctor Ætatis Suæ LXVI A° 1642
En! Lusitanæ Zacutum præfulgidum iubarplagæ
En! Principem chori medentum, seculi miraculum.
h h h. 2.

(*Line engraving* 4¾ × 3¾.*)

THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN MANASSEH BEN-ISRAEL AND OLIVER CROMWELL.

Solomon Alexander Hart, R.A.

Oil painting [*copyright*] 60½ × 91.) [1] *p.* 15.

*NAPOLÉON LE GRAND.

rétablit le culte des Israélites, le 30 Mai, 1806.

Couche fils Sculp.

A Paris, au Bureau de l'Auteur des Fastes de la Nation Française,
M. Ternisien d'Haudricourt, Rue de Seine, No. 27, F. S. Germain.

(*Etching* 4 × 5½.) *p.* 88.

*GRAND SANHÉDRIN des ISRAÉLITES

de l'Empire français & du Royaume d'Italie.
Convoqué à Paris par ordre de
NAPOLEON-LE-GRAND,
assemblé pour la première fois le 9 fev. 1807.
Ce Corps tombé avec le Temple va reparaître.

(Discours de M.M. les Commissaires Impériaux, du 18. 7 bre., 1806.)

Damame Dé Martrait del. et Sculpt. Beaublé Script.

Déposé à la Bibliothèque Impériale.

A Paris chez l'Auteur, rue Neuve des Petits-Champs, No. 58.

(*Aquatint printed in colours* 17¼ × 25¾.) *p.* 80.

[1] On Wednesday, the 12th of December, 1655, a conference was held in the Long Gallery at Whitehall, to which were invited the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Chief Baron, the most eminent divines and lawyers, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and citizens of London, to consider, after many previous parliaments had in vain been petitioned, the proposal of Manasseh of admitting Jews to settle in England, from whence they had been banished in the reign of Edward the First.

The scene represents Dr. Thos. Goodwin debating on the proposal. On Goodwin's left is Dr. John Owen together with other divines; among these Dr. Samuel Cradock meditates on Manasseh's appeal. At Cromwell's left hand is the Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Glynn; on his right is seen part of the head of the Chief Baron. At the feet of the Protector, Mr. Secretary Thurloe takes notes of the proceedings.

The Lord Mayor Draper, or rather Dethick, is present, together with the Sheriffs, sword and mace bearer

Second on the right of Manasseh, among other sympathisers with his appeal, is Hugh Peters: on the right of this picture some Puritan divines and Roundhead troopers listen; a musketeer completes the group. An attendant is searching for information among objects, the authorities for which are preserved in the Rolls Court. Two merchants' wives, one with her son, and some citizens, form the group on the left.

Although the result of the conference was unfavourable, a few Jews came back on sufferance, but ultimately were allowed to return at the restoration of the Monarchy.

The Exhibition of Royal Academy of Arts, MDCCCLXXIII. The one hundred and fifth . . . London . . . *p.* 17, Gallery No. 111, 322.

DIE TEILNEHMER DER KATTOWITZER KONFERENZ.

[Members of the Kattowitz Conference, Nov. 6, 1884.] [1]

p. 288,,ii.

MEMBERS
OF THE
5657 MACCABEAN PILGRIMAGE [2] 1897

(*Photograph* [*copyright*] $5\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$.) *p.* 246.

LAYING FOUNDATION STONE
OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS ON MOUNT SCOPUS, JERUSALEM.

24 July, 1918. *15 Ab, 5678.*

(*Photograph by* י. בן־דוב בצלאל ירושלם

p. 144, ii.

[1] Die Welt, 5 Nov., 1909, Nov. 45, *p.* 982.
[2] Taken in camp at Damascus.

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